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ABSTRACT

The two issues of the journal for teachers of English as a second language in Japan include these articles: "What Do JTEs Really Want?" (Wendy F. Scholefield); "Do EFL Learners Make Instrumental Inferences When Reading? Some Evidence from Implicit Memory Tests" (Suzanne Collins, Hidetsugu Tajika); "Function and Structure of Academic English" (Martha C. Pennington); "Writing on Academic Topics: Externalizing Rhetorical Processes in an Intercultural Context" (Jack Kimball); "American English, Japanese, and Directness: More Than Stereotypes" (Kenneth R. Rose); "High School English Textbooks and College Entrance Examinations: A Comparison of Reading Passage Difficulty" (Shinji Kimura, Brad Visgatis); "Detecting Cross-Linguistic Difficulties in Learning English: Using a Text Reconstruction Program" (Regina Lo); "Professors' Expectations of Foreign Students in Freshman-Level Courses" (David Kehe, Peggy Kehe); "Global Issues in EFL: Why and How" (Daniel McIntyre); "Imagery, Verbal Processes, and Second Language Learning (James W. Ney); "Testing English Tests: A Language Proficiency Perspective" (Akihiro Ito); "Assistant Language Teachers in Junior High School" (James Sick); "Motivational Differences Between Chinese and Japanese Learners of English as a Foreign Language" (Bill Teweles); "Teacher Preferences of Student Behavior in Japan" (Catherine L. Sasaki); "The Essential Role of Negotiation in the Communicative Classroom" (Teresa Pica); "Change of Interactive Contact Situations and Social Strategies" (in Japanese) (Satoshi Miyazaki, Jun Pirotta-Maruyama); "But I Don't Want To Be Rude: On Learning How To Express Anger in the L2" (Mitsuyo Toya, Mary Kodis); "The Role of Teachers and Students in Academic Writing Tutorials" (Adrienne Nicosia, Lynn Stein); "Teaching Suprasegmentals to Japanese Learners of English Through

Electronic Visual Feedback" (Janet Anderson-Hsieh); and "Teaching Sociolinguistic Knowledge in Japanese High Schools" (Kiwamu Izumi). Book reviews are also included in each issue. (MSE)

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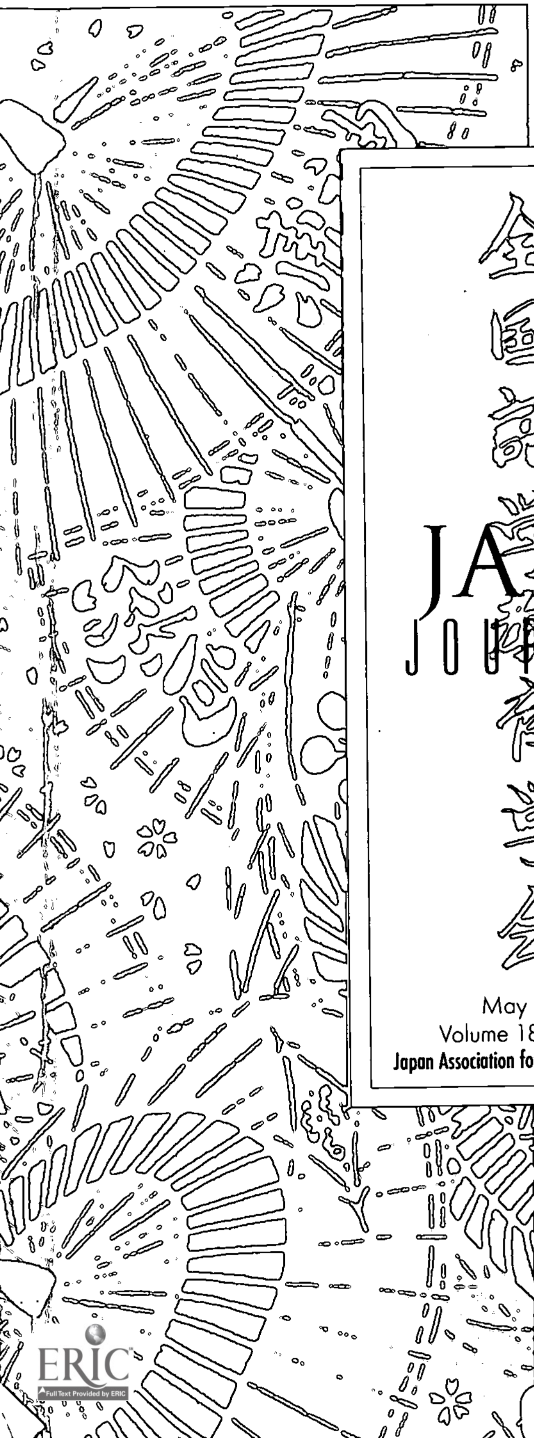

全国語学教育学会

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Japan Association for Language Teaching

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Japan Association for Language Teaching

JALT is a professional organization dedicated to the improvement of language learning and teaching in Japan, a vehicle for the exchange of new ideas and techniques, and a means of keeping abreast of new developments in a rapidly changing field. Formed in 1976, JALT has an international membership of more than 4000. There are currently 38 JALT chapters throughout Japan. It is the Japan affiliate of International TESOL (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages) and a branch of IATEFL (International Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language).

JALT publishes *JALT Journal*, *The Language Teacher* (a monthly magazine of articles and announcements on professional concerns), *JALT Applied Materials* (a monograph series), and JALT International Conference proceedings.

The JALT International Conference on Language Teacher/Learning and Educational Materials Exposition attracts some 2000 participants annually. Local chapter meetings are held by each JALT chapter, and National Special Interest Groups disseminate information on specific concerns. JALT also sponsors specials events, such as conferences on specific themes.

JALT provides awards for Research Grants and Development, announced annually at the conference.

Membership, open to those interested in language education, includes enrollment in the nearest chapter, copies of all JALT publications, and reduced admission to JALT sponsored events. For information on membership, contact the JALT Central Office.

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Forming N-SIGs: Ling-X (Other Language Educators), Testing and Evaluation

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JALT Journal

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In this issue

Articles

The attitudes of Japanese Teachers of English (JTEs) towards the Assistant Language Teachers (ALTs) are examined by **Wendy F. Scholefield**. Results of her study confirm general intuitive notions and underscore the importance of ALT flexibility, JTE clarity, and the need for better training for both groups.

In this study of instructions designed to activate instrumental inferencing in single sentence contexts, **Suzanne Collins** and **Hidetsugu Tajika** suggest this may have a negative effect on recall, and remind readers that techniques which may be valid with L1 learners are not always viable with all L2 learners.

The language used in academic papers is examined by **Martha C. Pennington**. She suggests the academic paper or research report "opens a window" of current relevance on a topic and establishes a perspective that pressures writers to use of present tense, complex nominal expressions, and passive voice.

Kenneth R. Rose reviews the literature supporting the stereotype that American English is characterized by directness while Japanese is characterized by indirectness, and discusses recent studies of language use by Americans and Japanese which suggest that this needs further elaboration.

The difficulty level of English reading passages on junior college entrance exams and high school English textbooks are compared by **Shinji Kimura** and **Brad Visgatis**. Overall results of this study indicate that passage difficulty is significantly higher for the exams on several reading indices.

Research Forum

Two papers are included. The first, a cross-national study by **Regina Lo** of L1 English secondary students in England and L2 English secondary students in Hong Kong, suggests that the performance of the L2 students was adversely affected by cross-linguistic differences. The second, by **David Kehe** and **Peggy Kehe**, examines some commonly-held assumptions of those teaching in English for Academic Purposes (EAP) courses and discusses results of a survey of American university professors regarding their expectations of the skills foreign students need upon entry into freshman-level courses.

Perspectives

Two papers addressing the application of pedagogical techniques appear. The first, by **Daniel McIntyre**, discusses the theoretical and social rationale for using the content theme of global issues in foreign language instruction and presents information and examples on adapting materials to the EFL environment. The second, by **James W. Ney**, describes the nature of imagery, which has been theorized to underlie many verbal processes, in relationship to other theories of language learning and provides guidelines for its use in second language classrooms.

Reviews

Descriptions and evaluations of seven current publications appear, with Reviews from **Timothy Riney, Valerie Fox, J. David Simons, Adrian Cohen, Nicholas E. Miller,** and **J. Courtney Lowe**. They include examinations of publications on sociolinguistics, the theories of Stephen Krashen, the language of the legal system, team teaching in Japan, designing culturally appropriate curricula, and classroom language assessment.

From the Editors

It is with regret that we announce that Editorial Advisory Board members **Peter McCagg** and **Mary Lee Scott**, and proofreader **Kevin Staff** are leaving the *JALT Journal* with this issue. They deserve deep thanks for their services to the language teaching community. Their skills, whether in reviewing manuscripts or spotting inconsistenceis, will be missed.

We also welcome several new members to the board. **Mary Goebel Noguchi, David Nunan, Thomas Robb,** and **Bernie Susser** have agreed to serve on the Editorial Advisory Board and are already reviewing manuscripts. Their willingness to undertake the difficult task of reviewing the many manuscripts the *JALT Journal* receives is deeply appreciated.

In Memory

James R. Nattinger, a professor in the Applied Linguistics Department at Portland (OR) State University, died on Oct. 18, 1995 from AIDS. An awards fund has been established in his memory through the Portland State University Foundation to benefit students in the Applied Linguistics Department.

Correction

The Japanese-language abstract for the article by Stephen A. Templin, "Goal-Setting to Raise Speaking Self-Confidence" in *JALT Journal, 17*(2), pages 269 to 273, was incorrect. The abstract should have read "one class showed significant improvement," not one subject. The editors regret any difficulty this may have caused.

訂正

JALT Journal 17(2)、269ページのStephen A. Templinによる「話す自信をつけるための目標設定」の日本語要旨に誤りがありました。「実験群では、一人の被験者しか、自信の評価に有意味な変化を見せず」とあるのを「実験群の一つしか自信の評価に有意味な変化を見せず」と訂正します。

Articles

What do JTEs Really Want?[1]

Wendy F. Scholefield
Charles Sturt University

Team teaching plays a vital role in foreign language teaching in Japan. The *Monbusho* (Ministry of Education, Science and Technology) alone employs over 4000 Assistant Language Teachers[2] (ALTs); in addition, vast numbers of ALTs are directly employed by cities and schools. A great deal of ancedotal comment has been directed to the role of the ALT, and the type of ALT best suited to team teaching in Japan. Thus far, however, there has been little research to validate such comments. In this project, Japanese teachers of English (JTEs) at 31 junior high schools were surveyed over 2 years via 86 Evaluation Forms (see Appendix 1) to discover what were considered to be the strengths and weaknesses of the ALTs, and what improvements were desired. A wide variety of responses were recorded. Confirming general intuitive notions, the importance of the ALT's personality was repeatedly stressed, as was the motivational impact on students. The one-shot system attracted widespread disapproval. Conflicting evaluation of some aspects, in particular the use of Japanese in school, underscores the importance of both ALT flexibility and JTE clarity in conveying individual needs.

日本の外国語教育では、ティーム・ティーチングが重要な役割をはたしている。文部省だけでも4,000人を超えるALTが雇用されており、それに加えて地方自治体や学校が、多数のALTを直接、雇用している。ALTの役割と、日本のティーム・ティーチングにいちばんあっているＡＬＴのタイプについて、多くのコメント、逸話、個人的な反応などが流布している。しかしながら、これらの逸話的なコメントの妥当性についてなされた研究は、これまでのところほとんどない。このプロジェクトは、二人のＡＥＴが二年間にわたって訪問した3１の中学校で教える日本人の英語教師に、付録１にＡＬＴ評価表によって、この二人のＡＥＴを評価してもらい、二人の長所と弱点はそれぞれ何だと考えられているか、どのような改善が望まれているかを明らかにした。合計8６枚の評価表が回収され、反応はさまざまであったが、一般的な直感を裏書きするように、ＡＬＴの性格の重要性と、生徒への動機づけ機能が繰り返し強調され、一回限りの訪問には根強い反対が表明された。人によって評価の別れる要素、特に学校における日本語の使用に関しては、個々のニーズを伝える際のALTの柔軟性と日本人教師の明確さの重要性が強調された。

The large-scale use of native speaker Assistant Language Teachers (ALTs) in Japanese foreign language classrooms began in 1977 with the *Monbusho* (Ministry of Education, Science and Technology) English Fellows Program; this was followed a year later by the British English Teachers Scheme. In 1987 these two programs were merged to form the JET (Japan Exchange Teaching) Program, and participant numbers have grown dramatically from the nine Americans of 1977 to 4,179 people from eleven countries in 1994 (Juppe, 1994). Still more ALTs are hired by local boards of education and sister-city programs.

The ALT system has generated a great deal of comment and debate in the national press, and in publications such as *The Language Teacher*, the *Team Teaching Bulletin*, and the *JET Journal* (Bauer, 1994). One area of continuing controversy is the ALT's role in team taught classes. The Ministry of Education states that successful team teaching

> depends on the frequency with which the students are engaged in communicative activities, and the creative use which the Japanese teacher and the Assistant Language Teacher . . . make of a textbook. (CLAIR, 1992a, p. 7).

However, in reality successful team teaching depends to a great extent on the establishment and maintenance of a comfortable working relationship between the ALT and the Japanese Teacher of English (JTE), within which such team teaching activities can be developed (Bailey, Dale & Squire, 1992; Hanslovsky, Mayer & Wagner, 1969; Shannon & Meath-Lang, 1992). The JTE/ALT relationship is considered crucial for the success of team teaching by ALTs (Greenhalgh, 1993; Sturman, 1992) and by JTEs.[3] The literature is sprinkled with anecdotes and comments on how best to develop such rapport. Allen (1972) stresses the need for clear-cut division of responsibilities in the team teaching situation, a factor also emphasised by Stein (1989), Sturman (1992), and Kyoto Prefecture Wakaura Junior High School (1992). However, expectations of ALT contributions vary significantly, from the broad expectation of helping JTEs develop communicative competence (Kageura, 1992) and learn new teaching approaches (CLAIR, 1992b), to reassuring JTEs who are insecure about their English ability (CLAIR, 1992c; Lisotta, 1993), to making English lessons more communicative and "fun" for students (Thorkelson, 1993, p. 66).

In addition to the plethora of educational expectations, there is a range of expectations about the type of person best suited to the ALT role. The Ministry of Education itself recommends that ALTs be positive, flexible, energetic, people-oriented, [and to have] a win-win attitude when confronted with conflict, non-judgmentalness about Japanese culture and customs, patience, a willingness to learn . . . (CLAIR, 1992d, p. 29)

The trait of flexibility is mentioned by researchers (Cominos, 1992), by JTEs (Yamamoto, 1993) and by ALTs themselves (Lisotta, 1993; Scholefield, 1994). Cross-cultural tolerance is stressed by some (Kobayashi, 1993; Nordquist, 1992; Robinson, 1985); others are more concerned that the ALT be friendly (Arakawa, 1993; Kiguchi, 1994).

This small-scale project is an exploration of empirical validation of this range of intuition and anecdote regarding ALT behaviour and classroom roles. The data are based on *one-shot* junior high school ALTs (i.e., ALTs who do not teach regularly at any one school, but visit a large number of schools in a given year) but is considered relevant to all Japanese foreign language team teaching situations for two reasons. Firstly, when *regular* ALTs meet classes for the first time, their position is similar to that of the one-shot teachers. Secondly, strengths and weaknesses which affect the JTE/ALT relationship are likely to be equally pertinent to regular ALTs, although further studies are needed to confirm this.

The Study

The Board of Education in the target location requests JTEs to complete an *ALT Evaluation Form* (see Appendix 1) after each visit by the ALT. From the total number of Evaluation Forms, all those in English (86) were analysed. The forms originated from 31 junior high schools and involved two different ALTs and 121 JTEs over a two year period. The ALTs (one of whom is the present writer) had both been language teachers in Australia before coming to Japan.

The forms required evaluation of the ALT in six categories:

1. Strong points (of the ALT's teaching, of the visit in general).
2. Weak points.
3. Suggestions for improvement.
4. What impressed the students the most.
5. What impressed the teachers and administrators the most.
6. Additional comments.

Results are given as a percentage of the total responses in each category.

The quality of the data was occasionally marred by difficulty in understanding the English written by the JTEs, who might have written more expansively had the option of replying in their L1 been available. In addition, some JTEs appear to have merely photocopied the previous year's report: there were 16 instances of identical submissions in one or more categories about the two different ALTs, with only the pronouns altered from *he* to *she*. This is a disappointing indication that a small number of

Table 1: Strong Points of the ALT's Teaching and/or Visit

Strong point	number of items cited	%
Teaching strategies	[n = 105; 46.5%]	
Clear pronunciation/simple vocabulary & syntax	29	13
Interaction with students	14	6.3
Teaching skill [not further specified]	13	5.8
Gestures & expressions	8	3.6
Interesting self-introduction [not further specified]	8	3.6
Visual aids	8	3.6
Realia	7	3.1
Student management [including praise]	6	2.7
Use of Japanese	5	2.2
Humour	3	1.3
Previous teaching experience	3	1.3
Equal involvement of JTE & ALT	1	0.4
Student response	[n = 57; 25.6%]	
Increased motivation	18	8
Enjoyed English class	17	7.6
Understood/were understood by ALT	17	7.6
Felt relaxed	3	1.3
Liked ALT	2	0.9
ALT's personality/appearance	[n = 28; 12.5%]	
Friendly/kind/nice/polite approach	18	9
Enthusiastic/positive/cheerful approach	4	1.8
ALT's smile	3	1.3
Flexible approach	2	0.9
ALT's eye & hair colour	1	0.4
Lesson content	[n = 33; 9.4%]	
Cultural information	12	5.4
Listening practice	4	1.8
Games	3	1.3
Variety of activities	2	0.9
Live example of different language/culture	12	5.4
Total	223	99.6

Note: 86 of 86 responded. Because of rounding, the percentage total does not equal 100%.

JTEs were not interested in seriously evaluating the ALT contribution, and thus potentially improving the team teaching situation.

Results

Strong points: As indicated in Table 1, the response rate in this category was 100%, with the 86 respondents mentioning a total of 223 items. These were grouped into five subcategories: teaching strategies; student response; ALT's personality/ appearance; lesson content; and

Table 2: Weak Points of the ALT's Teaching and/or Visit

Weak point	number of items cited	%
Problems not related to lessons	[*n* = 16; 41%]	
1-shot system unproductive [not further specified]	5	12.8
1-shot ALT hard to accept by students & JTEs	4	10.3
Inadequate preparation time	2	5.1
ALT not ready	1	2.6
ALT tired	1	2.6
ALT's staffroom behaviour	1	2.6
ALT system has too much paperwork	1	2.6
Distance of school from ALT's office	1	2.6
ALT's teaching	[*n* = 15; 38.5%]	
ALT didn't speak with all students	3	7.7
Unclear/non-American pronunciation	2	5.1
Difficult vocabulary/syntax	2	5.1
Insufficient written work	2	5.1
Student management	2	5.1
Errors in cultural information	1	2.6
Not enough Japanese used	1	2.6
Realia	1	2.6
Too much Japanese used	1	2.6
Student reactions	[*n* = 8; 20.5%]	
Decreased confidence	2	5.1
Students couldn't understand	2	5.1
Ability range in class not met	1	2.6
Student proficiency too low for communication	1	2.6
Students noisy	1	2.6
Students tense	1	2.6
Total	39	100.3

Note: 32 of 86 responded. Because of rounding, the percentage total does not equal 100%.

Table 3: Suggestions for Improvement

Suggestion	number of items cited	%
ALT's teaching	[*n* = 37; 53.6%]	
More interaction, with more students	11	15.9
More realia/pictures	5	7.2
More cultural information	3	4.3
More advice/correction to JTEs & students	3	4.3
Improved classroom management	2	2.9
Improved pronunciation	2	2.9
More interaction with non-English-speaking staff	2	2.9
More lesson responsibility to ALT	2	2.9
Fewer errors in cultural information	1	1.4
Improved blackboard writing	1	1.4
More games	1	1.4
More individual reading aloud from students	1	1.4
More lesson variety	1	1.4
More natural rate of speech	1	1.4
More use of Japanese in lesson breaks	1	1.4
One-shot system	[*n* = 24; 21.7%]	
More visits	11	15.9
Less paperwork	2	2.9
ALTs should be experienced teachers	1	1.4
Wider range of ALTs in 1 year	1	1.4
More preparation time between JTE/ALT	9	13
ALT preparation	[*n* = 4; 5.8%]	
Greater awareness of vocabulary lists at each level	2	2.9
Greater awareness of Japanese educational system	1	1.4
Notification of equipment needs	1	1.4
JTE preparation	[*n* = 4; 5.8%]	
More activities to improve fluency	2	2.9
Teach more communicative expressions	2	2.9
Total	69	99.2

Note: 55 of 86 responded. Because of rounding, the percentage total does not equal 100%.

the fact that the ALT was a live example of a different language/culture.

Weak points: Table 2 indicates a response rate of just over 37% in this category, with a total of 39 items cited by the 32 respondents. These items were grouped into three subcategories: problems not related to lessons; the ALT's teaching; and student reactions.

Suggestions for improvement: There was a response rate of 64%, with a total of 69 items mentioned by the respondents (see Table 3). Over half of

Table 4: What Impressed the Students the Most

Feature	number of items cited	%
ALT's teaching	[n = 42; 23.3%]	
Gestures & expressions	8	4.4
Games	7	3.8
Teaching strategies [not further specified]	7	3.8
ALT's use of Japanese	6	3.3
ALT's self-introduction [not further specified]	5	2.8
Students' active role in lesson	3	1.7
Clear pronunciation	2	1.1
Praise from ALT	2	1.1
Use of simple vocabulary & syntax	2	1.1
Cultural information	[n = 33; 18.3%]	
Not specified	13	7.2
Realia	9	5
Visual aids	9	5
Australian English	2	1.1
ALT's personality	[n = 59; 16.7%]	
Friendly/cooperative/kind approach	25	13.9
Enthusiasm	5	2.8
Humourous/enjoyable/relaxed lesson	29	16.1
Being able to communicate with native speaker	[n = 28; 15.6%]	
Communicated with ALT	20	11.1
Hearing a native speaker	5	2.8
Understood ALT	3	1.7
ALT's appearance	[n = 8; 4.4%]	
ALT's smile	6	3.3
Physical attractiveness	2	1.1
Motivational impact	6	3.3
Talking with students during lunchbreak	2	1.1
ALT's knowledge of Japan	1	0.6
ALT visit personalised English study	1	0.6
Total	180	99.8

Note: 84 of 86 responded (98%). Because of rounding, the percentage total does not equal 100%.

these referred to the ALT's teaching; other subcategories were the one-shot system itself; the need for more preparation time between JTE and ALT; the ALT's own preparation; and the JTE's own preparation.

What impressed the students the most: Table 4 shows a response rate in this category of 98%, with 180 items mentioned. These were spread across a wide variety of subcategories. However, five subcat-

Table 5: What Impressed the Teachers and Administrators the Most

Feature	number of items cited	%
Teaching strategies	[n = 60; 40.8%]	
Knowledge of language teaching methodology	14	9.5
Humourous/enjoyable lesson	10	6.8
Simple vocabulary & syntax	7	4.8
Realia	5	3.4
Student management	5	3.4
Clear pronunciation	3	2
Professional approach	3	2
Use of praise	3	2
Use of communicative English	2	1.4
Use of Japanese	2	1.4
Visual aids	2	1.4
Acceptance of students' simple English	1	0.7
Australian English	1	0.7
No translation into Japanese	1	0.7
Standard English	1	0.7
ALT's personality/appearance	[n = 49; 35.8%]	
Friendly/coooperative/nice approach	28	19
Enthusiastic/positive/cheerful approach	15	10.2
ALT's smile	6	4.1
Cultural information	10	6.8
JTE & student response	[n = 10; 7.3%]	
Increased motivation	5	3.4
JTE reflection on teaching styles	3	2
Positive student response [not further specified]	2	1.4
Interaction with students & staff during lesson breaks	7	4.8
ALT's study of Japanese	6	4.1
Effort in understanding & assisting JTEs	4	2.7
Lesson content	1	0.7
Total	147	100.1

Note: 83 of 86 responded (97%). Because of rounding, the percentage total does not equal 100%.

egories dominated: the ALT's teaching; the provision of cultural information; the ALT's personality; and the humourous or relaxed nature of the ALT's lesson. Additional subcategories were: the chance to be able to communicate with a native speaker; the ALT's appearance; the motivational impact; talking with the ALT during lunch breaks; the ALT's knowledge of Japan; and the personalisation of English study brought about by the ALT visit.

Table 6: Additional Comments

Comment	number of items cited	%
Informal comments	[*n* = 24; 38.1%]	
Thanking ALT	12	19
Looking forward to seeing ALT again	9	14.3
Wishing ALT well	3	4.8
Positive response to ALT's teaching	[*n* = 17; 27%]	
Teaching skill [not further specified]	6	9.5
JTEs enjoyed the lessons	4	6.3
Students enjoyed the lessons	3	4.8
ALT's previous teaching experience	1	1.6
Realia	1	1.6
Teaching about Australian English	1	1.6
Use of Japanese	1	1.6
Requests for more visits	11	17.5
Motivational impact on JTEs & students	5	7.9
Extracurricular Activities	[*n* = 6; 6.3%]	
JTEs enyoyed discussions	1	1.6
JTEs enjoyed teaching methodology suggestions	1	1.6
Post-visit mail contact with students desired	1	1.6
Suggested that ALT play sport with students	1	1.6
ALT's friendly approach & smile	1	1.6
Negative response to ALT's use of Japanese	1	1.6
Total	63	100.1

Note: 38 of 86 responded (44%). Because of rounding, the percentage total does not equal 100%.

What impressed the teachers and administrators the most: A category by category breakdown of the responses received (97%) appears in Table 5. Respondents indicated 147 items in this category. The two dominant subcategories were: the ALT's teaching strategies; and the ALT's personality and/or appearance. Further subcategories were: the provision of cultural information; the response of JTEs and/or students; interaction with students and staff during lesson breaks; the ALT's proficiency in Japanese; the effort made by the ALT to understand and assist the JTE; and the lesson content.

Additional comments: Table 6 shows a breakdown of the 63 additional comments received, with 44% of those surveyed responding. The majority of these were informal comments. Additional subcategories referred to: a strong positive response to the ALT's teaching; requests for more visits; the motivational impact on JTEs and students; extracurricular involvement; the ALT's friendly approach and smile; and a negative reaction to the ALT's use of Japanese.

Discussion

Strong points

The most substantial subcategory referred to the ALT's teaching strategies, in particular clear and slow pronunciation of English pitched at the students' vocabulary level. Interaction with students was commended, as was the use of gestures, realia, and "exciting" self-introductions. In essence, these responses constitute a favourable reaction to Western-style teaching in general, which, according to Ryan (1993) typically attempts to foster enthusiasm and motivation via interesting content and presentation. The positive comments on previous teaching experience and student management skills (2.7%) may reflect approval for ALTs becoming involved in matters (discipline and student management) which the Ministry of Education specifically instructs ALTs are solely JTE responsibility. Of course, in the reality of the classroom, student management in the form of teacher voice variation, body language and facial expression tend to be part and parcel of effective teaching. However, JTEs who rely on the effective communication skills of ALTs for student management are abrogating their responsibilties in the team teaching situation.

The ALT's use of spoken and/or written Japanese as a teaching strategy in class was praised on 2.2% of the responses.

The second largest subcategory saw student response as the strong point of the ALT visit. It is not known how this was judged; some JTEs utilise formal evaluation sheets, but it is likely that others passed on their impressions from informal conversations with students, and even from their judgment of students' expressions and reactions in class. At any rate, 8% reported that students were more motivated as a result of the team-taught lesson; 7.6% reported that students enjoyed the lesson, and 7.6% reported that students understood or were understood by the ALT.

The third subcategory, some 12.5%, felt that the strong point of the visit was the ALT's personality and/or appearance, with friendly attitude at the top of the list. The ALT's smile was specifically cited by 1.3%. One JTE (0.4%) wrote about the ALT's eye and hair colour as the strong point of the visit, an interpretation of *internationalisation* as merely seeing something different, rather than involving cognitive or psychological processes.

The content of the team taught lesson was perceived by many (9.4%) as the strong point, in particular the role of ALT as cultural informant (5.4%).

Finally, a small proportion of respondents (5.4%) felt that the living, native English of the ALT constituted the strong point of the visit.

Weak points

Almost half (41%) of the responses in this category were not directly related to the team-taught lessons. The majority (23.1%) referred to difficulties with the one-shot system and the demands placed on ALTs, JTEs, and students to function effectively without knowing each other well, and being limited to a brief period of time. A few (5.1%) respondents referred to inadequate preparation before the visit. Many JTEs appear to be in a no-win position regarding preparation time for team-taught lessons, desiring more time for such and recognising its benefits, but unable to find time in busy daily schedules for sufficient team preparation. Adequate team preparation time has been repeatedly nominated by researchers and teachers as crucial to the success of team teaching (CLAIR, 1992a). It is clear that a commitment to successful team teaching must include a commitment to preparation time.

The behaviour of the ALT was cited by 7.8% of respondents as the weak point, and points to the necessity of ALTs increasing their awareness of behaviour appropriate to the teaching culture in Japan. Contributing factors to this are the fact that, by the very nature of the one-shot system, all eyes are on the foreigner in the staffroom. To complicate matters, the expectations, status, and role of teachers appear to differ significantly between Japan and Australia. The bind is that the "foreignness" of the ALT is part of the appeal—providing that no offense is caused. The one-shot ALT is in the unenviable position of having to find that balance in as many as 40 different schools, each of which may have a different view.

For 38.5% of the respondents, some aspect of the ALT's teaching constituted the weak point; 7.7% were unhappy that the ALT did not speak with all the students in the class, and 10.2% were unhappy with the interaction that did take place, citing unclear or non-American pronunciation, and the use of vocabulary or syntax that was difficult for students. Interestingly, whereas one respondent felt that not enough Japanese was used in class by the ALT, another felt that too much Japanese was used.

One respondent commented that the use of realia was ineffective, in contrast with seven respondents who considered the use of realia to be one of the strong points of the ALT's visit, and five respondents who suggested team taught lessons would be improved with more realia (see *Strong points*).

Several respondents (20.5%) referred to the student response as a weak point, in particular that slow learners lose confidence if they are bewildered by the ALT's English, and that in mixed ability classes some students find the ALT's English too easy, whereas for others it is too difficult. Pre-lesson briefing of the ALT might help prevent such problems; ALTs also need to develop the ability to adjust their English to the needs of different classes and students.

Suggestions for improvement

It is heartening to note that the number of responses in this section (69) and the number of *Strong points* (223) both far outnumbered the *Weak points* (39), indicating that, overall, JTEs took a positive view of the team teaching arrangements.

Over half of the responses (53.6%) suggested improvements to the ALT's classroom strategies. Of these, the majority wanted more interaction with more students, a demand which may be difficult to implement, given the class sizes of 35 and above at the junior high school level. It may be useful for ALTs to learn strategies for working with small groups within classes. In addition to meeting JTE expectations, this would have the added effect of personalising the intercultural contact in the classroom. Even if small group work is not possible, the ALT's approach to working with large classes will benefit from a heightened awareness of the need for more interaction.

As mentioned above, more realia was desired, as was more cultural information, and more advice and/or correction to students and JTEs. However, one respondent suggested that the ALT speak Japanese during lesson breaks and lunch times, reflecting a view of English not as a communicative tool but as a *school subject* without practical application. Furthermore, this suggestion does not take into account that Japanese proficiency is not a deciding factor in selection of JET Program ALTs (Juppe, 1994).

Another concern is the suggestion of one respondent that the ALT try not to speak with an Australian accent. This sort of comment shows a lack of understanding and awareness of different English variations and dialects; it is potentially part of the role of the ALT to teach about these differences, and to create a climate of understanding, acceptance, and awareness of the varieties of English spoken in the world today. *Internationalisation* must be interpreted as more than the ability to comprehend "standard" North American English. With English fast becoming the international language of mediation between countries with different first languages, Japan's English speakers will be dealing with other EFL speakers, particularly in the Asia-Pacific. Becoming accustomed to many varieties of English is thus extremely important.

Improvements to the one-shot system, in particular requesting a greater number of visits to each school throughout the year, were suggested by 21.7% of respondents. In addition, 13% suggested that there be more time for pre-lesson discussion between ALTs and JTEs. It would appear that for the team teaching model to succeed, particularly with one-shots, the preparation for ALT visits must be absorbed by more than the English faculty, perhaps by other staff relieving English teachers of some duties to enable them to attend planning discussions with the ALT. An equal number of respondents suggested more careful separate preparation by both ALTs and JTEs. These comments generally referred to increasing the awareness of the role of the team teaching partner, suggesting that ALTs become more familiar with word lists of each year level, and with the Japanese education system in general, and that JTEs prepare students with pre-communicative activities in readiness for the ALT visit.

What impressed the students the most

It should be noted that as these evaluation forms were compiled by JTEs, it is impossible to know how and to what extent student reactions were gauged.

The majority (23.3%) referred to the ALT's teaching strategies, including the use of gestures and facial expression, the ALT's use of praise, and the active role students were required to play in lessons, features which the students may have been unaccustomed to. Six respondents (3.3%) were impressed with the ALT's use of Japanese during lessons, while 18.3% were impressed with the cultural information provided by the ALT, including the use of realia, the Australian accent, and visual aids used to teach about Australian culture.

The friendliness and/or enthusiasm of the ALT impressed 16.7%. Perhaps related to this, 15.6% cited being able to understand and make themselves understood by the ALT, clear acknowledgment of the impact on students of firsthand experience of English as more than a school subject, but as a real means of communication.

What impressed the teachers and administrators the most

This section refers not only to JTEs but also to non-English-teaching staff and school administrators, who on some occasions visited the team-taught lesson, but on others were able only to meet the ALT in the staffroom.

Again, the majority of responses referred to the ALT's teaching strategies, in particular the ALT's knowledge of language teaching methodology, and ability to make lessons humourous and/or relaxing for students. Two respondents cited the ALT's use of Japanese as an impressive teaching strategy; in contrast, one respondent cited the lack of translation into Japanese as the strong point. Similarly, one respondent was impressed by the use of "Australian English" but another was impressed by the use of "standard English".

A substantial number of respondents (35.8%)were impressed with the ALT's personality and/or appearance, with 4.1% specifically citing the ALT's smile. The cooperativeness, flexibility, and friendly approach of the ALT are clearly important for staff who have little opportunity to get to know the ALT and, operating within the time constraints of the one-shot system, must still develop some limited degree of rapport with the school for the team teaching exercise.

The cultural information offered by ALTs was considered the highlight by 6.8% of respondents, reinforcing the response by students and JTEs.

Additional comments

The majority of these (38.1%) were informal, thanking the ALT, wishing him/her well, looking forward to the next visit. Of the more formal responses, 27% were a positive response to the team-taught lessons, including one respondent with a positive response and one with a negative response to the ALT's use of Japanese.

Finally, 17.5% requested more visits by the ALT, and 6.3% of the additional comments referred to extracurricular activities either undertaken by or suggested for the ALT. This may imply a desire for ALTs to become part of the school culture and participate in more than classroom lessons, just like JTEs.

Conclusions

The most striking finding is the importance of the ALT's personality in the team teaching situation. Of course, this is particularly important in the one-shot system, where motivation of students seems to be the primary result. A friendly, encouraging ALT is thus vital for students and for putting JTEs at ease. It should be noted, however, that this demand puts a great deal of pressure on ALTs to be *genki* (lively or outgoing) at all times; to maintain a smile, no matter what happens; to adapt to and accept any situation, no matter how demeaning. Such an expectation shows the need for further education and the development of increased awareness in the area of *internationalisation*, which stresses common humanity as well as the understanding of cultural differences. Thus, it is vital that ALTs consider the teaching of this sort of understanding an important part of their work, while maintaining a tolerant attitude and understanding of the need for an increase in this sort of awareness by Japanese students. The result will be true understanding of other peoples and a more genuine *internationalisation*.

Widespread praise for the cultural informant role of the ALT comes contrary to the expectation of researchers (Cominos, 1992; Juppe, 1993) that this aspect of team teaching should these days be receiving less attention. The emphasis placed on previous teaching experience and classroom skills, supporting an earlier finding by Kawamura and Sloss (1992), gives food for thought to the Ministry of Education, which shows a clear preference for recent college graduates over more experienced applicants (Leonard, 1994). These factors indicate a need for the Ministry of Education to consult closely with JTEs to re-evaluate, and possibly reformulate, team teaching aims and objectives. Until such consultation, the Ministry of Education's selection criteria of ALTs are in danger of becoming an obstruction to the success of actual classroom teaching.

The variety of responses supports the widespread intuitive claim that ALTs must be extremely flexible, as different schools, and different teachers within each school, have widely varying expectations about the role of the ALT. This has been found to be particularly true for the use of Japanese, the use of realia in lessons, and the nature of the English used in class. The use of Japanese is a particularly thorny issue in the team teaching situation. At present, JET Program ALTs are hired regardless of their Japanese ability (Juppe, 1994). While this may make life difficult for them in general, and is certainly a barrier to integration of the ALT into the school as a whole, in the classroom it encourages the use of English for genuine communication. If ALTs use a significant amount of Japanese in the team teaching class their role is reduced to one of cultural informant. The present study does emphasise the importance of this role, but it also indicates the strong impact on both students and staff made by communication with the ALT in English.

It is of paramount importance that JTEs make quite clear to ALTs exactly what their individual expectations are, so that ALTs may adjust to the differing needs of specific situations. ALTs must not assume that each JTE wants the same style of teaching; JTEs must not assume that

ALTs know precisely what is expected of them in terms of behaviour and classroom role.

This study has highlighted the need for better training of ALTs before they begin their assignments about the Japanese educational system; the need for the building of awareness and tolerance of the different varieties of English and their cultures, and other aspects of the work of ALTs. Clear communication and friendly, flexible approaches from both ALTs and JTEs will foster successful team teaching and thus, it is hoped, better serve the foreign language needs of students.

Wendy Scholefield currently lectures in second language acquisition at Charles Sturt University, Australia. She was a 1993 JALT Research Scholar, and worked as a JET Program ALT for 2 years, after teaching language to primary, secondary and adult learners in Australia.

Notes

1. This research project was conducted with the support of a 1993 JALT Research Scholarship Grant.
2. The term ALT (Assistant Language Teacher), used by the Ministry of Education, is used throughout this paper rather than the more commonly heard term Assistant English Teacher (AET). ALT refers all those who assist in foreign language classes, even though most, if not all, ALTs teach English.
3. Akita Prefectural Odate Homei Senior High School, 1992; Gifu Prefectural Mashita Minami Senior High School, 1992; Kanagawa Prefectural Ichigao Senior High School, 1992; Kumamoto Prefectural Kumamoto Kita Senoir High School; Okayama Prefecture Sozan Senior High School, 1992; Osaka Prefecture Suita Higashi Senior High School, 1992; Tottori Prefecture Yazu High School, 1992; and Aichi Prefectural Tempaku High School, 1994.

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Appendix: Sample of AET Evaluation Form*

AET EVALUATION FORM

Name of School:
Municipal K J.H.S.
Date of Visit: May 28, 1993

1. Strong points: (of the AET's teaching)
   The first, the color of her eyes and hair are different from us. It impressed on the students that they can talk with foreigners.
   The second, her brief self-introduction and talk about Australian goods is very wonderful. Especially, the students excited Australian dollars and Vegemite.
2. Weak points:
   In class, teaching only in English is important. It is very effective to translate difficult words in Japanese in a low voice. But at the lunch time, the students want her to use Japanese a little.The first, the color of her eyes and hair are different from us. It impressed on the students that they can talk with foreigners.
   The second, her brief self-introduction and talk about Australian goods is very wonderful. Especially, the students excited Australian dollars and Vegemite.
3. Suggestions for improvement:
   At the lunch time, I wish her to talk in English and Japanese, if possible. If so, she will have a much better time with the students and their homeroom teacher.
4. What impressed the students the most:
   Her cheerful personality
   Australian strange food: Vegemite
5. What impressed the teachers and administrators most:
   Her pleasing personality
   Her cooperative attitude
6. Additional comments:
   Thank you very much for your visit. Our students and I had a very cheerful time with you. Especially, Vegemite was very delicous, I think. Please bring Australian money and Vegemite at the next visit. Because the students with Ms. O… will be interested in them.

* Note: This form is reproduced unchanged from the original.

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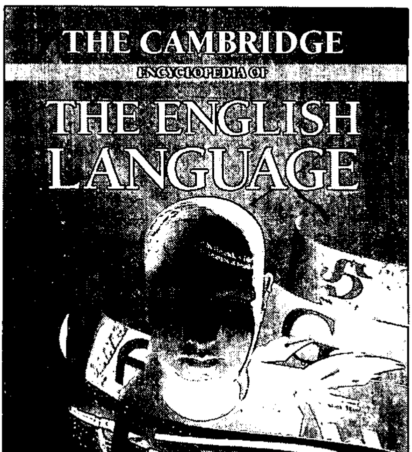

5つの特色

- 定評あるDavid Crystal教授による画期的最新百科事典。
- 全世界の英語の歴史・構造・用法などを中心に、英語の全領域に亘って広範な知識を提供。
- 専門技術用語や複雑な概念の解説は、特に簡潔・平明な記述になるよう配慮しています。
- 写真・イラスト・カラー囲み記事・図表・地図を多数使用し、ビジュアルで多彩な紙面を心がけています。
- 本文に付随する写真、広告記事、諷刺漫画、引用語句、切抜き記事、詩などは、見ても読んでも楽しく、新鮮でユーモラスな内容のものを掲載しています。

【収録内容】 英語史／文法・発音・綴り／口語体と文語体／地域的・社会的多様性―アクセントと方言／新語・隠語・俗語・常套句／専門用語／英語の語彙の膨大な範囲と創造性／文学用語／ユーモア英語／英語学習／世界語としての英語／英語の未来

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Do EFL Learners Make Instrumental Inferences when Reading? Some Evidence from Implicit Memory Tests

Suzanne Collins
Hidetsugu Tajika
Aichi University of Education

Initial studies with second language learners, employing elaborative inferencing tasks, appear to contradict some ideas about the usefulness of schema theory for teaching reading to students of English as a foreign language. Learning instructions designed to activate instrumental inferencing in single sentence contexts may have a negative effect on recall, suggesting that they may disrupt processing during initial contact with the text.

精緻化推論のタスクを使った、第二言語学習者の研究を行ったところ、外国語として英語を学ぶ学生に読解を教える際のスキーマ理論の有用性の主張とは矛盾した結果が出た。一文だけの文脈では道具的推論を活性化させるための指示は、記憶に否定的な影響を与えるかもしれない。これは、こうした指示が、テクストとの接触の初期段階における処理の妨害になるかもしれないということを示している。

Though there is some disagreement on the various versions of schema theory on offer, the theory itself has been influential in the methodology of teaching reading both to native and non-native speakers. Schema are produced by drawing inferences from the text and relating text-based information to information the reader already has, based on knowledge or experience.

In studies of elaborative inferences, i.e. those which relate information in the text to information in memory, researchers have used a variety of techniques to find support for schema theory (Graesser and Clark, 1985). Whitney and Williams-Whitney (1990) focused on research techniques which accommodated evidence that elaborative inferences are affected by contextual variables, and also demonstrated how subjects use elaborative inferences. Whitney and Williams-Whitney (1990) and Fincher-Kiefer (1994) examined whether readers infer instruments implied by actions in short texts and single sentence contexts, while Whitney and Williams-Whitney also used implicit memory tests as an activation measure to examine the occurrence of instrumental inferences. Implicit memory tests are those in which performance is measured in the absence of conscious recollection (Graf and Schacter, 1985), such as a constrained word stem completion test. For example, Whitney and Williams-Whitney told subjects to read a series of sentences such as *The woman stirred her coffee* and then to take a constrained word stem completion test generated from the target instruments (e.g. sp—). When indirect priming effects appear in the constrained word stem completion test, as is indicated when subjects generate target instruments more frequently than the baseline level, one would expect that they draw instrumental inferences while reading. Indirect priming effects can be obtained as a result of lexical access to target instruments.

Levels of Mental Representation

According to Fincher-Kiefer (1994), indirect tests may better reflect text processes occurring at multiple levels of representation, following the models developed by Johnson-Laird (1983); Just and Carpenter (1987); Kintsch (1988), and Perfetti (1989). In brief, these models suggest that readers construct several levels of mental representation as they read. At the first level of representation, thought to be the result of automatic lexical and syntactic processes, the explicit words of the text are represented. This level is called "surface memory." The second level, or propositional representation ("text-based"), is the result of semantic analysis. This level is obligatory during the reading process as it provides meaning to the reader. Finally, the third level, or situation model, is the level at which inferences are made, and is thought to be the site of the integration of individual sentences with an individual's prior knowledge. This level thus makes use of extra-textual information. The situation model provides the reader with an interpretation of the text. The absence or disruption of this model results in shallow comprehension.

Fincher-Kiefer cites the important point made by Lucas, Tanenhaus, and Carlson (1990) that certain test tasks may direct the reader to one level of representation, but other tasks may require a different level of representation. "Responses to indirect tests should reflect information encoded at all levels of representation, including the abstract representation of the situation model" (Fincher-Kiefer, 1994, p. 3).

A study by Tajika and Taniguchi (1995), which sought to confirm the occurrence of instrumental inferences using implicit memory tests, drew on both the research techniques proposed by Whitney and Williams-Whitney (1990) and the model of multiple levels of representation. Tajika and Taniguchi (1995) used a three-way research paradigm on three groups of matched subjects. They examined the effect of learning instruction (either *memorizing sentences, imaging situations,* or *generating instruments*); administered a word stem completion test consisting of related and unrelated words; and, finally, gave each group either a cued recall or a free recall test. Results showed a) a significant amount of priming in each group; b) an interaction between learning instruction and relatedness of words; and c) superior performance in the cued recall test. From these data, it is suggested that subjects draw instrumental inferences during reading.

Implications for Second Language Learning

The above research findings indicate that native-speaker subjects instructed to generate an image associated with a sentence will have greater access to related target lexis and to accurate recall of the sentence. If this is so, then the effect of a particular learning instruction (in this case "generate an instrument associated with the sentence") should be to enhance encoding processes, resulting in visual, situational and propositional representations of the material during reading.

This multiple representation should in turn give rise to greater accuracy and superior performance in sentence recall. However, this is not always the case. Paris and Lindauer (1976) suggested that weaker readers, such as children in lower elementary grades, were poor at making elaborative inferences of this kind. Is this also true of second language learners? At what point in second language acquisition do learners begin to make such instrumental inferences? Will learning instructions make a difference in recall? Researching these areas with EFL learners may yield insights about:

i) knowledge representation in L1 and L2 (reader's knowledge);

ii) some effects of particular learning instructions and questioning techniques in the EFL classroom (reader's strategy);

iii) the comprehension of texts and the recall of lexis and sentence structures;

iv) the place of prior knowledge in interpreting the text; and

v) the interaction between the points given above.

Also studies of concept mediation in bilingual subjects (Dufour and Kroll, 1995, p.168) showed that more fluent individuals can effectively access lexical and conceptual connections between their two languages, and are able to conceptually mediate the second language, but less fluent individuals are not. If less fluent learners cannot access conceptual information directly from the second language, as an inferencing task demands, then their responses to such tasks may be slow and prone to error, as they attempt to resort to their first language for concept mediation.

Constraints

There are several constraints:

a) Studies to date on elaborative inferencing such as Tajika and Taniguchi (1995) were conducted with native speaker readers. As yet, to our knowledge no data have been gathered from non-native speakers in a similar experimental paradigm.

b) The reading materials used are single sentences. Though there are data describing the effect of instrumental inferencing in longer discourse, the findings are not always clear (see McKoon and Ratcliff, 1992, for a useful review).

c) The above experiments are confined to examining simple propositional sentences which give rise to instrumental inferences. In more detailed or complex propositional sentences, particularly in longer discourse, other kinds of inferences may be drawn, for example global and predictive inferences.

d) In any research conducted on second language learners, there will be difficulties in controlling for variables such as general and cultural knowledge, and the availability of lexical items (for example, whether or not they have been previously taught to the subjects).

With the above constraints in mind, it was decided to extend the research paradigm devised by Tajika and Taniguchi (1995) for native-speaker subjects to a similar group of non-native speaker subjects (college students): English majors studying English as a foreign language.

Aims

The goals of this research were:

1. To acquire data on the effects of learning instruction on mental representation;

2. To examine the processing of information, inferencing and recall as evidenced in the reading skills of second language learners; and
3. To enable a comparison to be made between native speakers and second language learners in the above areas.

Method

Design

The method used was a simplified version of 3 x 2 x 2 mixed factorial design used by Tajika and Taniguchi (1995). The first factor was learning instruction, consisting of three levels: control, image and generation. The second factor was the recall test, consisting of two levels, cued recall and free recall. The third factor was relatedness of words used in a word stem completion test, which consisted of two levels, related and unrelated. While the first and second conditions were manipulated between subjects, the third condition was varied within subjects.

The two major points of difference between Tajika and Taniguchi (1995) and the present experiment were in the omission of the "image" level from the design, so that there remained only the "generation" and control groups; and in the words used for the word-stem completion test, which were *all* instruments from the sentences, and which themselves contained no unrelated words. Scoring of relatedness, then, was on whether subjects themselves used related or unrelated words to complete word-stems.

Subjects

Thirty students at Aichi University of Education participated in the experiment on a voluntary basis. Ten were assigned to each of three groups, A, B and C. Those in Groups A and B were at the end of their freshman year, and had received regular weekly instruction in English for the whole year. Their level was approximately that of the Cambridge First Certificate, though proficiency varied across macro skills. Subjects in Group C, who provided baseline data, were in their sophomore year, but their English level may not have been significantly different from that of the freshmen students.

Materials

The materials used were the same 16 sentences used by Tajika and Taniguchi (1995), some of which were taken from Dosher and Corbett (1982). For further details on the selection of these sentences, see Tajika and Taniguchi (1995, p. 95). The vocabulary in both the sentences and the instruments was simple, within the grasp of a low-intermediate level learner, and was assumed to be within the lexicon of the subjects (see Appendix).

The instructions were delivered in simple English, and the term "instrument" was illustrated to the "generate" group, Group A, prior to the experiment.

Procedure

Each group was given a period of study, during which the test group, Group A, was required to read the 16 sentences, one by one, and *generate an instrument* as they read. For example, two of the sentences were *Yasuko stirred the coffee* and *Haruko took a picture of the scene.* The instruments of these sentences are *spoon* and *camera* respectively. They were given about 25 seconds for each sentence. Group B, the control group, were instructed merely to *read and memorize* the sentences. Again, they were allowed 25 seconds for each sentence.

After this, both groups first took the word-stem completion test. They were told that this was separate from the previous phase. The subjects were instructed to complete each word from the initial letters, according to the number of blank spaces given. In longer words, the first two letters were used. The words were selected as the instruments of the sentences by procedures set out in Tajika and Taniguchi (1995). The subjects were allowed ten minutes.

Groups A and B were then further divided, with 5 subjects in A1, A2, B1 and B2. Groups A1 and B1 were given a free recall test and required to write out the sentences they remembered on a blank sheet of paper, while A2 and B2 were given the instruments printed on the paper they received as cues. The presentation order of each cue matched that of the sentences from the study phase. The subjects were told to use the cues to help them recall the sentences. Subjects in both cued and free recall groups were allowed 15 minutes.

Group C provided the baseline data for the word-stem completion test, using instruments from the sentences (see Appendix for sentences) in a free association test.

Results

The results obtained supported some of the findings of Tajika and Taniguchi (1995), Whitney and Williams-Whitney (1990), and Fincher-Kiefer (1994) for native speakers, but indicated differences of processing for second language subjects.

Priming effects: Word stem completion test

In the word-stem completion test, requiring subjects to complete the words by recalling the instrumental inferences of the sentences they had read, the "generation" group scored 3.55% against the control subjects' 0.5% (baseline = 1.3%). It is worth noting that while only a minimal difference may be seen between the baseline and control groups, both the control and the experimental subjects performed significantly better than the baseline in similar studies, including Tajika and Taniguchi (1995), where significant priming effects were found in each of the three learning instruction groups, with the generation group scoring highest. In the present study, a small priming effect was seen only in the generation group.

Free recall and cued recall tests

In the sentence recall test each correctly reproduced word was scored as two. Where an incorrect word was grammatically of the same group as the target word, such as a definite article substituted for an indefinite article, or one preposition (e.g. "on") substituted for another ("at"), one point was allowed. The use of the present tense of a correct verb, rather than, say, the past tense, for example "stirs" rather than "stirred", caused the deduction of one point, as did phonetic interference in misspelling a word, for example "rocked" for "locked," where the sense was otherwise obvious. The scoring was done individually by two raters. Agreement was 94%. Disagreements were settled in conference between the raters. Table 1 shows the proportions of correct recall for each group.

A two-way ANOVA was conducted, the first level being learning condition (generation vs. control), the second being recall test (free vs. cued). Results indicated there were significant main effects for condition [$F(1, 16) = 16.67$, $p<.01$] and recall test [$F(1, 16) = 33.44$, $p<.01$].

Contrary to Tajika and Taniguchi (1995), the control group performed better than the generation group, although the standard deviation of the control group was quite large. However, the cued recall group performed better than the free recall group for both learning condition groups, suggesting that a significant amount of priming had been obtained. There was no interaction between condition and recall test ($F < 1$).

Discussion

It is not obvious why the control group performed so much worse on the word stem completion test. It may well be that a larger number of subjects would have yielded a different effect in some of the results obtained, exhibiting clearer patterns than in the present sample.

Table 1: Sentences Recalled as a Function of Learning Instruction Condition and Recall Test Type

Learning Instruction		
Recall test	Control	Generation
Cued recall	121.6	91.6
Free recall	101.8	62.4

(n = 144)

These results suggest that there is some support for the proposal that instrumental inferences are made during reading for second language learners as well as native speakers. However, these inferences were only in evidence when subjects in the experimental group performed a word stem completion task. The generation of instrumental inferences did not help subjects in the free recall of sentences, unless they were cued, in which case, there was a significant priming effect. Subjects in the control group showed superior recall for sentences in both cued and free recall tests.

There appears to be an effect of learning instruction on mental representation, with effects differing according to the learning goal. For example, the instruction to generate an instrument may have a positive result when the task is to recall vocabulary, but is a distraction when the task is to memorize sentences accurately, as here it seems to obstruct propositional representation, which is in any case subject to rapid decay (McNamara, 1994).

Usually, material may be encoded in three ways—verbally, pictorially, and propositionally. One might expect visual representation yielding inference of the instrument to be more easily accessed and readily recalled than propositions such as sentence structure. (Lucas, Tanenhaus, and Carlson, 1990; Johnson-Laird and Stevenson, 1970).

The control group's superior performance suggests that where the L2 is being used, simple memorization of each sentence produces greater accuracy of recall. Some reasons for this may be:

a) For subjects at the lower end of the proficiency scale the instruction to generate an image may interfere with recall. Here it should be noted that the learning style of these subjects has been developed in an environment where rote learning is the norm. This may have affected processing.

b) Mental representation is not visual, but remains on the propositional level. For some Ss it may be more difficult to imagine something in the L2 than in the L1 (see Stevick, 1986, p. 4 for a comment).

In the dual coding approach developed by Paivio (1986), two types of representation were suggested: verbal and pictorial. When study materials are processed by dual codes, they are stored more strongly and permanently. Representation by dual codes thus implies imagery representation. Imaging study materials is dependent on familiarity with the materials. Thus, when study materials are presented as English sentences, it is harder for Japanese students to image using dual codes. In this model, students with high verbal ability will process each sentence using dual codes, but those low in verbal ability use mainly a verbal code.

Other reasons for the control group's superior performance may be:

c) It may in fact take longer than the time allocated for L2 subjects to generate an instrument, whereas for many L1 subjects, the generation is in most cases automatic. For this reason, as well as those cited in b) above, it may well be that the allotted 15 minutes was insufficient for Japanese learners with low L2 reading proficiency.

d) A "second-language effect" was observed in the mental representation of the control group, who are not accessing semantic levels while they carry out the task of reading and memorizing the sentences.

e) The processing of information takes a different form in the L2, so that the model of multiple levels of representation needs to be modified in some way. It is not known whether lexicons are organized and accessed differently in L2 readers. The similarity to, or remoteness from, the L1 to the language being processed may make a difference.

f) Because of the grammatical, lexical, and phonetic inaccuracies resulting from the use of the L1, the scoring procedure biases results.

Note, too, that the levels of English language proficiency in these learners were fairly generalized. Any particular group of Japanese students in university classes displays a wide range of proficiency. Further, there may be little difference in levels of English skills between freshmen and sophomores, possibly explaining some of the results.

Implications for EFL classroom methodology

Methodological assumptions to be examined include:

1. Encouraging learners to engage in organizational tasks with the text as an aid to storage in long term memory.
2. Encouraging learners to generate images or situations associated with vocabulary, sentences or a text during reading.

Stevick (1986) and others have suggested that the processing afforded by multiple levels of representation during sentence encoding aids recall. According to this view, involving subjects in more intensive processing of information, longer periods of engagement with the text, and more complex organizational tasks will ensure processing in long-term memory.

This strategy has been successful for L1 readers, and to date it has been assumed to be available to all L2 speakers. The present findings suggest that this may not hold true for some learners of a second language. In particular, it might not always result in greater accuracy of recall of the propositional text-base. The learning instruction and task type may have significant positive or negative effects on storage and retrieval of information.

Results in the word stem completion task seem to corroborate the usefulness of the learning instruction to generate an instrument when the goal is acquisition of vocabulary. In light of the above results, recent trends to use mnemonic techniques for the memorization of vocabulary may be viable for at least some L2 learners. Actively generating an instrumental inference seems to involve encoding on multiple levels of representation for lexical targets (c.f. Ellis, 1995)

If either of the above assumptions is questionable, the types of comprehension questions and text-based activities frequently required of students in popular ELT publications, and inspired by learning techniques and memorizing strategies found to be successful for native speakers, may not always achieve their stated aim for use with lower to middle proficiency learners of a second language.

Conclusion

Subjects who are not yet bilingual may need to process sentences automatically in the first phase of contact with a text. At this stage, learning instructions designed to encourage elaborative inferences may block some levels of processing, as is suggested by poor results in sentence recall tasks.

Generally, native speaker subjects will encode sentences in various ways; McNamara (1994) suggests that some material will elicit visual, some situational and some propositional representation. However, it remains unclear whether this is dependent on the task, the learner's cognitive style, content, sentence structure, or discourse (see Fincher-Kiefer, 1994). The predisposition of Japanese learners of an L2 towards rote learning may result in automatically encoding sentences at the propositional level.

Clearly the application of this research to classroom methodology may be quite limited. It may be confined to students of lower proficiency, and to comprehension and instrumental inferences in single sentence contexts. Further studies with second language learners are needed. As Grabe (1995) points out, in his discussion of the dilemmas posed by second language reading development, "... we need to examine [which] research and instrumental studies from L1 reading contexts are *not* useful to L2 reading contexts and why" (p. 5).

In particular, this research may serve as a useful reminder that native-speaker data which are seen to support a particular model, theory, or strategy for the teaching of reading, cannot always be depended upon to support the use of the same strategies in teaching reading to second language learners.

On this point, the above findings support Grabe's (1995) statement that:

> many L2 reading researchers have assumed that reading in different languages is nearly the same, calling on the same processing requirements. They have also assumed that reading skills in the L1 should transfer readily from the L1 to the L2. However, it is now evident that L1 reading skills do not automatically transfer to the L2 context, nor do reading processes in different languages appear to be all the same, particularly in terms of their effects upon beginning L2 reading students. (p. 3)

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Appendix: Sentences Used in Study

Yasuko stirred the coffee.
Haruko took a picture of the scene
Akira wrote the answer on the blackboard.
The president sat at the desk.
A baseball player hit a home run.
The car driver checked the street location.
Hanako cut an apple.
Sayuri hit a tennis ball.
Hideo cut the articles out of the newspapaer.
Yuki locked the door.
Yoshiko painted a picture.
Kumiko wrote a letter.
Aki lit a cigarette.
The policeman shot the thief.
Keiko ate her rice.
Tomoko turned on the light.

Function and Structure of Academic English

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The language of academic English is described with a focus on the academic paper or research report. It is maintained that the academic paper or research report opens a window of current relevance on a phenomenon or topic, establishing a generic perspective that pressures the use of present tense, complex nominal expressions, and passive voice.

本稿は、高等教育で使われる英語を、論文、研究報告を中心に分析したもので、論文や研究報告は、特定の現象や話題の現時点での意義を問題とし、一般的な視点を確立しようとするために、現在形、複雑な名詞句を用いた表現、受動態が多様されると主張される。

Every domain in which language is employed, from home to market to university to workplace, has different rules of appropriate and correct usage. These domain-appropriate rules have evolved in response to the purposes which language fulfills in a given domain and the types of discourse in which language users of that domain engage, whether dinnertime chat, bargaining for lower prices, putting forth a logical argument, or writing a sales letter.

Within the academic domain, there are special rules of appropriate language use in lectures, discussions, and office talk. Though they are often neither explicit nor conscious, those who do not know these rules or who wittingly or unwittingly break them risk being unable to participate fully and successfully in academic culture. Just as for the spoken forms of communication in academic society, the written forms have their own protocols that have evolved to express particular meanings and forms of discourse. Contrary to popular belief, "there is not in fact only one correct form of the grammar of a language but rather a range of options useful for different purposes and appropriate in different situations" (Pennington, 1995, vi).

In what follows, the specialized grammar of academic discourse is examined in the three areas of verb tenses, complex nouns, and passive voice, particularly as realized in the research paper. Through an examination of these three areas, one can gain an understanding of the logic of academic writing which elucidates some aspects of its form as well. The academic paper is described as opening a window of current relevance on a phenomenon or topic within which the relationships between complex ideas are presented in a direct, informationally dense form, and the author is removed from view.

The Relationship of Function and Structure in Academic Discourse

A discussion of the relationship of function and structure in academic discourse might logically begin with examination of the nature of one of its most highly specialized exponents, the research paper. An academic research paper has the specific function of reporting information and establishing it as reliable, valid, and worthwhile—i.e., as useful or important in advancing a field of study. As Swales (1990) observes, research articles "are rarely simple narratives of investigations. Instead, they are complexly distanced reconstructions of research activities" (p. 175). Characteristically, in research writing and other types of academic writing, and to some degree academic discourse in general, the author seeks to project objectivity, logic, and authoritativeness by establishing a "generic perspective" on the information. The perspective of an academic paper is "generic" in the sense of being temporally and personally detached or non-specific, that is, timeless and impersonal.

An academic paper can be seen as establishing a "discourse window" within which ideas are presented. This window can be thought of as bringing selected information into the immediate context of the paper, in the process setting and delimiting the reader's schema, and at the same time establishing a view that is relatively distant and detached from the writer. In this window, information is highlighted for the knowledgeable reader by means of a simple system of tenses linking highly complex noun phrases which express the specialized meanings of a given field, and by use of the passive voice to enhance objectivity.

Establishing the Discourse Frame Through Verb Tenses

The predominance of present tense in academic writing

A research paper is generally for the purpose of describing or showing results and establishing an argument or a theoretical position (Swales, 1990). These are functions which do not require use of tenses to the same degree or in the same way as talking about events in chronological sequence (e.g., in a story or narrative). Increasingly, the main tense used in most academic writing—and many other genres of English writing as well, including poetry—is the simple present tense. In these *present tense genres*, which establish a context of the here-and-now or the "timeless" present, other tenses function to organize and express ideas by their contrast and interplay with the simple present tense (Pennington, 1988).

The "discourse window" within which ideas are presented in an academic paper is thus not generally a *time frame* for talking about events and the order in which they occur. Rather, it is more of a *logical frame* or *space* for developing ideas and presenting information from a certain perspective or point of view. The logical relationships established between ideas in an academic paper involve reasoning and argument development, and include identifying which ideas form the basis or background for other ideas and which ideas follow in a logical progression from others.

The flow of ideas in an academic paper is for the most part a *logical*, not a *chronological*, flow in which the focus of discussion is foregrounded and highlighted by presenting it in a present tense "window of current relevance." Less focal ideas may be presented in the past tense as outside the focal perspective (Riddle, 1986). The tenses thus function in academic writing primarily to establish the importance and the relevance of different pieces of information to the argument or theoretical point being advanced. This is the reason that the simple present tense dominates even in describing past research, as in a literature review or discussion of results. By using the present tense, the author signifies to the reader that the research reported is considered to be of immediate relevance to establishing the argument or theoretical focus.

Past tense as a backgrounding device

It would not, however, be accurate to say that the past tense never occurs in an academic paper. It may in fact occur in presentation of past research in a literature review or discussion of results section. If the author's purpose is to establish a clear break between older and newer research traditions, the contrast of past and present tenses may help to do this. For example, in a literature review, one paragraph or group of paragraphs may review in the past tense a group of studies the author wishes to present as "traditional," no longer relevant, or less relevant than another group reviewed in the present tense. Or, an author may wish to contrast an older or less effective methodology with a newer or more effective one by using the past tense to de-emphasize the relevance of the former methodology and the present tense to highlight the relevance of the latter methodology.

The past tense sometimes occurs in the method or procedures section of a research paper, as when the author describes the procedures used for finding subjects or for other aspects of conducting the research, such as the way in which a questionnaire or experimental protocol was administered. The past tense is also used in describing the results of research, but generally only where it is necessary to establish a definite time or chronological order, e.g., in time series designs, historical studies, or reports of detailed observations of sequential human behavior in psychology or ethnographic studies.

As a specific example of these differential tendencies of tense usage in academic writing, Swales (1990, pp. 135ff) summarizes research describing the occurrence of tenses in one scientific journal. This research shows that past tense occurs in the science articles primarily in the methods and results sections rather than in the more abstract introduction and discussion sections, precisely where the present tense tends to occur.

The occurrence of other tenses in academic writing

While the past tense signifies a definite break with a current frame of reference, the present perfect tense establishes a *relationship* with the current frame of reference. The present perfect tense is therefore commonly used in a literature review or discussion section to link one finding or idea with another and to make a logical transition from one to the other, as in:

(1) While previous studies *have suggested* that . . . , the present investigation *demonstrates* a different effect.

In addition to the logical frame of a report of research, the academic paper establishes a *physical frame* and a *spatial flow* of ideas, i.e., from the beginning to the end of the paper. An author may employ a tense shift to open or to close the frame of the paper or its individual sections. For example, the author may open or close the introductory section of a paper by presenting a view of the structure or content of the report to come, using *will*, as in:

(2a) In what follows, it *will be shown* that . . .

(2b) In the first section of this report, background to the investigation *will be presented.*

However, the pressure to favor a "timeless" concept as the frame of an academic paper is so strong that the present tense is increasingly the verb form of choice:

(3a) In what follows, it *is shown* that . . .

(3b) In the first section of this report, background to the investigation *is presented.*

Authors often use the present perfect tense to open a new frame by relating it to the information presented in the previous frame. Thus, a discussion or conclusion section may begin:

(4) In the preceding discussion, it *has been shown* that . . .

Here, the present perfect tense links sections or subsections of the paper to make a logical transition between them.

Will has a similar usage in linking the closing of one frame with the opening of the next, as in:

(5) In the next section, it *will be demonstrated* that . . .

Here again, though, the pressure seems increasingly to favor present tense usage, as in:

(6) In the next section, it *is demonstrated* that . . .

Will can also be used in a research report for prediction of behavior, e.g., in statements of hypotheses or in discussion or conclusion sections drawing implications for future studies or for the future state of the phenomenon or population studied. However, hypotheses are more often than not stated in the present tense; and predictions and implications, too, tend to be couched in present tense language, such as:

(7a) Our findings *predict* a more regular and less diffuse pattern of behavior as the system *matures.*

(7b) This study *suggests* that the future is likely to be one in which a more vocal population *expresses* higher levels of dissatisfaction with the status quo.

A rule of thumb for tenses in academic writing

As a rule of thumb, when writing a research paper, the "default value" for verb inflection should be simple present tense, with the author deviating from this setting only when there is a logical need or reason to:

(a) show the time or the order of events,

(b) present information from different perspectives,

(c) contrast the relative importance of ideas, or

(d) make explicit the structure of the paper or the argument.

In short, uses of other tenses in academic writing are best made as conscious, reasoned decisions about departing from the "timeless" or schema of the simple present tense, which represents the simplest format for presenting relationships among complex ideas.

Developing Specialized Content Through Nouns

The complexity of the noun group in academic writing

Although most grammar books and most students and teachers of English place a strong focus on verbs and verb tenses, the complexity of academic writing resides far more in the noun group (nouns and noun phrases) than in the verb group (verbs and verb phrases). While the verb groups in academic writing tend to be of a simple structure, largely simple present tense, noun groups often are extremely complex. In the following typical example, everything preceding the verb *offer* is one noun group, and everything following this simple verb is another:

(8) The measured increases in the level of greenhouse gases *offer* increasing evidence of a global warming trend in the direction predicted by the model.

As this example illustrates, not only the structure but also the content and meaning of the noun group, which establish the topical focus and themes of the text, tend to be highly complex in comparison to the verb group in academic discourse. Whereas the verbs tend to be drawn from a relatively small set of reporting or relationship verbs (e.g., *be, appear, show, demonstrate, indicate, report*), the nouns of academic discourse are more extensive, with less transparent meanings.

In academic discourse, nouns tend to occur in combinations with prepositions and adjectives to make noun "stacks" and noun phrase clusters, as in:

(9a) global warming trend
ADJ ADJ NOUN

(9b) opportunity cost indicators
NOUN NOUN NOUN

(9c) (the measured increases) in[(the level) of (greenhouse gases)]
NOUN PHRASE NOUN PHRASE NOUN PHRASE

These stacked nouns, or noun clusters, embody the specialized and abstract meanings required in a particular field for precise and in-depth communication. Some of the complexity of academic discourse lies in the fact that the abstract nouns or parts of the noun group are frequently derived from other parts of speech, especially verbs. In (8), the following parts of the noun groups are in fact based on verbs:

measured (fr. verb *measure*)
increases, increasing (fr. verb *increase*)
warming (fr. verb/adjective *warm*)
predicted (fr. verb *predict*)

The nature of reference in academic discourse

Another type of complexity involves the degree of specificity or directness of reference in academic discourse. The nature of reference in academic texts can be seen in the use of *the* in complex noun phrases. As in all its uses, the definite article in academic discourse identifies a specific referent of the noun. In the illustrative sentence of (8) above, the initial *the* in *the measured increases in the level of greenhouse gases* implies that specific measurements are referred to, perhaps in an earlier section of the paper where these have been described. If the author were to write *measured increases* without a preceding *the*, the noun phrase would refer more generally and could not be pinned down to a specific referent, that is, to specific measurements. Similarly, whereas *the opportunity cost indicators* specifies a particular set of opportunity cost indicators, the phrase *opportunity cost indicators* makes less precise reference to such indicators. The difference is a subtle but important one having to do with whether specific facts or only a general area of information is being adduced in support of an argument.

A difficulty in academic writing (and other forms of English discourse) is that nouns often make reference to ideas not defined in the text or refer generally or abstractly to previous sections of text. In such cases, the referents of nouns must be inferred from the discourse context or from knowledge not represented. Thus, when an author mentions *opportunity cost indicators*, it may be with the intention of defining this concept in the text or with the assumption that the reader will already be familiar with the concept or can infer the meaning from context.

The various forms of nominal reference can be illustrated by several examples of a type which is common in academic discourse, *viz.*, where a noun preceded by *this* establishes a connection to a previous portion of text through relationships of generalization and description. For example, in the literature review section of a research paper or report, the paragraph following a review of key studies might begin in any of the following ways:

(10a) *This group of studies* is in indication that . . .

(10b) *As this literature* shows, . . .

(10c) *This review of the literature* offers an insight into the process of . . .

(10d) *These findings* make clear that . . .

(10e) *These early findings* have been superceded by more recent research showing that . . .

(10f) *As these wide-ranging results* make clear, . . .

(10g) *This inconsistency of results* suggests . . .

As we move down the list from (10a) to (10g), we are moving from more direct to more indirect forms of reference. Example (10a) generalizes on a concrete level, referring to the research reviewed as a *group of studies*, (10b) is a somewhat more general and abstract form of reference in which the studies reviewed are invoked as a collective or mass noun in the phrase *this literature*, and (10c) describes the previous text in a still more abstract way, in terms of its function, as a *review of the literature*.

Unlike (10a-c), (10d) extracts the information content of the previous text in referring to the results of the studies as *findings*. Examples (10e) and (10f) are different from preceding examples in adding an attributive adjective to the general noun used to refer to the studies. In doing so, the author slips in some additional information about the studies, referring back to them while at the same time advancing the content of the discourse. Use of an attributive adjective is a more compact way to add information to a discourse theme or topic than making a proposition in the form of a clause or whole sentence. It is also a way to both assert a point of view and to subtly bring the reader into that point of view, ostensibly in the act of referring to previous text.

In (10e) the author classifies the reviewed studies as *early findings* and so backgrounds them in comparison to some more recent findings. In (10f), the author indicates his/her perspective on the previous research as showing a diversity of results. Although this could be a positive or negative attribution, it is common in a literature review section to cast previous literature in a somewhat negative light, as a way to motivate the author's research. It is therefore likely that the author will make clear in the same paragraph that this comment is intended to indicate a shortcoming of the previous research.

In example (10g), the author makes a direct critical assertion about the quality of the previous research studies by describing them as inconsistent. Note that this evaluation is accomplished not through an adjective but through instantiation of *inconsistency* as a noun. Hence, the reader is required not only to recall the content of the literature review just provided but also to assent to the author's evaluation. Such a form of reference expresses highly complex meanings and relationships among ideas in a succint fashion that establishes clear topics, themes, and relationships.

Inherently singular and countable nouns in academic discourse

A subtle and surprisingly difficult aspect of noun usage in academic writing involves singular and plural. A main reason for this difficulty is the fact that a large number of nouns are inherently singular (i.e., "non-count" nouns) in some contexts but in others may occur in the singular or the plural (i.e., as "count" nouns). A prime example of this crossing of categories is the group of nouns which can refer to either (a) a concrete and differentiated "thing" (an object or a unit of some kind) or (b) some type of mass or undifferentiated substance (matter or material). Examples are *pie* and *cake*, which can both refer to concrete objects—*a pie/some pies, a cake/some cakes*—as well as to the undifferentiated substance of *pie* and *cake*, as in:

(11a) Which would you like, pie or cake?

(11b) I'll have cake, please.

Now the difficulty is that many nouns formerly considered inherently singular and uncountable have developed countable senses by a process of conventionalized ellipsis. This is a process in which a noun phrase becomes conventionally abbreviated to a simple noun. By this process, *a coffee* comes to stand for "a cup of coffee," and *two sugars* is understood as an abbreviated form of "two portions of sugar." When this happens, the noun which specifies the countable unit, that is, the container or measurable portion, must be understood and inferred from the context.

To compound the difficulty of interpretation related to ellipsis and the changing grammatical properties of English nouns, almost any noun can be used in a countable or differentiated sense to mean "a type of"—a usage that is particularly common in the discourse of specialized fields. For example, to the average person, *two beers* most likely refers to "two portions (pints, bottles, cans, mugs, glasses) of beer", while for the brewery owner or beer afficionado, *two beers* may equally well refer to "two types of beer" (such as two different brands or two different varieties such as stout and lager). To the non-specialist, many instances of plural nouns, such as *steels* or *Englishes*, may seem uninterpretable or incorrect. A mechanical or construction engineer, however, might speak of *steels* meaning "different types of steel" (e.g., as made from different proportions of carbon and iron), and a linguist might speak of *the Englishes of the world*, referring to different varieties of English. The latter is a good example of how changing times and circumstances, such as the spread of English around the globe, affect language—in the creation of new words and sometimes new grammatical possibilities as well.

Learning nouns as the specialized meanings of a field

A main difficulty in both interpreting (as reader) and constructing (as writer) academic discourse resides in the decoding and the encoding of complex noun phrases to express the specialized and abstract meanings current in a particular field (Halliday and Martin, 1993). On the "down" side, the forms and the usage of these nominal expressions can probably only be learned through extended experience and apprenticeship in a given field. On the "up" side, however, they are learned as part and parcel of the content and concepts of a field which a scholar will usually have chosen out of strong personal interest. Consequently, the usage of nouns in academic discourse is driven by intrinsic motivation to learn and to understand one's field ever more deeply, and to express that knowledge and understanding ever more precisely. In this way, the apprentice scholar expands the mental store of English nouns and acquires a more elaborate system of their usage in the service of more detailed and specialized communication.

Objectivizing Perspective with Passive Voice

The special character of the passive voice

In school, students of English learn that the passive construction is formed, based on a sentence in the active voice such as

(12) *John has eaten all the rest of the pie*.

in three steps:

(a) Invert the positions of the subject and object, so that what is logically the object (i.e., the receiver of the action) becomes the grammatical subject, while what is logically the subject (i.e., the doer of the action) moves to the position following the verb.

(b) Place *by* before the logical subject, now in position following the verb.

(c) Put the main verb in the form of the past participle and insert *be* as the main verb, making the latter verb the same tense as the former main verb.

Through this series of steps, a speaker of English may produce the passive voice sentence:

(13) *All the rest of the pie has been eaten by John.*

Students of English, both native and non-native speakers, may go to some trouble to learn to practice this three-step process to form passive constructions. Yet they may well wonder about the point of all this grammatical manipulation, given that a simpler active voice alternative is available. There is more to use of passives than this set of syntactic procedures. A clue to the fact that this set of instructions is not the whole story can be gained by noting that in the passive voice the *by*-phrase made of the logical subject is often omitted, as in:

(14) All the rest of the pie has been eaten.

The fact that a doer does not occur in many passive sentences suggests that they have a different meaning and purpose from active sentences, where the doer is the necessary grammatical subject (see Lock, 1995, for further discussion). In fact, the passive voice, which is common in academic writing, is the only or the most natural choice when an objective voice or perspective is wanted, as in:

(15) The chemicals were combined.
NOT The scientist/I combined the chemicals.

(16) It was determined that . . .
NOT I determined that . . .

The value of the passive voice in academic discourse

The difference between the active and the passive can be summarized, both literally and figuratively, as that between a "subjective" and an "objective" focus. The "object focus" which differentiates the passive from the active voice is realized in different ways and for different communicative purposes. Two broad types of motive exist for use of passive voice:

Thematization—To express a logical or natural focus by foregrounding the receiver or the result of an action;

Avoidance—To make a statement without mentioning the logical subject or doer.

Thematization of the logical object of the verb to become the grammatical subject of the sentence foregrounds this element by placing it at the beginning of the sentence. The purpose of thematization, a common reason for using the passive voice in academic discourse, is to highlight or focus on:

(a) the receiver of an action,

(b) the result of an action, or

(c) outcomes and consequences more generally.

The following are examples of thematization where the receiver (which may be a thing or a person), the result of an action, or outcomes and consequences more generally are the logical or natural focus rather than the doer or the act itself:

(16a) Lab Director: How could the beaker have got cracked?
Lab Technician: *The bunsen burner was turned up too high.*

(16b) Curious Colleague: Why is George celebrating?
Knowledgeable Colleague: *His paper was accepted by SSLA.*

(16c) After centuries of hapless and monumentally disastrous expeditions, *the search for the Fountain of Youth was finally abandoned by New World explorers.*

(16d) *The theorem, as proved by Whitehead,* states that ...

The other main motive for using the passive is when it is necessary or desirable, for various reasons, to avoid mentioning the doer of an action or to shift attention away from the act itself. One of the most common examples of this motive in academic discourse is the use of passive voice to remove or distance the author's personal voice from a report of research findings or a logical construction of ideas. Use of passive voice here makes the report or discussion of results sound more neutral or objective, as in:

(17a) *It is suggested that . . .*

RATHER THAN I suggest that . . .

(17b) In this investigation, *the question has been given a negative answer.*

RATHER THAN In this investigation, we have given the question a negative answer.

Similarly, scientific experiments are often described using the passive voice. Thus, Swales (1990, p. 137) reports research showing the highest use of passive voice occurring in the methods section of scientific articles.

As another example of the second motive, the passive voice may be used in reporting an event in order to avoid attributing responsibility, blame, or causation for some act or outcome, as in:

(18a) *The President's image has been damaged.*

(18b) *The information has been leaked to the press.*

(18c) The public record is not complete because *some critical records have been lost or destroyed.*

(18d) In the reaction, *two ions were diverted from their original trajectories.*

In some of these cases, the cause or person responsible for the action may be unknown. In other cases, the intention may be to withhold information in an attempt to be secretive, polite, selective, or careful in reporting an event.

A writer can display a theoretically neutral stance or a cautious and conservative approach to interpretation of results by deliberately avoiding any mention of particular human agents or actions, as in:

(19a) *The Korean language is thought to be genetically related to both Japanese and Turkish.*

(19b) *This system is found to be unstable under conditions of* . . .

(19c) *Its structure has been determined to be* . . .

(19d) This solution to the problem, *which is widely accepted,* has the advantage over the traditional solutions of . . .

In sum, it is a misconception to think of active and passive voice sentences as being in any sense interchangeable in meaning or as originating from the same underlying sentence or logical structure. Rather, passive voice sentences have a meaning and a logic all their own that makes them especially useful in academic discourse.

Conclusion

As is clear from the examples presented here, while the role of tenses—and verbs more generally—is diminished in academic writing as compared to some other forms of discourse such as ordinary conversation, the role of nouns is highly developed. This is because in academic writing, the verb group provides a simple frame within which complex ideas and relationships can be expressed by means of the noun group. As is also clear from the examples of passive voice, a structure that may be of little value in some forms of discourse, such as conversation or narrative, may have special utility in academic writing. Whereas the active voice is central to vivid descriptions of "who did what, where, to whom" in everyday discourse, in academic writing this active, subjective perspective is replaced by a more detached and objective orientation to events, ideas, and their relationships.

As this brief look at the discourse structure of academic writing suggests, real grammar—as opposed to the textbook or traditional school type of grammar—can only be taught and learned in relation to the specific purposes and communicative acts which the speaker or writer needs to perform. There is no shortcut to academic writing, which must be learned in relation to the specific texts and concepts of a given field, particularly as these are embodied in noun groups. Scholars learn the specialized usage of their field as they acquire additional linguistic resources and a more elaborated grammar and rhetoric of academic discourse in relation to their subject area. In this way, they become better able to express their precise intent as they concurrently develop their knowledge and their language.

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Writing on Academic Topics: Externalizing Rhetorical Processes in an Intercultural Context

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This paper reviews English-language academic writing pedagogy, learning theories, and cultural rationales to discern problems for Japanese students. One difficulty is the incompatibility of emphases on sentence-level grammatical accuracy and the communicative demands of larger discourse units. Another obstacle is students' unfamiliarity with the function of English-language rhetorical norms. This paper analyzes how this second problem is rooted in cultural contrasts with respect to what constitute necessary and sufficient ways of creating written discourse in Japanese and English. Specific classroom approaches and samples of student writing on science topics are examined to illustrate generic ways of helping students become more fluent EFL writers.

本論は、学術的テーマの英作文およびその学習理論と日本の学生にとっての問題を認識するための文化的根拠を検討するものである。困難の一つは、文レベルの文法的正確さとより大きい談話単位のコミュニケーション上の要求の双方を強調するのが難しいことである。もう一つの障害は、学生が英語のレトリックの規範を知らないことである。この論文の分析は、二番目の問題が、英語と日本語では何が書き言葉の談話を構成するのに必要十分であるかという基準が異なるという、文化的な相違に根差していることを示す。特定の授業でのアプローチと科学的テーマの学生の作文例を検討した上で、学生がより習熟したEFLの書き手になれるようにするにはどのような助力ができるか、一般的な方法を説明する。

For Japanese students composing in English, one of the first problems faced is incompatible emphases. When teachers demand accuracy, students work hard to be accurate, but given the constraints on working memory, their ability to do so is typically limited to small-scale units such as the phrase or sentence. Further, Hattori, Ito, Kanatani, and Noda (1990) report that Japanese teachers' felt obligation to respond to errors in writing is so time-consuming that they avoid assigning large-scale compositions. Once accuracy is made the focus of classroom activities, moreover, learners pay close attention to explicit rules and attempt to apply the rules. Yet as students monitor their language production, their ability to make and acquire meaning diminishes significantly (Krashen, 1984; Jones, 1985).

The status of errors: Focus on meaning

Nonetheless, since teachers are sticklers for accuracy, we face the continual dilemma of how to treat developmental errors on the part of students in making meaning. Problems of students attending to linguistic features at the expense of spoken communication are offered a partial solution by Nobuyoshi and Ellis (1993); for some speaking errors they suggest "focused communication tasks" in which learners are enticed into more accurate production by way of communication-based requests for clarification. Nobuyoshi and Ellis recognize limits. They question how such tactics apply to morphological errors that have little impact on meaning. Focused communication tasks, however, are suggestive of one way to bridge the accuracy/meaning-making dilemma in EFL composition.

The process approach and academic writing

With respect to writing, questions of over-monitoring, of meaning-making, and of focusing tasks on developmental issues such as learner errors are even more complicated. As noted, when emphasis is placed on linguistic accuracy, the unit-size of the discourse is perforce small in scale. Yamada (1993) reports that most students' EFL writing in high school centers on spelling and grammar while translating from Japanese at the sentence level. Advocates of the process approach to writing would say that these students require opportunities for composing on a more meaningful scale about subjects with which the individual writer can interact engagingly, even personally (Zamel, 1982, 1987; Krapels, 1990; Raimes, 1991). The process approach conceives of the learner's task as an interaction in which a writer creates multiple drafts, each draft providing a chance to "discover" what kinds of meaning might be desirable or necessary to communicate. Rigg (1991) describes such writing opportunities within the context of learners using "whole" language to compose from personal experience.

Critics such as Horowitz (1986) and Silva (1990) point to a disparity between language students writing on personal topics and writing for academic and professional purposes. Silva argues that in addition to process methods, approaches are needed in which writers learn to fulfill the contextual demands of academic subject matter. Japanese college students, such as majors in medicine or other sciences, face the prospects of researching and reporting in English about their fields of study as they proceed to graduate school and assume their professional duties. For these students, the practicality of academic writing seems obvious. With the incorporation of academic subject matter in EFL composition, however, we confront new questions about guiding writers' development as well as the timing, frequency, and method for focusing on developmental errors. Responses to these issues circulate within a matrix of intercultural contrasts and diverse educational experiences.

Contrasts in education and skills application

There are ample indications that difficulties for Japanese college writers result from differences between Japanese- and English-language conventions with regard to rhetoric, education, and cultural orientation. First, in comparison with British and North American educational practices, Japanese students spend less time learning to write in their L1. Hinds (1987) and Mok (1993) note that most Japanese stop studying L1 writing by the sixth grade. Second, many skills Japanese students acquire in learning to write cannot be transferred easily when they begin to compose in English. While there is a paucity of research that pinpoints "immediate practical uses" of contrastive rhetoric (Leki, 1991, p. 137), one useful insight is that rhetorical skills in L1 writing are not readily transferred to the L2. In a study of Japanese college students composing in English, Carson, Carrell, Silberstein, Kroll, and Kuehn (1990) find a weak correlation, at best, between L1 and L2 skills. Third, when Japanese students take up English composition practice, they are typically underexposed to the rhetorical and invention devices they need to become fluent writers. As noted, Yamada (1993) maintains that high school students expend their energies creating grammatically correct translations of sentences. Yamada further asserts that "discourse and rhetorical organization are totally ignored" (p. 115).

Rhetorical contrasts

Of the various intercultural differences between growing up as a native speaker (NS) of Japanese and learning EFL, the most critical are the rhetorical conventions in Japanese versus those of English. For example, among general commentators, Reischauer avers that in comparison with the English-language bias toward directness, speakers of Japanese "cultivate vagueness" (1988, p. 381). Among observers of written discourse, Hinds (1987) describes such elements as "vagueness" as part of an array of conventions that dispose Japanese rhetoric toward placing responsibility for understanding the meaning of a text with the reader. This is in direct contrast with English-language convention in which the writer assumes responsibility for conveying meaning. Fister-Stoga (1993) traces the influence of classical Chinese rhetoric on Japanese composition and (citing Oliver 1971) itemizes formidable differences with Western norms.

	Western	*Asian*
Style:	variable, lively	ambiguous
Motive:	self-interest	social harmony
Tone:	animated	unexcited

(adapted from Fister-Stoga 1993, p. 136)

The contrasts between Japanese and English cut more deeply than rhetorical style, motive, and tone. Indirection, suggestion, and silence are not classified as primary elements in English-language discourse, but they are pragmatic forms of eloquence in Japan (Ishii and Bruneau, 1991; Fister-Stoga, 1993). Indeed, silence in the form of ellipses is a distinctive feature of Japanese semantic structure. Discussing spoken elipses, Lee (1984) indicates that

> Japanese words and phrases are often abbreviated into a "head." This results in a degree of linguistic truncation rarely found in other languages. It is exemplified by the much-used expression *domo*, the basic meaning of which is "very [much]," "quite," "somehow." Since *domo* is an adverb it functions at most as a kind of hat or gloves covering the word modified. Its role presupposes that there is a verbal "head" or "hands" to be covered, but the Japanese often cut away the word modified, leaving just the adverb *domo*. (p. 45)

With respect to written discourse, the Japanese *ki-sho-ten-ketsu* form of essay writing consists of an introduction (*ki*), followed by development of the introductory theme and loosely analogous sub themes (*sho* and *ten*), and a conclusion (*ketsu*) in which the essay makes its main point (Hinds, 1983; Loveday, 1986; Fister-Stoga, 1993). What stands out here is how topsy-turvy the form seems in comparison with English-language prose development. It is quite proper, for instance, to introduce one topic in *ki* and insert a second or even a third topic in the middle sections for the purpose of leading up to an argument fixed on possibly another topic in the concluding *ketsu* section. When we refer to "topic" and "argument," in fact, we are imposing English-language categories that do not adequately account for elements like pacing and temporal proportion as agents of formal reasoning in the *ki-sho-ten-ketsu* tradition. Nevertheless, of immediate interest are (a) the formatting of multiple "topics" in *ki-sho-ten-ketsu* in contrast with the privileging of a single topic in a well-formed English-language essay; and (b) the emergence of *ki-sho-ten-ketsu*'s "argument" in the concluding section while customarily academic English prose argues from beginning to end.

I draw this contrastive picture to suggest that beyond the questions of Japanese writers' linguistic accuracy in EFL composition, there are complexities of rhetorical tradition, prior education, and cultural attitudes embedded within rhetoric and education.

Providing writers with appropriate tools

Academic writing in L2 makes new demands on the language learner. From the teacher's perspective, these entail far more than introducing additional language items such as grammar rules and vocabulary. In reviewing current L2 research, Krapels (1990) offers that learners' underdeveloped skills in EFL composition are caused more by a lack of competence in writing strategy than in general language. We can further define Japanese students' lack of competence in terms of their inexperience communicating in academic contexts, a lack of communicative competence of a particular sort.

A primary requirement, then, is to initiate writers to strategies and rhetorical tools in English to apply what they know. A first step, suggested by Mok, would be to highlight contrasts, to "capitalize on the differences in overall organization" between Japanese and English written language (1993, p. 158). Additionally, with respect to thinking and writing in academic contexts, general-education students need practice organizing, writing, and rewriting ideas related to such curriculum-based topics as ethical debate, literary summary, and scientific analysis. Indeed, rhetorical norms and organizational structures for writing about topics like these are what Cummins (1981) identifies as strategies for developing "cognitive/academic language proficiency" (CALP), that is, a communicative competence to exploit discourse conventions of academic disciplines.

Scientific discourse

To illustrate potential benefits of increasing college writers' level of CALP, I'll focus on written discourse in science. Such an approach at first seems counter-intuitive for an instructor of English who has been trained in language and literature, but I find one advantage to basic scientific discourse is that it is unburdened with cognitive abstractions like "irony," "paradox," and so forth. Since basic science writing concerns itself with facts or theories derived from verifiable data, general-education students, science majors, and non-science majors can enjoy reading and writing about nature and scientific discoveries without the intensive preparation with regard to specialized mental constructs and abstractions common even at the beginning level of writing about the arts and social sciences. Also, science topics underpin students' understanding of the world, an enormous advantage for engaging them in the rhetoric and patterns of organization required of fluent writers.

Externalizing the writing process

To summarize, with regard to the intercultural contrasts between growing up as a NS of Japanese and acquiring fluency in EFL composition, college writers' most immediate need is a re-orientation to the preferred rhetorical and invention structures determining the organizational patterns of English academic prose. Re-orientation is the right term here because, as Kaplan (1987) asserts, all rhetorical modes are possible in any language but each language has its preferences. Japanese has rhetorical devices for conveying cause and effect, definition, and the like, but the predominance of particular devices in English-language content and organization requires the EFL writer to become intimate with their various functions in shaping scientific and other academic arguments.

Japanese college writers in this sense are serving a "cognitive apprenticeship," a developmental term coined by Collins, Brown, and Newman (1989) to describe a situation in which students engage in expert practice in order to become experts themselves. To extend the apprenticeship metaphor, the instructor assists students by *externalizing the thinking and writing processes* that comprise the expert's knowledge. For Japanese college students, the know-how of writing can be rendered more explicit by means of instructors' *modeling* assignments that call upon processes of thinking and writing in English and *coaching* writers with hints and reminders. The modeling-a-process perspective helps establish methodological priorities, foregrounding learners' development.

Methods for modeling and coaching vary depending on the students' level and the instructor's interests. One sound way to craft a methodology is to take note of current research. Carrell's (1987) review of reading research found the following implications for teaching composition: EFL writers need exposure to "top-level rhetorical, organizational structures of expository text," and they need to learn how to select suitable structures in the process of composing, as well as "how to signal a text's organization through appropriate linguistic devices" (p. 54). These findings argue for teaching a rhetoric of invention, and in my case the invention devices that pertain to science: cause and effect, description, definition, and classification. Trimble, identifies these devices as "cohesive ties" and "rhetorical functions," each essential for organizing scientific analysis and "capable of being isolated and studied separately" (1985, p. 69).

A case in point

Working with both literature and science students, I found Trimble's idea of isolating rhetorical functions an excellent point of departure for introducing and reviewing the basic, generative elements of written scientific discourse in English. Trimble suggests, for instance, that classification is simultaneously one of the most essential rhetorical functions in science and one of the most readily understood. Taking Trimble's cue, I had students first discuss easily classifiable topics, sports, hobbies, and cars.

Then students were asked to read aloud a list of "key vocabulary" germane to both the science content and the rhetoric featured in the unit, in this case, classification. To illustrate, we reviewed words like "category," "to distinguish," "specific/general," in order to address exercises that explain and expand the concept of classifying. Students also read aloud "sentence patterns" and examples of "organizing rules" that furnish the linguistic tools that they would employ in their writing. Models of the patterns were reviewed: "Canines can be classified into groups." "The class canine is divided into categories." The introduction of patterns or rules was limited to those necessary to give students a sense of the words and phrases available. From the apprenticeship perspective, when students are provided these linguistic tools, the invention structures that fluent writers use become "externalized."

Before asking students to write original paragraphs using the appropriate patterns, I had them work on preliminary exercises that required independent thinking and some writing, but simplified the writing task to make the organizing rules more apparent. Ideally, these preliminary exercises would interrelate and, in aggregate, prepare writers for more autonomous and challenging work. In a unit on comparisons and contrasts, three preliminary exercises moved from recognition, to partial- and full-application of organizational patterns. The first exercise had students read sample paragraphs and identify words and phrases that specify comparisons and contrasts; a second exercise required completion of sentences; the third asked students to read raw data about items of comparison and rewrite the data into a paragraph using words and phrases that indicate comparison and contrast.

For purposes of demonstrating the effects of the apprenticeship approach, I'll present work of three students, identified as A, B and C. My purpose is not to display representative or linguistically exemplary items, but to give insights into the feasibility of the approach. A first-day exercise, which had nothing to do with science, was designed to elicit a let's-get-to-know-you response. The writing prompt was, "Write a few things you know about the U.S. or the U.K."

A: "My knowledge of US is 'dangerous country.'"
B: "Gun."
C: "The U.K. is famous for the origin of Pank Rock."

The tentativeness of A, B, and C's responses is illustrative of the reticence of many writers. Their initial responses are more interesting, though, in light of responses to writing prompts later in the semester.

In a review unit that directed students to integrate rhetorical norms related to classifying and describing, the prompt "Write a paragraph in which you classify the general school subjects you like, subjects you have studied or are now studying in school . . . describe one or two courses . . . Use transitions" elicited:

A: Even though we are studying many subjects, subjects are divided into two groups: practice courses and lecture courses. For example, physical education is divided into practice course. In the physical education class we play volleyball, basketball and so on. Experimental physics is practice course as well. We examine the length of the wave which Hg spectrum has. On the other hand, history or basic geology are divided into lecture courses. We learn the things which happened in many years ago, or we learn the structure of igneus rock, from teacher.

This is not an exemplary paragraph in terms of linguistic accuracy. The writer shows some of the infelicity of his first-day response, "My knowledge of US is...," but I find great promise in the breadth of expression and depth of detail expressed in this paragraph. The potential is obvious—and, here, focused communicative tasks can be best applied. The student can be encouraged to review and revise ideas by means of well-placed communication-based questions from the instructor or, even better, from other students. "How do you examine the Hg wave?" "What other connection is there between history and geology?" Note that these questions are directed to the content of the writing. The goal is to have the instructor or other students provide feedback to the writer as focused communication in order to facilitate the writer's clarifying or discovering meaning in a second draft. [See Oshita (1990) and Shizuka (1993) for details of the benefits of peer feedback in the Japanese EFL context.]

Writer B, whose first-day response was "Gun," comes up with a less sophisticated response, but here as well the potential for focused revision could lead to fuller practice:

B: I study chemistry, English, Chinese, and physics in college. I'm taught in English by American teacher. On the other hand Japanese teacher teach chemistry, physics and Chinese classes. Japanese teachers aren't talkative very much. But American teacher ——. But both Japanese and American are good teacher.

Focused tasks for B might encourage practice in using more organizational structures of classification and description. Plausible questions include: "Besides the fact that they are taught by Japanese, can chemistry and physics be *grouped* in other ways?" "What *types* of things do you do in Chinese and English classes?" "Can you *describe* what your Japanese and American teachers talk about?" In B's case, from the perspective of the apprenticeship model, one can see the underlined rhetorical devices functioning as a technology of invention to help the learner generate clearer thinking and extended writing.

In another teaching unit, students integrated patterns and ideas comparing and contrasting phenomena. The writing assignment recycled a topic, a comparison of *fugu* (pufferfish) and humans, that students worked on earlier. The writing prompt "Japanese pufferfish or *fugu* have a backbone, brain and liver. Human beings have a backbone, brain and liver. The *fugu* and humans have immune systems. But there are many differences! Write a paragraph that compares similarities and contrasts differences between these two species" elicited:

C: Humans resemble fugu that they have a backbone, brain, liver, immune systems. But they are many many differences! The contrast is that fugu live in the sea, but humans live in the land. And fugu swim, but humans walk, run, jump, etc. Moreover fugu can not speak language, but human can speak language. Fugu has two eyes and a mouth. Humans have same. But fugu is covered with scales and has a fin. Humans don't have that. Moreover, breathing way is what Fugu is the gill and humans are the lungs. But the interesting same point is that when the angry makes a swelling cleek!!

C's writing is adventurous, especially in the latter half where he attempts to describe differences in how humans and fugu breathe and how each experiences swelling in the cheeks when "angry." This student text will benefit from some help from the instructor in an encouraging, "coaching" mode. First, the instructor can provide a few hints about unfulfilled patterns and missing words—the missing "in" for the phrase "in that" of the first line, for instance. More important, the teacher can help the student discover well-phrased equivalents of the highly original ideas contained in the last two sentences. The teacher might respond to the last sentence in the form of a question that echoes the idea but employs correct constructions: "Oh, you mean when they get angry they both have swollen cheeks?" Still not perfect, but a lot clearer, here is a second version of C's last three sentences.

C: Fugu are covered with scales and has a fin and a gill for breathing. Humans don't have these things but have lungs for breathing. But the interesting similarity is that when they get angry they make swolling cheeks!

Conclusion

I am suggesting that it can be profitable for general-education students to practice writing in academic subject areas, such as science, in units of one, two, or more paragraphs. Intercultural contexts, especially rhetorical contrasts, need to guide methods both for stimulating the production of student writing and for assessment. In addition, we might consider methods that feature communication-based focused revision tasks, including revision tasks that could involve peer discussion and feedback. Finally, regardless of method, it seems advisable to conceive of the writer's role as that of an apprentice acquiring expertise. A corollary would be that the teacher's function is to externalize processes which will enable the writer to compose meaningfully and, in time, masterfully.

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American English, Japanese, and Directness: More Than Stereotypes[1]

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There is a good deal of literature on American English and Japanese which can be used to support the rather stereotypical notion that the former is characterized by explicitness and directness, the latter by vagueness and indirectness. Although stereotypes such as these are often based at least partly on facts, they are generally oversimplifications of complex phenomena which, upon closer scrutiny, begin to reveal their inherent complexities. This paper provides a review of some of the literature on interaction in American English and Japanese supporting the stereotype. It also discusses some recent studies of language use by Americans and Japanese which suggest that the stereotypes need further elaboration. It is argued that more research is needed to go beyond prevailing stereotypes in describing and accounting for language use in both English and Japanese.

アメリカ英語と日本語に関して、前者は明確で直接的であり、後者は曖昧で間接的であるという、かなりステレオタイプ的な概念を支持する研究は数多くある。このようなステレオタイプは、少なくとも部分的には事実に基づいていることも多いが、一般的にいって、複雑な現象の単純化されたものであり、注意深く検討すればその複雑な様相が姿を現わすものである。この論文は、アメリカ英語と日本語のインターアクションに関するステレオタイプを支持する先行研究を批評し、このステレオタイプにはさらに精密な記述が必要であることを示唆するアメリカ人と日本人の言語使用についての最近の研究を論じる。英語と日本語の言語使用を記述し説明する際に、広く受け入れられているステレオタイプを超えるためには、さらなる研究が必要である。

Norms for language use vary widely from one group to another, and numerous attempts have been made to characterize such differences across languages and cultures. Along these lines, as L. Miller (1994, p. 37) points out, "there are widely held and accepted characterizations of Americans as always forthright, direct and clear, and Japanese as always indirect, non-verbal and ambiguous."[2] Such global claims reveal the need for more in-depth study because they are, in fact, little more than stereotypes. While it is the nature of stereotypes to represent at least some aspects of reality, it is clear that more comprehensive accounts of language use are to be preferred. This is not to say that such accounts will fail to further support the stereotypes—in fact, they more than likely will offer at least some additional support. More importantly, though, they will also go beyond the stereotypes to uncover the richness and complexity inherent in language use. This paper begins with a selective review of the literature on interaction in Japanese and American English which offers support for the dichotomy of hearer- versus speaker-based interaction proposed by Lakoff (1985). There is also a small but growing body of work on these languages which reflects the more complex nature of language use in context. Some of this work is presented after the discussion of hearer- and speaker-based interaction. Finally, some evidence from requests in American English and Japanese is presented which demonstrates that Americans can in fact be quite indirect, just as Japanese can be direct. Ultimately, though, much more detailed work is needed to begin to uncover the complex interrelationship of language and culture in Japanese and American English.

Support for the Stereotypes

Robin Lakoff (1985) has pointed out that since discourse is a cooperative venture, it follows that the responsibility for determining meaning must be divided in some way among the participants. Lakoff notes that there are at least two ways this can be done: the responsibility can be that of the speaker or that of the hearer. In speaker-based interaction, clarity and explicitness are paramount, and miscommunication is the speaker's fault. In hearer-based interaction, imprecision and ambiguity are valued, and miscommunication is the hearer's fault. Lakoff maintains that American English would be placed on the speaker-based end of the continuum, while Japanese would be situated on the hearer-based end. While it may have some appeal, one drawback of a dichotomy of this type is the possibility of overlooking or at least minimizing directness and indirectness within a single cultural context. Nonetheless, the distinction between directness and explicitness on the part of the speaker, and sensitivity and intuition on the part of the hearer, is repeated often in discussions of Japanese and American English.

One area in which the stereotypical Japanese penchant for indirectness is said to be exemplified is that of Japanese proverbs. Condon (1984) cites two which offer support for the Japanese tendency towards indirect speech (or no speech at all): "Speech is silver, but silence in golden" and "Hollow drums make the most noise." Lebra (1987) mentions several more proverbs with similar content: *Kuchi ni mitsu ari, hara ni ken ari* (Honey in the mouth, dagger in the belly), *Bigen shin narazu* (Beautiful speech lacks sincerity), and *Iwanu ga hana* (Better to leave things unsaid). She also points out that in Japan, trustworthy people are characterized as *kuchi ga katai* (hard-mouthed), and even politicians are not expected to exhibit eloquent speech. She maintains that hesitant speech, or preferably silence, is seen as a sign of humility, politeness, and empathy. Barnlund (1989, p. 115) makes a similar observation in stating that in Japan "admired people are, for the most part, distinguished by their modest demeanor, lack of eloquence, and their public modesty." And according to Loveday (1982, p. 3), the "articulation of thoughts and feelings in Japanese is often taken as an unmistakable sign that the speaker is neither profound nor sincere." While these proverbs may indeed reflect ideal norms which are not always representative of actual language use, they do present an image of the reputed Japanese distrust of the verbal.

Along similar lines, Doi (1974, p. 20) maintains that "for the Japanese, verbal communication is something that accompanies non-verbal communication and not the other way around." Lebra (1987, p. 343) notes that if "cultures can be differentiated along [a] noise-silence continuum . . . there are many indications that Japanese culture tilts towards silence." It should be noted that Doi and Lebra are writing from a psychological rather than a linguistic perspective. Similarly, the Japanese author Miyoshi has written that

> perhaps more important than any other factor in this problem of language and style is the Japanese dislike of the verbal. It might be said that the culture is primarily visual, not verbal, in orientation, and social decorum provides that reticence, not eloquence, is rewarded. (cited in Holden, 1983, p. 165)

Miyoshi's rationale for making such a statement is not made clear, but it seems that his view is not too far from that of some linguists. For example, Yamada (1994, p. 20) maintains that "the Japanese are skeptical about the value of talk, and, contrastively, idealize silence."

Ueda (1974) provides an interesting example of reputed indirectness in Japanese refusals. She maintains that there are at least 16 ways to avoid saying 'no' in Japanese. These include being silent, asking a counter question, changing the subject, walking away, lying, criticizing, delaying the answer, and apologizing. Thus, rather than say 'no' directly, she claims that Japanese speakers prefer to utilize any number of strategies of indirect refusal with the belief that the hearer will perceive their intention and act accordingly. Of course, it is likely that 'no' can be said in more than one way in any language. In a questionnaire study of refusals made by Japanese and Americans, Beebe, Takahashi and Uliss-Weltz (1990) found that Japanese subjects tended to apologize, offer alternatives, and give more vague excuses than English speakers (see also Takahashi and Beebe 1987). However, such practices were found among the Americans as well, albeit less frequently, which indicates that such behavior is not the exclusive domain of the Japanese. That is, members of both groups exhibit similar behavior, but to varying degrees. This is an indication that the issue is not all or nothing, but is better perceived as one of degree.

In the framework of contrastive rhetoric, Hinds (1987) has proposed a dichotomy analogous to Lakoff's: speaker/writer responsibility. As a basis for applying the notion of hearer-based interaction to written texts, Hinds begins with a description of spoken interaction in which he maintains that in English "the person primarily responsible for effective communication is the speaker, while in . . . Japanese, the person primarily responsible for effective communication is the listener" (p. 143). Yoshikawa is also cited as stating that

> what is often verbally expressed [in Japanese] and what is actually intended are two different things. What is verbally expressed is probably important enough to maintain friendship, and it is generally called *tatemae* which means simply 'in principle' but what is not verbalized counts most—*honne* which means 'true mind.' Although it is not expressed verbally, you are supposed to know it by *kan*—'intuition.' (cited in Hinds, 1987, p. 144)

Hinds seems to imply, then, that the Japanese hearer/reader is primarily responsible for effective communication, and as Yoshikawa sees it, it is the obligation of the Japanese listener to use *kan* (intuition) to determine the meaning of discourse. Similarly, Okabe (1983) notes that in American rhetoric "the speaker is the transmitter of information, ideas, and opinions, while the audience is a receiver of those messages . . . [but] the rhetoric of Japan is remarkable for its emphasis on the importance of the perceiver" (p. 36), implying that certain types of discourse organization are characteristic of Japanese, as others are characteristic of English. Hinds points out, though, that his distinction between reader- and writer-responsibility refers to tendencies rather than rules, that is, he is not claiming that either language will not evidence both. However, rather than simply highlight what seem to be rather common characteristics of a given language, more emphasis should be placed on the fact that every language and culture evidences a broad range of discourse organization patterns in both speech and writing.

In discussing communicative style in Japanese, Clancy (1986) maintains that Japanese communication is largely based on the notion of *amae*, which refers to the dependence on and expectation of the benevolence of others. The relationship between mother and child is the prototypic relationship based on *amae*. According to Doi (1974), "the psychosis of *amae* pervades and actually creates the Japanese patterns of communication" (p. 19), that is, "what is most important for Japanese is to reassure themselves on every occasion of a mutuality based on *amae*" (p. 20). Clancy also argues that the basis of Japanese communicative style is a set of cultural values which emphasize *omoiyari* (empathy) over explicit verbal communication, and she claims that the extremely homogeneous, group-oriented society of Japan allows for such indirectness: people must be able to understand each other's thoughts and feelings without explicit verbal expression. Holden (1983) makes a similar observation in saying that "what is striking about Japanese social behavior is that the Japanese often claim to know intuitively what other Japanese are feeling" (p. 165). Lebra (1976) echoes this view in asserting that in Japanese conversation "the speaker does not complete a sentence but leaves it open-ended in such a way that the listener will take it over before the former clearly expresses his will or opinion" (p. 39). Clancy concludes by stating that:

> in Japan, the ideal interaction is not one in which the speakers express their wishes and needs adequately and listeners understand and comply, but rather one in which each party understands and anticipates the needs of the other, even before anything is said. Communication can take place without, or even in spite of, actual verbalization. The main responsibility lies with the listener, who must know what the speaker means regardless of the words that are used. (1986, p. 217)

All of this gives one the impression that the Japanese prefer not to use language at all, or that on those occasions when language is required, it is used sparingly. A second implicit claim here is that only Japanese are capable of intuiting the meaning in a discourse, or at least that they are somehow better at it than others. However, much of pragmatic theory (e.g., Gricean maxims or speech act theory) holds as its fundamental premise that all people engaged in meaningful interaction constantly intuit meaning. In fact, some would claim that it is impossible for us not to do so. It seems necessary, then, to move past the stereotypes to more complete accounts of language use in Japanese and English. Only then will we be able to determine how closely the stereotypes correspond to reality and in what ways they differ from it.

A More Complex Picture

Some of the accounts cited above seem to indicate that Japan is a place where little verbal interaction takes place, that is, verbal interaction would seem to be viewed as a last recourse only when intuition has failed to produce the desired result. And even then, such interaction would be judged as less than satisfactory. Of course, this is not completely representative of Japan or anywhere else. The reputed Japanese propensity for indirectness (and that of Americans for directness) provides at best a partial account.

Beebe and Takahashi (1989a, 1989b) point out that the stereotypical view of Japanese as indirect represents an incomplete picture of Japanese interaction. They maintain that the Japanese

> can be mercilessly direct. They can indeed be extremely indirect as well. The picture becomes clearer when we realize that the situations in which Japanese and Americans choose to be direct or indirect depend to a great extent on the relative social status of the interlocutors. (1989a, p. 104)

Using both ethnographic and questionnaire data, Beebe and Takahashi (1989a) compared the strategies for disagreement and giving embarrassing information for English speakers and advanced Japanese speakers of English. They found that "Japanese ESL speakers often do not conform to the prevalent stereotypes about their indirectness and their inexplicitness" (p. 120). In a questionnaire study of offers and requests in English, Fukushima (1990) found that "Japanese subjects were too direct in most situations, and sounded rude" (p. 317). Tanaka (1988), using role-plays to investigate politeness in English requests, found that Japanese were more direct and less polite than Australians. Since these studies deal with Japanese learners of English and not directly with interaction in Japanese, they should be treated with some caution. Unfortunately, there is little Japanese data available which addresses this issue. It should be noted, though, that the indirect speech of Japanese learners of English has been cited as evidence of a Japanese preference for indirectness (c.f. Schmidt, 1983). In two questionnaire studies of requests in Japanese and English, Rose (1992b, 1994a) found that Japanese were more direct than Americans on an open-ended discourse completion test (DCT), but switched to hinting and opting out on a multiple choice questionnaire (MCQ) containing the same request situations. Unlike studies based on L2 English produced by Japanese, these studies did look at Japanese, and they seem to indicate that things are more complex than implied by a hearer/speaker-based dichotomy.

In pointing out that the indirectness of the Japanese can be oversimplified, Condon (1984) cites a Japanese professional interpreter who maintains that "Americans can be just as indirect as the Japanese, but they are indirect about different things, and being indirect carries a different meaning" (p. 43). Holden (1983) also maintains that while the Japanese distaste for directness may be evident in their language use, Japanese is far more explicit than English where social status relations are concerned. That is, it seems that social relations are more clearly marked linguistically in Japanese than in English, with a typical example being choice of pronoun. While English affords only one first-person singular pronoun, Japanese has a range of at least five (*watakushi, watashi, atashi, boku, ore*), each employed according to speaker, listener, and setting. In fact as pronouns are generally omitted, expressing social status is a criterion for choosing a particular pronoun over zero-pronoun. It could be argued, then, that English is vague and indirect with reference to indicating social relations linguistically, but Japanese is explicit and direct. In addition, L. Miller (1994, p. 52) points out that the Japanese cannot simply prefer indirectness as the unmarked form of communication because their language contains a number of expressions to indicate that speech is "more indirect than what is normally expected or desirable." She cites the following examples: *kotoba o bokasu* (to shade the talk, i.e., to refuse to come out and say), *tsukamidokoro no nai* (no place to grab onto, i.e., to be vague, unclear), and *ocha o nigosu* (make the tea muddy, i.e., to talk ambiguously).

R. Miller (1982), if not the most vocal certainly the most acerbic critic of the prevalent stereotype, has this to say about Miyoshi's claim that Japanese culture is primarily visual:

> Anyone who has lived in Japan for any period of time, whether he or she knows the language or not, will surely find all this difficult to accept. Miyoshi's basic assumptions will surely appear to run counter to most direct experience. If any single feature characterizes sociolinguistic behavior in modern Japan, it is the obvious pleasure and delight that Japanese at every level of society take in the constant and generally strident, high-decibel employment of their own language. (p. 86)

While R. Miller may at times overstate his case, his observations here should ring true to anyone who has spent time in Japan. All it takes is one visit to any of Japan's ubiquitous *nomiya* (favorite eating/drinking spots of businessmen) or a *karaoke* bar to see (or rather hear) that Japanese do not always tend towards silence. Both 'strident' and 'high-decibel' aptly characterize Japanese language use in such settings.

It seems, then, that an analysis which posits a dichotomy based on degree of directness and places Japanese and Americans on opposite ends is only a beginning in describing and accounting for language use because such dichotomies downplay variation within the respective languages. As Hymes rightly points out,

> the primitive state of our knowledge of discourse is reflected in the general prevalence of dichotomies. . . . Such dichotomies do us the service of naming diversity. They do us the disservice of reducing diversity to polar opposites. (1986, p. 50)

Detailed investigation should produce data which reveals directness and indirectness in both English and Japanese, and it is likely that the contexts in which each is appropriate in the respective languages will differ. It is necessary to move away from the prevalent overgeneralizations and uncover the complexity of this variation.

Obviously, the way to proceed in addressing this issue (and other aspects of language use in Japanese or English) would be to conduct detailed studies which incorporate plenty of reliable data. Due to the difficulty of doing such a study on Japanese in my present abode (Hong Kong), I have assembled a few pieces of counter-evidence to illustrate the need for more research. It is my hope that those who are in a position to flesh out the possibilities mentioned will do so, thus addressing these questions with the depth which they deserve.

A Few Requests

Following are a few requests from American English which I have collected using what I will refer to as an 'eavesdropping' approach, but which Beebe (1994) calls notebook data. That is, they were collected in an unsystematic manner from naturally occurring language use. When I heard them, I jotted them down in a notebook as soon after the fact as possible. Such data clearly have limitations (see, e.g., Rose, 1994b).

1. Is this your stuff?
2. Is this where she got out?
3. Are you using the phone?
4. I need to see the mirror over there.

Request (1) occurred in a university copy shop. I was using one of only two available copiers and had placed my jacket and briefcase on the other. The person making this request was a male graduate student (I too was a graduate student at the time) about my age whom I had never met. Based on the coding scheme used in the Cross Cultural Speech Act Realization Project (CCSARP), a large-scale cross-linguistic study of requests and apologies (Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper, 1989), this utterance would be considered a mild hint, the most indirect request strategy on a nine-point scale of directness. Upon hearing the request, I (in a characteristic Japanese manner) intuited the intention, immediately apologized, and moved my jacket and briefcase to make the copy machine available.

Request (2) occurred on an airplane. In view of those present, a man sitting in a window seat and a woman sitting in the center section of the plane agreed to switch seats (they apparently knew each other well). The woman first got out of her seat in the center of the plane and went to sit in the window seat just a few rows forward. When the man came to take his new seat, the person sitting at the end of the row did not move, at which time (2) was uttered. Again, this would be coded as a mild hint, and it produced the desired effect: the hearer intuited the speaker's intention, stood up and allowed the man to gain access to his new seat.

Request (3) occurred in an airport lobby where several pay phones were located. In this case, I was standing in front of a phone, with my back to it, waiting for a friend who was using the adjacent phone. It was clear that I was neither using the phone nor preparing to do so. A woman who appeared to be about my age approached me and uttered (3). Again, this would be coded as a mild hint by CCSARP standards, and, again, it produced the desired effect. I intuited her intent, apologized, and moved out of the way to allow her to use the phone.

Request (4) occurred on a crowded university bus. All the seats were taken, and the aisle was filled with standing passengers. The bus was so full that the driver was having difficulty seeing the side-view mirror outside the bus door. At this point, he uttered (4). This would again be coded as a mild hint, and it produced the desired effect. The people standing in front of the mirror intuited the bus driver's intent and moved so that they were no longer blocking his field of vision. What is interesting about this request is that given the higher status of the driver (due to positional authority) and the possible danger to himself and his passengers as a result of his inability to see the mirror, we might expect a more direct request. That is, if Americans favor directness and do not have the intuitive capacities of the Japanese, a hint here is not just inefficient, but also potentially dangerous. If any situation called for a more direct strategy, this one is a likely candidate. However, the request strategy preferred by the bus driver was that of hinting.

I will not attempt a lengthy discussion of these English hints. They were collected selectively and represent too small a sample for that. I will point out, though, that the interaction in each case (all involving native speakers of American English) clearly follows the so-called hearer-based pattern, which is supposed to characterize Japanese, not English. It is interesting to note, though, that in each of these cases the participants had never met. It would be worth a further look to see if this pattern holds for a larger, more systematically-collected sample. That, of course, is an empirical question. However, it is worth noting that one of the reasons often put forward for the use of indirectness in Japanese, that hinting is favored because the interlocutors know one another and therefore need not be explicit, is precisely the opposite. The bottom line, though, is clearly demonstrated—is *not* the sole domain of the Japanese.

Having shown that Americans can be indirect, it remains to illustrate directness in Japanese. Due to the unavailability of 'eavesdropping' data on Japanese requests, I will instead discuss the Japanese request data reported in Rose and Ono (1995). While there are differences between these data and the American English data discussed above, they will nevertheless serve the purpose of this paper. The data were collected in Japan using a DCT consisting of twelve request situations. The subjects were thirty-six undergraduates at a women's college in Kobe. The questionnaires were administered in Japanese, by a native speaker of Japanese. It should first be pointed out that subjects used direct requests in all twelve of the situations, with directness being the preferred strategy in four situations. It is from these four situations that I will draw some examples.

In the first, the subjects were asked what they would say if they were studying in their room for a test they had on the following day, but were unable to concentrate because their younger brother was listening to loud music in the next room. In this situation 69.4% of the subjects chose to use a direct request. Following are two examples:

5. *Ashita tesuto dakara heddohon de kiite.*
   I have a test tomorrow, so listen on the headphones.
6. *Chotto urusai kara heddohon de kiite.*
   It's a little noisy—listen on the headphones.

In the second situation, direct requests were chosen by 88.9% of the subjects. In this case, the subjects were asked what they would say if while watching television they were to ask their younger sister to pass the remote control. Following are two examples:

7. *Rimokon totte.*
   Pass the remote.

8. *Gomen. Soko no rimokon totte.*
   Sorry. Pass that remote over there.

The third situation asked subjects what they would say to ask a friend to lend them a book by Sidney Sheldon. Direct requests were preferred by 61.1% of the subjects. Here are two examples:

9. *Shidonii Sherudan no osusume no hon kashite.*
   Lend me a Sidney Sheldon book that you'd recommend.

10. *Shidonii Sherudan no hon kashite hoshii. Dore ga ichiban omoshirokatta?*
    I want you to lend me a Sidney Sheldon book. Which one do you think is the most interesting?

In the last situation, which yielded 63.9% direct requests, subjects were asked what they would say if they and their friend were on a train approaching the friend's stop, had yet to finalize their plans for the following day, and so needed to talk over the phone that evening. Following are two examples:

11. *Yoru denwa shite.*
    Call me tonight.

12. *Machiwase-jikan wo kime-tai kara kyoo denwa choodai.*
    I want to set the time for our appointment, so call me today.

As with the English data, I will not attempt a detailed discussion or analysis of these Japanese requests. However, it is worth noting that these situations all involve cases (in CCSARP terms) in which the speaker is dominant or the interlocutors are of equal status. That is, for situations in which the hearer was of higher status, directness was not the preferred strategy (although it did occur in some cases). Also, the degree of imposition is also relatively low in each of the request situations cited above. This particular data set does not warrant any substantive generalizations, it may indicate that directness is a frequent request strategy in Japanese for requests involving a low degree of imposition which are not made to higher status hearers. This is an empirical question which represents precisely the kind of contextual variation that detailed studies ought to reveal.

While the examples cited above must be treated with caution because of possible effects of the data collection procedure (for discussions on this see, e.g., Kasper and Dahl, 1991; Rose, 1992a, 1992b, 1994a, 1994b; Rose and Ono, 1995), they are sufficient to illustrate the likely possibility that there are contexts in which speakers of Japanese prefer directness over indirectness. Whether questionnaire responses are representative of face-to-face interaction is not really at issue here—it is clear that DCTs tap NS intuitions concerning what constitutes appropriate language behavior. Whether those intuitions are borne out in actual interaction is another issue.

Again, the examples cited above are obviously insufficient for making any sort of generalizations concerning indirectness in American English or directness in Japanese, and it is not my intention to do so. This paper is not intended to be a rigorous study but rather hopes to inspire such studies in the future. Nevertheless, they do illustrate a few occurrences of indirect language use by Americans and direct language use by Japanese. As such, they provide some counter-evidence to popular stereotypes and point to the need for further research. While such research would likely offer some support for the hearer/speaker-based dichotomy, no doubt it would also reveal a more complex picture of interaction in both languages.

Conclusion

The observation that Americans and Japanese exhibit different patterns in the level of directness in interaction is no doubt a valid one. No two groups should be expected to share all of the same norms for communication in all contexts. However, it is equally true that no single characterization is adequate to describe patterns of language use by any one group in every context, and that dichotomies are of limited value in comparing language use across groups. While the literature does provide evidence to support the notion that Japanese are more indirect than Americans, recent studies point to more complex accounts. This paper has offered a few counter-examples to the prevailing stereotype, but it has not offered a complete account of the similarities and differences in American and Japanese interaction. That awaits further detailed study. It should be clear, however, that such study will more than likely offer both additional support for the existing stereotypes and a more accurate picture of the complexities of language use by both groups.

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Notes

1. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the 19th International JALT Conference, Omiya, October 1993. Thanks to the conference participants, Sandra Fotos, and two anonymous reviewers for helpful comments.
2. As noted, R. Miller proceeds to argue against the stereotypes.

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High School English Textbooks and College Entrance Examinations: A Comparison of Reading Passage Difficulty

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This paper examines the difficulty level of 48 entrance examination reading passages, taken from tests at 33 junior colleges, and compares them with the difficulty level of 66 passages taken from 4 approved high school English textbooks using readability indices. Though wide variation in readability scores was recorded, overall results indicate test reading passage difficulty to be significantly higher than the difficulty of textbook reading passages. A serious mismatch between official test candidate requirements and what is truly required of the applicants may exist. Schools are encouraged to review their literature for prospective students and/or adapt their tests to help ensure fairness and validity.

この論文は、33の短期大学の入学試験からとられた48の読解文と、4種の文部省検定教科書からとられた66の文章の難易度を、リーダビリティ指標を使って比較をしたものである。リーダビリティのスコアには幅があったが、全般的な結果としては、試験の文章の難易度は、教科書の文章の難易度に比べて、著しく高かった。公式の受験資格と、実際に受験者に期待される学力の間には深刻なギャップがあるのかもしれない。公正かつ妥当な試験を実施するためには、学生募集要項を改訂するか、試験を教科書に合わせるかすることが望まれる。

The importance of college and university entrance examinations in Japan is well known. All parties involved in the examination process (high school students; teachers and administrators; college teachers, test developers and administrators; parents and relatives) devote considerable resources to them.

Given this importance, it is essential that the examination process maintain the highest standards of quality. Or, in other words, "the more important the decision to be made, the greater the effort that should be expended in assuring that [a] test is reliable and valid" (Bachman, 1990, p. 56).

One way to insure such a high standard is through a regular process of review and evaluation. A number of authors discuss the issue of evaluating test quality (Alderson, Clapham & Wall, 1995; Bachman, 1990; Brown, 1995; Henning, 1987) and highlight the types of evaluation possible, including estimating reliability and assessing different types of validity. Other aspects of the testing process, such as comparing test development practices with accepted theory, are also possible.

Unfortunately, most of these types of evaluation and review require access to test results. In Japan, though copies of tests are regularly published, test results themselves are held in confidence and access is difficult to obtain. Without access to test results, calculating reliability coefficients and determining validity is very difficult.

However, a few methods of evaluation do exist which do not require detailed access to test results. One method is to take the published test questions, readminister them to a new group of subjects, and then compare the subjects' results with their results on other types of tests. One study which used this approach looked at the validity of written tests of pronunciation (Buck, 1989) and found scores on such tests had no significant relationship to productive tests of pronunciation ability.

Another approach involves examining the characteristics of published tests and analyzing them from a theoretical standpoint, using modern test theory to highlight areas which appear to be substandard. One example of such an investigation was the study carried out by Brown and Yamashita (1995) where they explored various test aspects, including item type, difficulty of reading passages, differences between public and private institutions and types of skills measured on the tests. Here, they used accepted standards of testing theory to point out areas where there was a need for improvement.

Another type of evaluation involves content validation. According to Alderson, Clapham and Wall,

> content validation involves 'experts' making judgements in some systematic way. A common way for them is to analyse the content of a test and to compare it with a statement of what the content ought to be. Such a statement may be the test's specifications, it may be a formal teaching syllabus or curriculum, or it may be a domain specification. (1995, p. 173)

As such, content validation is one way researchers outside of the testing process can approach the evaluation of a test.

One example of this would be to compare the difficulty of test materials with that stated in the test's specifications and to determine whether the test was set at an appropriate level for the targeted examinee. Difficulty is seen as important by a number of researchers. Henning (1987) finds that "the single most important characteristic of an item to be accurately determined is the difficulty" (p. 49), and that "when tests are rejected as unreliable measures for a given sample of examinees, it is due not so much to the carelessness of the item writers as to the misfit of item difficulty to person ability" (op. cit.).

Tests which are at a level of difficulty inappropriate for the targeted audience are compromised. First, such tests display a skewed distribution of scores which reduces the test's reliability (Bachman, 1990; Henning, 1987). Or, as Henning states, "Tests that are too difficult or too easy for a given group of examinees often show low reliability" (1987, p. 49). Second, "[i]f the test is too easy or too difficult for a particular group, this will generally result in a restricted range of scores or very little variance" (Bachman, 1990, p. 220). Bachman (1990) goes on to argue that a test which contained

> tasks at levels of difficulty that are inappropriate for the ability level of the group being tested ... [or] ... with all items at the same level of difficulty would not be a very accurate measure for individuals whose abilities are either greatly above or greatly below that level. Likewise, neither extremely easy nor extremely difficult items will provide very accurate measures for a group of individuals of relatively homogeneous intermediate ability. (p. 36)

Clearly, the assessment of test difficulty with regard to the targeted level of difficulty can yield important information for evaluating and ameliorating the entrance examination system in Japan.

Purpose

The purpose of this study is to evaluate the difficulty of Japanese junior college English entrance examination reading passages and compare that with the targeted difficulty level as stated in the test information given out to the applicants.

Reading passages were chosen because of their widespread use on language examinations and because of their perceived importance in assessing foreign language ability. For example, a poll by the Japan Association of College English Teachers (JACET) found that 96.8% of the respondents cited reading as a domain covered in Entrance Examinations, and of those respondents 73% percent gave it a weight of between 50% and 80% of the total test points (Tajima, 1993).

Our research question is this: *Is there a significant difference between the difficulty levels of passages on college English entrance examinations and the stated target level of passage difficulty?*

Method

Establishing the target level of difficulty

First, we wanted to establish the targeted level of the reading passages on the examinations. We argue that the difficulty levels correspond closely to the difficulty level of materials used in high school courses because of the following:

1. The Ministry of Education issues guidelines to colleges and universities indicating how the selection process for incoming students should be carried out (Ministry of Education, 1993) and expects those schools to set tests accordingly. Though the Ministry of Education does not require schools to state the exact level of the tests that they administer, schools are expected to make reference to the particular high school course of study the perspective applicants should have completed. Though recent changes have been implemented in the high school curriculum[1], current college and university students studied most, if not all three of the following English reading courses offered in high school: *Eigo I, Eigo II,* and *Eigo IIb*, with *Eigo I* being the most basic and *Eigo IIb* the most advanced. Thus, colleges and universities when setting their tests officially stated whether they were intended for students who had completed *Eigo I, Eigo II,* or *Eigo IIb.*
2. Information given out by colleges and universities makes reference to the particular high school course of study the prospective applicants should have completed. Examples of this can be found in the promotional literature issued by individual schools as well as by examination of some of the common test preparation guidebooks widely available.

Developing the databases of reading materials

Next we developed two databases of reading passages. Before collecting passages, we decided to limit our investigation to the *Eigo II* level of materials. This was done for two reasons. First, it was the level most commonly used by our department and would provide the most useful information for our own purposes. Second, according to figures in Kimura and Visgatis (1992), this level appeared to be the most commonly targeted one among junior colleges, with 89 of 146 schools setting it as their testing level.

One database was made up of passages taken from four high school reading textbooks: *Creative English II* (Kakita et al., 1992), *Mainstream II* (Ando et al., 1991), *Raccoon II* (Onodera et al., 1992.) and *Enjoy English II* (Hasegawa, Ishii, Hayakawa, Yamaguchi, & O'Conner, 1992). All of these textbooks were in use during the 1992 school year. They, or more recent editions, are currently still in use for second and third year high school students. In all, 66 textbook reading passages were selected for this database. To develop this database, passages were electronically scanned and converted into computer text files with the use of optical character recognition software. In all, 66 passages were selected.

The second database was made up of reading passages taken from sample entrance examinations. These passages were taken from the examination guidebook *Zenkoku Tanki Daigaku Nyuushi Mondai Seikai, Eigo•Kokugo* [All-Japan Junior College Entrance Examination Problem Solutions, English and Japanese] (*Zenkoku*, 1992). This guidebook contained information on tests given at 74 two-year women's colleges throughout Japan. Two-year women's colleges were chosen because they corresponded best with the level of students accepted by our own institution and were accordingly the level with which we were most familiar. From this guidebook we chose reading passages from tests offered at 33 different colleges. All of them were for students graduating from the *Eigo II* course of high school study. All of the tests were administered by their respective schools during the 1992 entrance examination period.

In all, 48 reading passages were selected and typed into a Macintosh computer using word processing software. For reading passages containing blank spaces, the appropriate word or words to complete the item were inserted before the readability scores were generated. Additionally, no distinction was made between passages which contained glossed items and those which did not. (This issue is addressed more fully in the Discussion.)

Analysis

Reading passages in both of the databases were evaluated for readability using *CorrectGrammar 3.0* (Writing Tools Group, Inc., 1992) for the Macintosh computer. This software package contained three readability measures: the Flesch Reading Ease (FRE), Gunning's Fog Index (GF) and the Flesch-Kincaid Reading Grade Level (FK). These three formulas are measures which estimate the difficulty level of the reading passages by evaluating such textual features as the number of syllables per word, the average number of words per sentence, number of sentences per paragraph, etc.

The Flesch Reading Ease scale ranges from 0 to 100, with 100 indicating the easiest to read. The Flesch-Kincaid and Fog readability indexes are expressed in grade levels, normalized on the American educational system and indicating the appropriate grade level for the reader.

These three indices were chosen for a number of reasons: they have been adapted for computers which enable computerized checking; they are widely available and are often bundled with mainstream word processing packages; they have been in use for over twenty years and are widely known. As Klare points out, "well over 1,000 readability references can be found in the library" (1984, p. 682). Many of these involve reference to the three measures used here. In addition, previous research on entrance examination questions (Brown and Yamashita, 1995) has used similar readability indices. (For more information on and discussion of readability formulas, see Harrison, 1980; Klare, 1984; Writing Tools Group, Inc., 1992; Zakaluk and Samuels, 1988.)

Results

The readability statistics of passages taken from the entrance examinations are given in Table 1. They show a wide range of levels on all three readability measures. The Flesch Reading Ease scores ranged from 41.900 to 92.900, with a mean of 64.804. Gunning's Fog Index scored from a low of 3.800 to a high of 17.300, with a mean of 10.902. The Flesch-Kincaid showed scores ranging from a minimum of 1.600 (roughly equivalent to just under U.S. 2nd grade elementary school level) to a maximum of 13.200 (roughly equivalent to the U.S. sophomore level in college), with a mean of 8.252. The standard deviations were respectively, 13.243, 2.946 and 2.715.

Readability statistics for passages taken from the high school textbooks are given in Table 2. They, too, evince a high degree of variation, with Flesch Reading Ease scores ranging from 46.000 to 98.300 and a mean of 75.985, the Gunning's Fog Index scores ranging from 3.600 to 13.500 and a mean of 8.326, and Flesch-Kincaid scores ranging from 1.300 to 11.800 and a mean of 5.985. Standard deviations were respectively, 10.829, 2.221 and 2.208.

Discussion

As a whole, the readability statistics for both the examination and textbook passages show surprisingly wide variation. In some cases, this variation measures up to approximately 11 U.S. grade levels on the

Table 1: Test Passage Readability Statistics

Passage	FRE	GF	FK	Passage	FRE	GF	FK
1	67.7	8.9	6.4	25	69.3	10.2	6.8
2	60.7	10.8	8.2	26	73.5	10.1	7.2
3	72.7	9.7	6.9	27	45.4	14.4	12.7
4	44.1	15.5	12.0	28	63.9	10.4	7.4
5	45.1	15.6	12.2	29	59.0	13.3	11.1
6	68.6	9.8	7.2	30	73.3	9.3	6.1
7	70.7	9.1	6.7	31	68.8	9.7	7.9
8	92.9	3.8	1.6	32	82.0	8.5	6.4
9	58.4	11.2	7.9	33	74.3	7.7	5.6
10	41.9	17.3	13.2	34	92.2	4.3	2.2
11	82.9	7.0	4.9	35	52.9	12.6	10.6
12	87.1	7.5	4.5	36	59.4	11.8	8.2
13	80.7	8.1	5.0	37	53.9	16.2	12.6
14	58.5	12.9	10.1	38	56.7	12.8	10.4
15	76.7	8.3	5.9	39	60.0	12.3	10.4
16	52.0	12.1	9.5	40	65.2	10.2	7.2
17	76.2	9.5	7.3	41	55.5	12.6	10.0
18	62.1	12.7	9.1	42	76.3	11.9	9.0
19	57.0	11.0	8.8	43	85.9	5.6	3.5
20	66.2	11.0	8.6	44	52.3	12.4	10.2
21	59.5	9.8	8.6	45	47.4	14.8	10.7
22	51.5	13.9	12.1	46	54.4	12.3	9.6
23	77.6	9.1	6.3	47	76.3	8.6	6.5
24	44.4	15.4	11.7	48	57.5	11.3	9.1

	FRE	GF	FK
Mean	64.804	10.902	8.252
Maximum	92.900	17.300	13.200
Minimum	41.900	3.800	1.600
Range	51.000	13.500	11.600
Standard Deviation	13.243	2.946	2.715

FRE = Flesch Reading Ease, FK = Flesch-Kincaid Level, GF = Gunning's FOG Index

Flesch-Kincaid, from low elementary school up to the sophomore level of college. Gunning's Fog Index and Flesch Reading Ease showed similar patterns of variation.

One consistent trend, however, is that examination reading passages are more difficult, often by a factor of a few Flesch-Kincaid grade levels, than high school textbook passages. For example, the mean Flesch-Kincaid score of entrance examinations was 8.252, while that of the high school

Table 2: Textbook Passage Readability Statistics

Passage	FRE	GF	FK	Passage	FRE	GF	FK	Passage	FRE	GF	FK
1	71.8	9.0	6.8	23	75.0	7.8	5.7	45	70.7	9.3	6.5
2	60.9	12.3	9.6	24	67.7	9.3	7.6	46	84.6	5.4	3.3
3	73.4	8.5	6.0	25	77.7	8.7	6.0	47	83.9	7.2	4.4
4	70.2	8.6	6.9	26	71.6	9.3	7.1	48	65.0	11.5	8.0
5	66.5	8.0	7.6	27	46.0	13.5	11.8	49	87.2	7.2	4.2
6	79.6	7.7	5.3	28	95.7	3.9	1.5	50	79.0	8.0	5.7
7	87.2	7.2	4.6	29	71.5	9.8	7.5	51	76.6	7.1	5.2
8	75.8	9.5	6.3	30	77.0	8.4	6.4	52	86.4	6.4	4.2
9	88.0	6.6	4.0	31	74.6	9.3	7.1	53	71.8	8.8	5.9
10	68.0	10.4	7.5	32	85.0	6.7	4.5	54	71.9	10.6	7.9
11	73.1	9.5	6.7	33	59.2	11.0	9.1	55	58.0	11.0	8.7
12	57.6	11.3	8.8	34	96.3	3.6	1.6	56	68.1	9.1	7.4
13	90.6	5.2	2.8	35	98.3	3.7	1.3	57	78.7	8.1	5.0
14	60.4	12.9	9.9	36	82.6	7.7	4.7	58	71.7	10.4	7.7
15	59.0	10.9	8.3	37	82.1	6.8	4.8	59	78.3	8.2	5.9
16	77.6	9.3	6.4	38	73.5	9.4	6.7	60	59.1	10.0	9.0
17	88.5	5.7	3.6	39	93.8	4.6	2.2	61	75.6	8.1	6.1
18	85.1	6.0	3.9	40	65.1	10.9	9.0	62	94.5	4.1	2.2
19	76.2	8.8	6.6	41	78.6	7.9	5.3	63	72.5	9.3	6.5
20	72.5	9.2	6.9	42	65.9	9.7	7.6	64	67.7	9.7	7.7
21	78.5	7.7	5.5	43	81.7	7.6	5.0	65	69.3	10.0	7.8
22	87.7	6.4	3.6	44	85.9	5.2	3.2	66	91.4	4.5	2.4

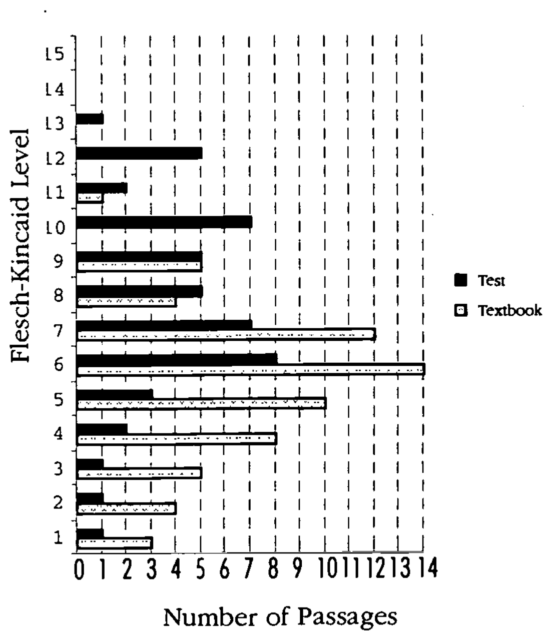
	FRE	GF	FK
Mean	75.985	8.326	5.985
Maximum	98.300	13.500	11.800
Minimum	46.000	3.600	1.300
Range	52.300	9.900	10.500
Standard Deviation	10.829	2.221	2.208

FRE = Flesch Reading Ease, FK = Flesch-Kincaid Level, GF = Gunning's FOG Index reading passages only measured 5.985. This amounts to more than two U.S. grade levels of difference. Both the Gunning's Fog Index and Flesch Reading Ease showed similar patterns, with a difference of more than 2-points in the former, and more than 9-points in the latter.

These differences were statistically significant. The MANOVA results indicated overall multivariate significance at $p < .001$ (for three multivariate statistics: Pillais, Hotellings, and Wilks). Thus, univariate ANOVA comparisons for each dependent variable were justified. Each of these comparisons also turned out to be significant at $p < .001$ (F for FRE = 24.592; F for GF = 26.946; and F for FK = 22.548). These results indicate that there is only a one in 1,000 chance that the mean differences observed here were due to chance alone. Some more examples are telling: While there are 15 examination passages with Flesch-Kincaid reading scores at 10 or above, there is only one among the textbook passages (see Graph 1).

Given that, for example, the Flesch-Kincaid readability scores are designed to correlate roughly to U.S. grade levels, it can be argued that the difference in scores is significant: expecting students to be able to read

Graph 1: Flesch-Kincaid Reading Passage Distributions



materials three or more grade levels above the materials they have been exposed to challenges the credibility of the examination passages, and by association, that of the targeted level. This is even more striking after considering that students using textbooks are free to read the passages at home, consult reference works (i.e. dictionaries), and are not subjected to the rigorous time constraints found under examination conditions.

However condemning these statistics may seem, there are several points to consider when interpreting the results.

The first consideration is that the college entrance examinations, being designed to select the above-average members of the high school cohort (i.e. those who best deserve admittance to tertiary education), need to be set at a level above what the average high school student would be expected to cope with. However, there remains the critical question of just how high the target level for Japanese students needs to be. The difference of over two Flesch-Kincaid reading grade levels found between the most difficult test reading passage and the most difficult textbook reading passage may be so great as to seriously compromise that test's reliability, by forcing students into guessing at answers rather than using their comprehension of the passage. More research is needed to evaluate this.

Second, it might be assumed that students are faced with progressively more difficult reading materials as they proceed through the high school curriculum, thus being amply prepared for the difficult reading passages found on entrance examinations. Unfortunately, this is not borne out by the textbook materials. Examination of the difficulty patterns of textbook reading passages (see Table 3) shows that the highest average Flesch-Kincaid reading level does not appear in the last third of any of the textbooks, and only two of the textbooks have the most difficult Gunning-Fog result in the final third. If the chapters in the books are used sequentially, students will not be facing the most difficult passages at the end of their high school tenure.

Third, readability formulas have been criticized along a number of different lines. One line challenges the use of formulas normalized against native-speaker proficiencies with non-native readers (Carrell, 1987). As rebuttal, we can only argue that the converse, that is, that a null or negative relationship between readability scores and reading difficulty for non-native vs. native speakers is counterintuitive: Why should non-native speakers be expected to be able to read materials that native-speakers would likely find difficult? Indeed, this view is also supported by Alderson, Clapham and Wall, who encourage native-speaker trials for objective tests, as most test candidates "cannot be expected to pro-

Table 3: Difficulty Patterns of High School Reading Passages

Creative English II	Unit	Units 1-6	Units 7-11	Units 12-18	Difficulty Pattern		
	FRE	70.40	78.42	72.28	Hardest	Easiest	Medium
	GF	9.02	8.64	9.22	Medium	Easiest	Hardest
	FK	7.03	5.82	6.63	Hardest	Easiest	Medium
Mainstream English II	Unit	Units 1-6	Units 7-12	Units 13-18	Difficulty Pattern		
	FRE	79.17	71.70	81.73	Medium	Hardest	Easiest
	GF	7.65	9.08	7.12	Medium	Hardest	Easiest
	FK	5.37	6.92	5.00	Medium	Hardest	Easiest
Raccoon II	Unit	Units 1-5	Units 6-9	Units 10-14	Difficulty Pattern		
	FRE	79.42	78.03	78.28	Easiest	Hardest	Medium
	GF	7.88	7.60	8.12	Medium	Easiest	Hardest
	FK	5.48	5.28	5.28	Easiest	Medium	Medium
Enjoy English II	Unit	Units 1-6	Units 7-11	Units 12-18	Difficulty Pattern		
	FRE	73.95	71.18	78.50	Medium	Hardest	Easiest
	GF	8.65	9.16	7.62	Medium	Hardest	Easiest
	FK	6.27	7.00	5.45	Medium	Hardest	Easiest

FRE = Flesch Reading Ease, FK = Flesch-Kincaid Level, GF = Gunning's FOG Index

duce as high a level of language as well-educated native speakers . . . [and] any items which turn out to be too difficult for such native speakers should be omitted" (1995, p. 97).

Another line challenges the reduction of the determination of reading difficulty to analysis of textual features, such as number of words per sentence, percentage of multi-syllabic words, and so forth, without regard to other factors, such as motivation for reading and the influence of schematic knowledge (Carrell, 1987; Harrison, 1986).

To this, we would like to propose that, first, test developers are not likely to select passages which require extensive schematic knowledge to understand, and second, that the lack of student reading motivation does not necessarily become a factor. After all, the desire to enter the college or university of their choice should provide students with ample instrumental motivation for reading the passages. Assuming these two propositions are correct, the role of textual characteristics assumes a larger, if not commanding, role in dictating passage difficulty.

Fourth, it must be remembered that passage difficulty is not necessarily indicative of question difficulty. It is possible, and even likely, that some of the difficult reading passages are followed by relatively easy questions—questions which do not require a true understanding of the passage in order to answer successfully.

A related concern is the inclusion of passages with glossed items. Admittedly, the difficulty level of a passage is reduced if some of the harder

Table 4: Readability Patterns of Glossed and Unglossed Test Passages

Glossed Test Passages

Passage	FRE	GF	FK
1	67.7	8.9	6.4
9	58.4	11.2	7.9
11	82.9	7.0	4.9
12	87.1	7.5	4.5
14	58.5	12.9	10.1
16	52.0	12.1	9.5
19	57.0	11.0	8.8
20	66.2	11.0	8.6
25	69.3	10.2	6.8
26	73.5	10.1	7.2
29	59.0	13.3	11.1
39	60.0	12.3	10.4
41	55.5	12.6	10.0
46	54.4	12.3	9.6

Unglossed Test Passages

Passage	FRE	GF	FK	Passage	FRE	GF	FK
2	60.7	10.8	8.2	28	63.9	10.4	7.4
3	72.7	9.7	6.9	30	73.3	9.3	6.1
4	44.1	15.5	12.0	31	68.8	9.7	7.9
5	45.1	15.6	12.2	32	82.0	8.5	6.4
6	68.6	9.8	7.2	33	74.3	7.7	5.6
7	70.7	9.1	6.7	34	92.2	4.3	2.2
8	92.9	3.8	1.6	35	52.9	12.6	10.6
10	41.9	17.3	13.2	36	59.4	11.8	8.2
13	80.7	8.1	5.0	37	53.9	16.2	12.6
15	76.7	8.3	5.9	38	56.7	12.8	10.4
17	76.2	9.5	7.3	40	65.2	10.2	7.2
18	62.1	12.7	9.1	42	76.3	11.9	9.0
21	59.5	9.8	8.6	43	85.9	5.6	3.5
22	51.5	13.9	12.1	44	52.3	12.4	10.2
23	77.6	9.1	6.3	45	47.4	14.8	10.7
24	44.4	15.4	11.7	47	76.3	8.6	6.5
27	45.4	14.4	12.7	48	57.5	11.3	9.1

	Glossed				Unglossed		
	FRE	GF	FK		FRE	GF	FK
Mean	64.393	10.886	8.271	Mean	64.974	10.909	8.244
Maximum	87.100	13.300	11.100	Maximum	92.900	17.300	13.200
Minimum	52.000	7.000	4.500	Minimum	41.900	3.800	1.600
Range	35.100	6.300	6.600	Range	51.000	13.500	11.600
Std. Deviation	10.690	1.961	2.058	Std. Deviation	14.307	3.294	2.971

terms are explained in an easier to understand format, such as rewording in English or through translation into Japanese. In addition, glossing is not the only factor which may influence understanding. Occasionally, the way the questions for a passage are presented may give a helpful indication as to the meaning of the passage content.

To try to estimate the impact the inclusion of glossed items had on the readability statistics, we examined the glossed passages more carefully. In all, 14 of the 48 passages contained a total of 38 items (words or expressions) which were glossed. The total number of words in the glossed items was 45. This amounted to less than 1 percent of the 4,904 words found in those passages. In addition, we used the Mann-Whitney Test to compare the readability levels of glossed and non-glossed passages and found no significant difference (FK, p>.999; FRE, p=.856; GF, p=.874).

Fifth, the reasoning involved in identifying the targeted level of proficiency by reference to schools' promotional materials may be suspect. Private colleges may base their targeting on the overall high school language curriculum, which includes a number of areas which are only vaguely defined by the Ministry of Education. One such area involves supplementary materials. These are used in addition to the course textbook and may be of a higher level of difficulty. Determining the true level of difficulty of all of the materials used at the high school level is more problematic given the lack of clear specification. This is one point where further research is needed.

Conclusion

Our research question was, *is there a significant difference between the difficulty levels of passages on college English entrance examinations and the stated target level of passage difficulty?*

The answer to this question is "yes." A consistent pattern emerges of examination passages set at a level significantly above that which is expected by the Ministry of Education and reflected in the reading materials found in the approved high school textbooks. In addition, these results for junior colleges are in line with the results found by Brown and Yamashita (1995) for passages taken from entrance examinations at prestigeous public and private universities. This indicates that the results here can be extrapolated to most institutions of higher education in Japan.

These results may be interpreted in a number of ways.

It is possible that those charged with preparing entrance examinations are not aware of the materials currently used in high school. Or, test developers may simply be lax in their materials vetting procedures. In either case, the solution to this would be development of better examination writing guidelines, improved test specifications and rationalized vetting procedures.

Another possibility is that the colleges (and universities) are only paying lip service to guidelines issued by the Ministry of Education regarding entrance examinations, and reference to a particular course of study in high school has no bearing upon the actual test material generated. If so, schools may be setting standards according to some other benchmark. *If this is the case, those schools should make that fact clear to students in advance.*

Finally, given the test development climate in Japan where piloting of examination questions is quite rare, the use of readability formulas to assist in the process of selecting reading passages may prove useful. As one measure among several it can provide insights into the relative difficulty of various passages, enabling test-developers to make examinations with better reliability and validity.

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Note

1. For a discussion of the changes, see Wada and Koike (1990).

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Research Forum

Detecting Cross-Linguistic Difficulties in Learning English: Using a Text Reconstruction Program

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This article examines cross-linguistic difficulties in learning English in a group of Cantonese-speaking students in Hong Kong. It also discusses the usefulness of a text reconstruction program in detecting linguistic difficulties in second language students learning English. A cross-national study involving the comparison of performance between first language English speaking (L1) secondary students in England and second language English speaking (L2) secondary students in Hong Kong on a text reconstruction task is described. Results showed that the performance of the L2 students was adversely affected by cross-linguistic differences between English and Cantonese. The potentials of using the text reconstruction task in teaching English as a second language are also explored.

この記事は香港における広東語話者の中国人英語学習者の学習上の困難点を調べるものである。さらに第二言語として英語を学ぶ学生の言語面での障害を探知するために、テクスト再構成プログラムがどのように役立つかを論ずる。イギリスの中等教育における英語を第一言語とする学生と、香港の中等教育における英語を第二言語とする学生に、テクスト再構成のタスクを課し、その結果を比較した。第二言語として英語を使用する学生の成績には、英語と中国語の違いが不利にはたらくことがわかった。第二言語として英語を教えるためにテクスト再構成タスクを使う可能性も探究されている。

Secondary school students in Hong Kong find it very difficult to learn English, their second language. Although English is the medium of instruction for the majority of secondary schools, a great deal of Cantonese is used by language teachers alongside English to help struggling learners grasp the ideas.

To most students, the learning of English takes place only in schools and is entirely irrelevant to their needs because virtually every act of communication in or out of school is effected through the medium of

Cantonese. Cantonese is a spoken Chinese dialect used in Hong Kong and it has no written form of its own. In school, students have to learn to write in Modern Standard Chinese, which is very different from English in morphological, lexical and phonological terms, and understandably face difficulties when learning these language.

Chinese is an uninflected language and its sentence structures are very different from English (Lo, 1992). For example, there is no need to add an '-s' or '-es' at the end of the verb in the third person singular case or in plural nouns as the words will be the same whether they are singular or plural in Chinese. Such grammatical structures as present, past, continuous, perfect, and future are absent in Chinese. Thus, students writing a sentence in English have to think carefully about which tense they need to use to indicate the time.

These and other cross-linguistic differences which cause difficulties for Cantonese-speaking Chinese students learning English need to be identified by language teachers. Very often, teachers feel disheartened to find that students are making the same kinds of grammatical mistakes repeatedly in their writing. The prevalent approach to the teaching of writing, emphasising the assessment of the final product, does not seem to help students tackle the problem of grammatical difficulties.

At present, the use of computers in teaching English is minimal in Hong Kong, although they are available in each school for the teaching of computer literacy. According to Scarborough (1988), there are four kinds of programs to practise language techniques: gap-filling, text manipulation, text reconstruction, and simulation. Gap-filling exercises involve finding the missing words in texts. In most programs using gap-fill exercises, the gaps may be limited to, say, prepositions or articles. Text manipulation involves mutilation of texts by jumbling the order of words, sentences or paragraphs or taking words out and the learner restoring the text. For text reconstruction, the program deletes all words in the text, leaving only dashes to represent the original letters. The task of the students is to reconstruct the whole text. Simulation programs allow students to simulate real life situations and at the same time practise language in an integrative manner.

The present article examines the possible exploitation of a text reconstruction (TR) task to improve learning of English in Hong Kong. The text reconstruction program known as *Copywrite*, developed by Davies and Higgins (1982), interested a lot of language teachers of English (Davies, 1986). The learner's task is to reconstruct the text to its original form based on the orthographic pattern displayed on the screen by keying in the missing words, starting with any word anywhere in the text. If a correct word is attempted, every instance of its use in the test appears on screen in the right locations. (See Appendix 1 for a partially completed text and Appendix 2 for the original.) If the entry is wrong, the computer will respond with a "no word found" message in the lower left corner of the screen and the learner has to try again.

A score showing the performance of the learner is given in the lower right corner of the screen, serving as an incentive to complete the task. A learner who gets stuck can make use of the help facility which provides assistance in one of the following ways: revealing the first letter of the next uncompleted word as a clue; revealing the next uncompleted word; or reading the text again for as long as the learner desires. This, however, will result in the deduction of points: 5 for a letter, 10 for a word, and 50 for seeing the whole text. From my own experience with secondary and university students learning English, they persisted for hours in order not to lose points.

The program is also capable of recording all entries attempted, as well as the time in seconds taken for each entry, and printing them out (Appendix 3) at the end of the reconstruction task. The teacher then marks the correct entries, incorrect entries, and help entries. The number attached to the last word indicates the total time taken to complete the entire reconstruction task and the difference between any two entries shows the time required to generate each new entry.

The record sheet enables the teacher to reconstruct the mental processes of the learner during the task and the recorded information provides insights into aspects of language that are causing difficulties in reconstruction, making the teacher better able to detect problems encountered by the learner and thus facilitating the planning of remedial actions. There is also an authoring program in *Copywrite*, allowing the user to create text, the length of which is restricted to one screen, and store it on a floppy disk. This helps teachers to generate plenty of new texts without much trouble.

Brett's (1994, p. 331) experience with TR is that "learners are interested, challenged, and motivated by the task, and keen to complete it once started." Using *Copywrite* to teach Cantonese speaking L2 learners of English, Dolan and Lo (1990) have similarly found that students are delighted with the use of computers, applying tremendous application to the task and, on some occasion, spending more than three hours to reconstruct a 100-word text. Having developed TR programs, Davies (1986, p. 69) observes that *Copywrite* "encourages intensive reading and gives the student valuable insight into language redundancy and the way words tend to combine and suggest what is coming next." Davies

(1988) further remarks that TR encourages learners to apply their linguistic and world knowledge while searching for appropriate words.

Legenhausen and Wolff (1990) found that second language learners of German used both text-independent strategies activating linguistic knowledge not explicitly related to the text and text-dependent strategies with reconstructed words further stimulating the use of linguistic and general knowledge of the world. In the same vein, Brett (1994, p. 331) suggests that TR stimulates a great deal of explicit and implicit linguistic knowledge and "the rationale for the use of the TR task is that learners are provided with a motivating and unique linguistic problem-solving task, which involves and engages them with authentic texts." Brett (1994) further points out that a reconstructed text can be exploited more fully in one of the following ways: using the reconstructed text to generate new text on related topics; involving students in analyzing the language form and pattern of the text in order to sharpen their language awareness; or examining the record sheet to find out possible reasons for incorrect entries.

The present study is concerned with an additional function of TR: the diagnosis of students' difficulties in learning English by examining the record sheet containing all entries made by the learner. In addition to the aforementioned benefits, TR can help teachers detect more precisely students' problems in learning English. This is a cross-national study comparing the performance of first language (L1) English-speaking students in England and second language (L2) English-speaking students in Hong Kong on a text reconstruction task. L1 students were included in the study as a reference point for native language competence. In addition, the potentials of using text reconstruction tasks to enhance learning English as a second language are explored.

Method

Instruments

Copywrite was used in the present experiment and a text related to Chinese New Year (Appendix 2) was stored in the program and presented for reconstruction. The topic was familiar to the L2 subjects in Hong Kong but less so to the L1 subjects in England. A text more familiar to the L2 subjects was chosen so that processing of text would not be affected by conceptual unfamiliarity.

Subjects

The sample consisted of two groups: 80 English-speaking L1 subjects selected from a mixed ability comprehensive school in England

and 80 Cantonese-speaking L1 subjects studying English as an L2 from a mixed ability secondary school in Hong Kong. One half of each national group were in their second year of secondary school, approximately 12-year-olds, and the other half in their third year, 13-year-olds. For each year in all groups, one half of the subjects were male and the other half female.

Both L1 and L2 students ranked average in their language ability as determined by examination results the previous year. Students of average ability were selected because it was believed that the results would represent a wider range of the population. The L2 students had started to study English as a subject in Primary One at the age of six and English began to be used as a medium of instruction when they commenced secondary education at the age of eleven. To try to ensure greater reliability, all subjects were drawn from virtually the same socio-economic background.

Procedure

Instructions were given in the subjects' L1 in order to avoid misunderstanding. The test was conducted individually with the researcher sitting alongside each subject throughout the experiment, making notes on every entry made. The experimenter would occasionally talk with the subject to find out the reason for attempting a particular entry and the difficulties being encountered in the reconstruction task. Throughout the test, the experimenter talked to the subjects on average four to five times for this purpose. There was no time limit on the task, allowing subjects to think clearly before attempting each entry.

With regard to seeking help, the researcher designed a new procedure in which subjects did not need to follow the order of uncompleted words on the screen when seeking help. They were told that if they pointed to a word which they would like to know, this word would be told to them by the researcher. The word would then be entered as a "correct entry" but would be marked as "requesting help" by the researcher in the subsequent analysis. The entries, total time taken on the task, and the time spent between entries were automatically recorded by the program. The results of the reconstruction were thus available on the computer printout.

Analysis

The performance of subjects was analyzed in terms of number of "total entries," "correct entries," "incorrect entries," "help," and "time taken." Data were processed using programs devised by Youngman (1976). Means and standard deviations were calculated and between-group analysis, using a t-test, was applied to check statistical significance of differences. Then, all entries made by the subjects were analyzed. Mistakes reflecting cross-linguistic differences were identified and frequencies calculated in both L1 and L2 samples to facilitate comparison of the two groups.

Results

Table 1 summarises the overall performance of the L1 and L2 groups on time taken, total entries, correct entries, incorrect entries, and help. It may be seen at a glance that the L2 subjects took significantly longer to complete the task and requested significantly more help on the reconstruction process, differences statistically significant ($p < .01$) on both.

For "correct entries," again the L1 subjects made significantly more correct responses than L2 subjects, significant at the $p < .05$ level. As both groups produced similar numbers of "total entries" and "incorrect entries," the t-test indicated non-significant results.

The L2 subjects required about twice the time on task (6809.64 seconds) as the L1 subjects (3412.47 seconds). Examining the relationship between "time taken" and "total entries" reveals that L2 subjects required double the amount of time to generate the same number of

Table 1: Comparative Performance of L1 and L2 Samples

L1 and L2 Samples		Time on task (sec.)	Total Entries	Correct Entries (%)	Incorrect Entries (%)	Help (%)
L1	mean	3412.47	103.32	44.91	37.50	17.59
n=80	s.d.	1000.44	19.10	14.75	12.44	5.34
L2	mean	6809.64	103.15	38.39	37.60	23.51
n=80	s.d.	1662.14	19.75	11.94	10.59	8.08
Between-group analyses	't'	8.67	-0.04	-2.27	0.04	3.89
	p	<.01	not sig.	<.05	not sig.	<.01

Note: Significance set at p<.05

entries. The data here are not able to throw light on which aspects of language were causing difficulties for the L2 subjects. Examination of entries recorded in the record sheet was able to reveal some aspects of difficulties experienced by the L2 subjects.

Table 2 shows the mistakes made by the L1 and L2 subjects on the omission of '-s' in verbs for third person singular case and plural nouns on the reconstruction task. The findings were based on examination of the record sheet for each subject. On the average 70 L2 subjects (94%) entered "packet" to fill in the blank for "packets" in the text. On discovering that this was wrong from the message given by the computer, they tried the plural form. This phenomenon occurred for a number of other nouns in the passage such as "uncles" (75%), "aunts" (65%), "shoes" (58%), and

Table 2: Omission of '-s' on Verbs and Plural Nouns for L1 and L2 Samples on Reconstruction Task

		Frequencies (%)	
Actual word in text	Mistake (entry)	L2 sample (n = 80)	L1 sample (n = 80)
packets	packet	70 (94%)	15 (19%)
parents	parent	68 (85%)	32 (40%)
uncles	uncle	60 (75%)	23 (29%)
dances	dance	55 (69%)	20 (25%)
aunts	aunt	5 (65%)	24 (30%)
shoes	shoe	4 (58%)	12 (15%)
streets	street	4 (50%)	25 (32%)
clothes	cloth	3 (42%)	28 (35%)
eats	eat	2 (34%)	30 (38%)
	Total	451	209

"streets" (50%). The situation was the same for the verb form of the third person singular case. Fifty-five L2 subjects (69%) entered "dance" in the blank for "dances" and 27 L2 subjects (34%) attempted "eat" to fill in "eats."

The frequencies of this type of mistake was clearly lower for the L1 subjects on this respect, with the total frequency of such kinds of mistakes less than one half that of the L2 group.

Discussion

The results show that cross-linguistic difficulties brought down the performance of the L2 students, causing them to take considerably longer to complete the reconstruction task (Table 1) because they needed to think about the correct forms of verbs and nouns. Even though they got the right word and the correct spelling, they still needed to make trials before they could inflect the verbs and nouns appropriately, reducing the number of correct entries.

Such kinds of mistakes are easily detected by teachers in students' compositions but it is hardly possible for them to work out how much time students require and the mental processes they go through to arrive at the correct forms without the use of a computer program which can record every entry students make and the time taken between entries. Although teachers usually prepare plenty of grammatical exercises to train students, the same kind of error seems to occur repeatedly. The TR program used in the present study was able to provide immediate feedback to students so that they would be alerted to the problem and make appropriate changes in the entry if it was wrong.

On-task observation by the researcher suggests that such prompt feedback provided by the computer was highly efficient in sharpening students' awareness of a particular grammatical structure. Most students were able to enter the correct form on the next trial after they had received the "no word found" message from the computer. They immediately counted the number of dashes on the screen to confirm that the word itself was correct and that it was the omission of an '-s' or '-es' that made it unacceptable. Knowing that the word was correct, some insisted on making several trials of the same word and eventually discovered that they had left out an '-s' or '-es' at the end. Hence, in a TR exercise like this, students were able to correct their own mistakes with the help of the computer.

Working on these TR exercises was also highly motivating as it encouraged students to think very carefully before making entries because they knew they would lose points if they made wrong entries or sought help from the program. On many occasions, the researcher observed that students thinking long and hard for an entry rather than seeking help in order not to lose points. Some L2 subjects showed very strong determination to tackle the task without resorting to help. The scoring system seemed to have served as an incentive to persevere with the task.

Conclusions and Implications

It may be concluded that cross-linguistic differences between English and Chinese caused difficulties in reading English and this was manifested in L2 students' poorer performance in terms of taking a longer time to complete the task, making fewer correct entries, and seeking more help. TR tasks help teachers diagnose students' difficulties so that appropriate help can be given. The data sheet for every exercise can be accumulated to build up a profile of students' language competence and to track down other errors.

In addition to traditional grammatical exercises that train students to make appropriate inflections on nouns and verbs, reading aloud practice focusing on the reading out of final consonants can also enhance students' awareness on this aspect. In the tight schedule of teaching English in Hong Kong, this area of training might have been neglected.

Since the students in the present study were highly motivated to do the TR task, teachers may use the program in class in order to make full use of the computers available in school. At present, every secondary school in Hong Kong has at least 20 computers. For a class of 40 students, two students may share one computer to do the task. Teachers can provide the text and the pair of students work out the entries. Students can also be involved in creating texts for one another to work on. There will thereby be a natural integration of reading, writing, and speaking skills in the classroom. To further enhance motivation, TR activities can be done in the form of competition, with students comparing scores among themselves.

TR is also valuable in promoting independent learning. It offers flexibility in dealing with individual abilities, interests, and language development. Teachers can tailor-make materials for students using the authoring facility. Provided with a variety of language exercises, students can choose ones appropriate to work to gear the practice towards their needs. At the same time, learning can be extended to out-of-school hours to fit students' own work schedules.

Language teachers in Hong Kong seldom have the opportunity to interact with students to provide immediate feedback because of the large class sizes, generally about 40 students. Lessons are usually conducted in a tense atmosphere with heavy emphasis on assessment and traditional teaching that involves little student participation. The use of TR tasts heralds a change. By maximizing learning and involvement, it benefits learners and teachers alike. Future research might further explore how TR stimulates learning of English as a second language.

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Appendix 1: A Partially Completed Text on the Computer Screen

Chinese New Year

— — — the lion —— in the Chinese New Year ————. The lion ——— in the ——— and —— — ——— of —— —— ———— —— —— ————. — —— —— —— the lion —— —— —— ——— —. The Chinese New Year is a ——— — the ——— to —— ——— —— —— —— and —— ———. The —— —— — —— —— ———— —— —— — — ——— —— ———, ——— and ——. ——— —— to —— new ——— and new —— — the —— — — the ————. Chinese ——— —— to ——the —— — the —— ———— —— —— —— the —— is ——.

Appendix 2: The text used in the experiment

Chinese New Year
You can see the lion dance in the Chinese New Year Festival. The lion dances in the streets and eats red packets of lucky money which hang from doorways. People hope that the lion will bring good luck. The Chinese New Year is a time for the family to wish each other good luck and good health. The children are very happy because they also get red packets from parents, uncles and aunts. People like to wear new clothes and new shoes on the first day of the festival. Chinese people like to hear the sound of the drum because they know that the lion is near.

Appendix 3: Sample of a Marked Result Script

Text:	Lion (Seen)
Subject No.:	1
Nationality:	L2 (L1 Cantonese)
Form/Year:	3
Sex:	F
Time:	4790 sec.
Total:	84
Correct:	55 (65%)
Incorrect:	20 (24%)
Help:	9 (11%)

76	76	Chinese	√
89	9	new	√
99	9	year	√
131	32	the	√
155	23	lion	√
169	14	festival	√
177	7	people	√
185	8	red	√
194	8	packets	√
201	7	good	√
207	6	luck	√
213	5	and	√
224	11	health	√
234	10	children	√
242	7	parents	√
272	40	clothes	√
355	72	are	√
431	76	happy	√
448	17	because	√
459	9	very	√
471	11	they	√
484	13	from	√
554	69	in	√
585	31	families	X
615	29	roar	X
632	17	a	√
675	42	bring	√
692	17	is	√
728	36	get	√
746	18	wear	√
892	145	on	√
961	69	roads	X
1028	67	will	√
1085	57	sweets	X
1134	48	at	X
1156	22	that	√
1178	22	streets	√
1322	143	as	X
1377	55	take	X
1437	37	says	X
1572	134	also	√
1596	24	shoes	√
1606	10	of	√
1740	133	know	√
1800	60	said	X
1820	19	day	√
1871	51	luck	X
2478	606	dance	H
2492	13	dances	√
2561	68	gets	X
2594	33	see	√
2687	92	first	√
2723	36	to	√
2860	137	come	X
2953	92	wish	√
3023	69	for	√
3044	21	each	√
3052	6	other	√
3168	115	person	X
3318	150	fruits	X
3358	39	come	X
3594	236	money	H
3603	9	lucky	√
3620	16	which-	√
3663	43	send	X
3807	143	you	H
3812	5	can	√
3851	39	date	X
3911	59	need	X
3986	74	friend	X
4038	52	sound	H
4045	6	hear	√
4055	10	like	√
4236	180	hope	√
4546	308	aunts	√
4552	6	uncles	√
4574	21	drum	√
4672	98	family	√
4719	46	near	H
4738	18	hang	H
4752	24	doorway	X
4774	12	doorways	H
4780	5	time	H
4790	10	eats	H

Professors' Expectations of Foreign Students in Freshman-Level Courses

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As more Japanese students take an interest in pursuing degrees in the U.S., ESL professionals in Japan are designing courses and programs in English for Academic Purposes (EAP), in order to prepare them for American college classes. But the content of these EAP courses is often determined by what *assumptions* the professionals hold regarding the types of skills foreign students will need in order to succeed in college courses. Some of the most commonly-held assumptions in the area of EAP are held up to scrutiny in this report on how 30 American university professors responded in interviews when asked to describe what skills they expected foreign students to have upon entry into their freshman-level courses. Also included are some pieces of advice which these professors said that they wished they could give to foreign students on how to succeed in their classes.

アメリカにおいて学位を取得しようとする日本人学生の増加にともなって、日本の英語教育専門家は、学生をアメリカの大学で授業が受けられるようにするために、アカデミックな目的のための英語（ＥＡＰ）のコースやプログラムをデザインするようになってきた。しかしＥＡＰコースの内容は、アメリカの大学の授業で無事に単位をとるために留学生が必要とするスキルに関する推測によって決められることの多いのが現状である。この報告は、もっとも広く信じられている事柄のいくつかを、アメリカの大学教師3　0　人にインタビューすることによって、検証した結果である。インタビューでは、一年生に入学するときに、留学生にはどんなスキルを持っていてほしいかを述べてもらった。また、ここには、無事に単位をとるために、留学生にできたらしたいと、これらの教師たちが言ったアドバイスものせた。

As Japanese students, in ever greater numbers, pursue degrees in the U.S., ESL instructors in Japan are responding to the need for more courses in English for Academic Purposes (EAP). When designing EAP course-work, however, the assumptions teachers make about what university professors will expect of students may be based largely upon what the ESL instructors *themselves* recall being asked to do in college. But when thinking back on their own experiences, they may remember what was expected of them as *upperclassmen* rather than as freshmen; and an EAP program that makes curricular decisions based on memories risks misappropriating teachers' and students' resources.

In the 1970s through the 1980s the authors spent a decade teaching at colleges and universities in Japan. On numerous occasions during those years, we shared and compared our thoughts on teaching EAP with colleagues who, like us, were preparing Japanese students for academic life in American universities. Our discussions on how best to do this, however, revealed that we held a disparity of views. If we could have agreed on what would be expected of our students once they entered their freshman classes, we might have been able to move toward some consensus on what the content our EAP courses should be. But what were American professors expecting of freshmen who enrolled in their courses? Literature offered little help. Although studies had focused on the *writing needs* of college students (e.g. Horowitz, 1986; Bridgeman & Carlson, 1984; Kroll, 1979) and on general *academic skills* (Johns, 1981; Ostler, 1980), none had specifically addressed the question of what skills university professors expect foreign students to have *upon entry into* their freshman-level courses. Without knowledge of this sort, however, EAP instructors risked designing curricula in a vacuum. Could we be placing emphasis on skills that would not be expected of college freshmen at the expense of others that would be?

By 1990, we were teaching in the EAP program at the University of Wisconsin-Stevens Point (UW-SP), and, during our four years there, we had the opportunity to learn firsthand just what university professors expected of foreign students as they entered freshman-level courses. To test the credibility of some of the more commonly-held assumptions in the area of EAP, we interviewed thirty UW-SP professors who had had foreign students in their courses, focusing on what skills they felt students should have developed prior to enrollment in their freshman-level courses. We ended the interviews by asking what advice the professors wished they could give to foreign students on how to be successful in their courses.

Each interview lasted between thirty minutes and one hour. The breakdown in the number of professors interviewed and their various disciplines was as follows: *Humanities*: English: 5, History: 3, Philosophy: 2; *Sciences*: Biology: 4, Chemistry: 2, Math: 2, Computer Science: 1, Geography: 1, Water Resources: 1; *Social Sciences:* Communications: 2, Political Science: 2, Psychology: 2, Sociology: 2, and Business: 1.

Part I, immediately below, introduces five assumptions commonly espoused by instructors of EAP; and, juxtaposing these, are the professors' reactions vis-à-vis how realistic each assumption is. In Part II, the professors offer advice on how to be successful in their college classes. (See appendix for teacher responses).

Part I: Assumptions About Foreign Students' Needs

Assumption 1: Students will be required to discuss in class

How much do professors emphasize whole-class participation at the freshman level?

None of the thirty professors interviewed (aside from those in Communications 101) require students to participate in class discussions. Although many professors said that they were impressed by students who would offer opinions and ask questions, none (with the exception of one Communications professor) said they would penalize a student who did not talk in class. There was general agreement among the professors that, nowadays, it is hard to get even American students to join in whole-class discussions.

According to the professors, however, speaking skills *are* important when meeting with instructors in one-on-one situations to ask questions and discuss study strategies or problems related to the course.

Students were not being required to give oral presentations in any of the courses, except for Communications 101. The two professors for this course (including the Chair of Communications 101) said EAP teachers could best prepare foreign students by giving them some exposure to talking before a group and by improving students' pronunciation. However, neither Communications professor felt that EAP teachers should concern themselves with teaching the modes (e.g. persuasive speeches), since they saw it as is the job and expertise of the Communications instructors themselves.

Assumption 2: Students will be required to write long papers

How much writing are college freshmen expected to do?

Naturally, the bulk of students' writing was being done for English 101 (essay-writing) and English 102 (research-paper writing). According to the five English 101 professors, students were writing eight papers of 1-5 pages per (16-week) semester, i.e. an average of between 1/2 and 2 1/2 pages per week. One of the five professors of English 101 assigned one essay per week of 1 1/2 pages.

Concerning writing requirements in other courses, Philosophy asked essay questions that required answers of 1 1/2 - 2 pages in length; on tests, History expected essay answers of 2 paragraphs in length and also assigned one 2-4 -page essay each semester; Chemistry asked for 1-2 page synopses; Political Science requireed one 2-page essay; Psychology had a 2-page paper as a part of their final; and Communications assigned one paper of 2-3 pages in length per semester.

Assumption 3: Students need to learn the modes of writing (e.g. cause and effect)

How much previous experience with the modes of writing are freshmen expected to have?

Four of the five professors of English 101 recommended that the teaching of the modes be left entirely to the English Department (although one professor mentioned that the English Department itself was putting less stress on the modes than it did in the past). One professor among the four was concerned that, if EAP instructors tried to teach the modes, "they would just goof it up." The fifth professor (who, in addition to having spent many years teaching freshman-level Writing courses, was also the highly-respected head of the university Writing Center) thought that, as far as the modes were concerned, foreign students might benefit from being introduced to definition (at the paragraph level) and "some" comparison/contrast. One English professor felt that he would expect foreign students to be familiar with only expository writing. Perhaps surprisingly, these professors claimed that recently not even the American students were entering university with previous experience in employing the modes. Another comment from an English professor was that, considering the lack of writing done in American high schools nowadays, as many as half of her American students could probably benefit from taking an ESL Writing class. All five of the English 101 professors expressed the hope that the EAP teachers would teach their foreign students to write *simply and directly*. "S-V-O is all right for awhile (sic)," was one comment. Another professor stressed that EAP students should *not* be asked to do sentence-combining practice until they have developed basic sentence-level skills, a good base in grammar, and an adequate knowledge of vocabulary (although he noted that American students do not have very large vocabularies either). The five in English 101 were in agreement that EAP teachers should focus on helping foreign students build a solid *foundation* for good writing. As one English professor put it, "In the ESL business, it's the basics that count."

For more advanced writers, the professors suggested that there be some focus on sentence-level subordination. In fact, according to the Chair of Freshman English, at the start of a new term, when the department analyzes students' writing samples in order to place them (in either a "remedial-level" Writing course, English 101 or English 102), it is the sophistication of students' sentence-level subordination that determines which course they are placed in.

Assumption 4: Students need to know how to use the library

Do professors assume that freshmen will have had prior experience in finding materials at the library?

For twenty-one of the thirty professors' courses, freshmen did not even need to use the library at all. If outside material is needed, the professors themselves furnished it. Of the nine remaining professors who *did* require use of the library, three merely had students search out current periodicals (e.g. *Time*) and one put material on reserve. Before assigning research papers, the five professors of English 102 would either arrange for a tour of the library for their whole class or put necessary source materials on reserve. No professor in English 102 felt that it was necessary for students to know how to use the library before taking their classes.

Assumption 5: Students need to know how to write research papers

How much previous experience with research-paper writing do professors assume students will have already had when they enroll in English 102?

Just as those teaching 101 felt it was *their* job to teach the modes, professors of English 102 believed that they themselves, and not the EAP teachers, should teach research-paper writing . At the start of a new term, they said that they assume neither the American nor the foreign students have had any experience in this area. And no professor in any of the other disciplines was assigning any type of research paper at all at the freshman-level . However, as preparation for *future* research-paper there was a general consensus in all disciplines that it would be very helpful if students could learn to paraphrase and synthesize information.

Part II: Advice From The Professors

As each interview neared its end, the professor was asked what advice he/she would like to offer foreign students on how to be successful in college classes and how EAP teachers might best prepare students *for* those classes. Following are the three most commonly-offered pieces of advice.

Advice 1: Talk to the professors

Almost half of the thirty professors advised that students who feel confused should come and talk with them as soon as possible.

A frustration many of them expressed was that foreign students often *say* they understand when, in fact, they do not. Also, too often, foreign students wait to talk to professors until it is too late for them to catch up. Five professors said they felt disappointed when foreign students dropped their classes without at least first talking with them about their chances of success. And two of the professors recommended that foreign students visit their offices within the first few weeks of a new term in order to get "hints" on study strategies.

Professors in the sciences in particular emphasized that foreign students should ask questions whenever they feel confused and that they should do so especially during exams, e.g. if they do not understand the phrasing of a question. Moreover, if a student is unable to finish a test within the allotted time, four professors said that, if they were aware that there was a problem, they would allow extra time.

Advice 2: Practice writing in class and under a time limit

Ten professors noted that writing under the pressure of time was a skill foreign students should develop.

According to the Chair of Freshman English, due to the increasing problems with plagiarism among (not only foreign) students, the trend in all disciplines is toward more in-class writing than before. For him, 25-30% of the grade for his English 101 course depends on in-class writing. It is thus crucial that freshmen develop speed and accuracy when writing under a time limit.

Three professors were concerned about foreign students' inability to complete essay-type exams within the allotted time, often, in their opinion, due to the students' overuse of dictionaries.

Advice 3: Practice taking multiple-choice tests

In American universities, freshman courses are often of the large lecture-type variety, and professors of those courses recommended that foreign students hone their skills at taking multiple-choice tests, since that is one of the most frequent types given.

The Business professor had found that multiple-choice tests were particularly difficult for foreign students, due, in his opinion, to their inability to apply test-taking strategies or to understand some of the finer nuances of language which can make the difference between a right and wrong answer.

Conclusion

In sum, although EAP curricula should not be based solely, or even primarily, on professors' perceptions, EAP instructors who are at least aware of what professors expect may make more informed judgments on what the content of their own courses should be. EAP programs that place too much emphasis on e.g. the modes of writing or research at the library risk detracting from other types of skill development that might better prepare foreign students for college classes. Learning what university professors expect of freshmen enrolled in their courses should aid EAP course and curriculum designers in providing students with the type of foundation on which university professors can most efficiently build.

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Appendix

Responses to Assumptions by Courses

Number of Teachers	Course	Assumption 1 Requires Discussion	2 Length of Writing Assignments	3 Requires Understanding of Modes	4 Requires Understanding of Library	5 Requires Knowledge of Research Paper Writing
5	English	no	3 (12 pp) 1 (11/2 pp) 1 (15 pp)	3 (no) 1 (expository only) 1 (some)	no	no
3	History	no	2 (2 parag., short answer) 1 (25 pp)	no	no	no
2	Philosophy	no	12 pp	no	no	no
4	Biology	no	none	no	1 (periodical); 3 (no)	no
2	Chemistry	no	12 pp	no	no	no
2	Mathematics	no	none	no	no	no
1	Computer Science	no	none	no	no	no
1	Geography	no	paragraph, short answer	no	no	no
1	Water Resources	no	none	no	reserve section only	no
2	Communication	1 (yes); 1 (no)	23 pp	no	periodicals only	no
2	Political Science	no	2 pp	no	no	no
2	Psychology	no	2 pg final	no	no	no
2	Sociology	no	paragraph, short answer	no	no	no
1	Business	no	none	no	no	no

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Perspectives

Global Issues in EFL: Why and How

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The idea that functional proficiency and communicative competence can be attained through focusing on meaning has become widely accepted in the foreign language teaching community. Since the learner's attention to meaning is highly dependent upon the effective presentation of subject matter, as opposed to language *per se*, a surge of interest in content-based language instruction has resulted. This paper examines the theoretical and social rationale for using the content theme of global issues in foreign language instruction. It also presents information on adaptable materials related to global issues, discusses techniques for presentation of this information, and provides brief suggestions for such adaptations and classroom activities.

意味に注目することによってコミュニケーション能力が身につくという考えは、外国語教育の世界では広く受け入れられている。学習者の注意を意味に向けさせることは、非言語的内容をいかに効果的に提示するかにかかっているために、内容中心の言語教育が注目を集めるようになった。この論文は、外国語教育においてグローバル問題という内容を使うことの理論的、社会的根拠を検討する。また、グローバル問題に関連した調節可能な教材を入手するための情報源も紹介し、この情報の提示のテクニックを論じ、調節と教室活動の短い例も含める。

Reflecting on the apparent failure of the Audio Lingual method, Krashen (1981) posited that conscious learning makes only a small contribution to communicative ability. This conception has been interpreted as meaning that "communicative competence is acquired through communication, not through conscious structure practice" (Savignon, 1983, p. 65). The popularization of the concept of communicative competence (Hymes, 1972; Munby, 1978; Savignon, 1983) has resulted in a movement to give use at least as much consideration as language *usage* in the foreign language classroom. "The ability to use a language depends both on language knowledge and the capacity for implementing it" (Widdowson, 1983, p. 18). In addition to having a high degree of linguistic competence, learners, if they are able to implement language knowledge, must be able to distinguish and utilize the functional purposes of linguistic forms. They must be able to apply cognitive skills and strategies to concrete situations and use feedback to judge their success and calculate remedies. They must also appreciate the social meaning and context of language forms (Littlewood, 1982, p. 6).

To facilitate the attainment of these goals, teachers should attempt to stimulate critical thinking by emphasizing interaction between the learners and the informational content of the course materials. Instruction should direct the learners' conscious cognitive efforts toward processing the information. Analysis of and focus on language form should take place, not for its own sake but as a supplementary activity to assist in the determination and transmission of meaning. In this way, attention to linguistic structure will contribute to the ultimate goal of actual communication.

The application of this pedagogical position has led to the development of content-based second language instruction. "Language learning cannot justifiably be isolated from other kinds of learning that humans do, and from the larger educational goals that we may espouse for students who are studying foreign languages in the context of schools" (Casanave, 1992, p. 83). In their overview of content-based second language instruction, Brinton, Snow, and Wesche emphasize that "both in its overall purpose and in its implementation, content-based instruction aims at eliminating the artificial separation between language instruction and subject matter classes which exists in most educational settings" (1989, p. 2).

If one accepts this perspective, one must ask what type of content material can successfully break down the traditional isolation of second language instruction from other kinds of learning and provide the necessary motivational interest, social context, and informational content. I propose that in many second and foreign language learning environments the content theme of "global issues" is appropriate. Defined as an interdisciplinary approach to contemporary sociopolitical problems of global concern, global issues can provide the informational content and meaning-focused interaction suggested to be necessary to attain functional proficiency in the TL (Ellis, 1994).

Necessary Conditions for a Content-Based Approach

Brinton et al. (1989, p. 3) list the five following rationales underlying approaches for integrating the teaching of language and content. [Th]ese are:

1. The language syllabus must take into account the eventual uses the learner will make of the target language.
2. Informational content which is perceived as relevant by the learner and increases motivation must be present.
3. Teaching should build on the previous experience of the learner and take into account existing knowledge of the subject matter and the academic environment as well as knowledge of the second language.
4. Instruction should focus on contextualized language use rather than sentence-level grammatical usage to reveal discourse features and social interaction patterns.
5. Finally, the learner must be able to understand what is presented through the interaction of existing imperfect language knowledge with cues from the situational and verbal contexts. (Krashen, 1985a; 1985b)

The use of global issues as a content theme will now be discussed in relation to these five points.

Eventual target language use

Because of the burgeoning development of modern electronic information processing and communication systems, the overall number of people who have regular opportunities to engage in international contacts and exchanges of information has increased greatly. At the same time, sociopolitical events in recent world history, variously referred to as "the fall of socialism," "the spread of democracy," "a new world order," or "the end of history," have given a larger than ever proportion of the world's population a political voice in the formulation of public policy. Thus, proficiency in language items and forms related to topics such as military conflict and national security, environment and development, human rights, energy resources, can enhance the capacity of the individual to respond to make informed decisions. Presentation and practice of language functions related to soliciting information, discussion, and persuasion can for the same reason benefit society and the individual, while, at the same time, promoting the learner's development of TL ability.

Relevance and motivation

Focusing on contemporary problems and controversies acknowledged to have consequences at both the individual and social level answers the need for relevance in course design and is likely to arouse motivation and sustain interest in learners. Furthermore, introducing global issues as content in EFL programs at Japanese universities is timely.

Although the National Council on Educational reform has stressed the important role of undergraduate education in internationalization and educational reform, much remains to be done (National Council on Educational Reform, 1986). For example, in a recent cross-cultural study on knowledge and attitudes toward global issues of students in Japan and the United States, a sample of 418 Japanese university freshmen and 407 seniors were surveyed. On average, the Japanese senior answered only two more questions correctly than the Japanese freshman. This contrasted with a nine-item improvement for American seniors over freshmen similarly surveyed. The authors of the study state:

> There is a widespread belief that students prove themselves by passing the university entrance examination and have earned the right not to work as hard for the next 4 years. This is a matter of growing concern to those in Japanese higher education and a central issue in the current debate surrounding needed reforms. (Cogan, Torney-Purta, and Anderson, 1988, p. 295)

One Japanese scholar notes, "social and intellectual internationalization would have to accompany economic achievement" (Kitamura, 1983, p. 1). In response, some recently established universities have demonstrated a greater awareness of the responsibility to fulfill this social role and several older universities have already formed new faculties to foster an interdisciplinary approach to contemporary problems (Coulmas; 1992). In the words of the report of the United States-Japan Conference on Cultural and Educational Interchange:

> The current reform interest differs from that of earlier periods in that it has not been precipitated by a major breakdown in the system or by a strong demand from the corporate sector for improvement. Rather, the current impetus stems from a growing sense in Japan that higher education is neither responding to new national needs in a changing world *nor to the changing concerns of Japanese youth.*" (Finn, 1987, p. 56, [italics added])

Previous experience and existing knowledge of the learner

How to exploit the existing imperfect target language knowledge of the learner is an important consideration in the selection and adaptation of materials and the design of classroom activities, regardless of the nature of the content theme. The use of authentic materials, generally defined as those not generated specifically for language teaching purposes (Johns, 1987), benefits the learner but also requires extensive adaptation. This adaptation is crucial since most materials must be simplified to the point where learners can employ their existing TL.

A further concern is how to activate the learner's previous knowledge of the subject matter, or schemata (Rumelhart, 1980), under consideration. The mass media is replete with information concerning disarmament and national security, human rights, energy resources, environmental protection and sustainable development, intercultural communication and international trade, controversies about the ethical use of modern technology, and similar reports. Governmental agencies and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have been organized for the expressed purpose of affecting and executing policy on issues such as these. As a result, most language learners have been exposed to this information in their native language. They have formed opinions about the factors and processes which influence these issues and have ideas about what the proper state of affairs should be.

The presence of such background knowledge gives the learner the opportunity to engage in real communication—the imparting of ideas, knowledge and opinions—not just information exchange as in an information gap activity (Stapleton, 1992). The chance to express ideas and opinions provides the focus on content and meaning which Krashen (1982) posited as requisite for language acquisition.

Focus on contextualized language use

The recent emphasis on communicative competence has shifted the focus of inquiry about language and language learning from the sentence level to the discourse level. Hatch suggests that second language learners must first learn how to interact verbally, then, through interaction, syntactic structures are further developed (1978, p. 404). Expanding on the need for contextualized language, Brown says,

> what are the rules that govern our conversation? How do we get someone's attention? How do we initiate topics? terminate topics? avoid topics? How does a person interrupt, correct, or seek clarification? These questions form an area of linguistic competence that every adult native speaker of a language possesses, yet few foreign language curricula traditionally deal with these important aspects of communicative competence. (1987, p. 206)

The mass media, governmental agencies, and non-governmental organizations offer abundant information on topics of global interest. This information may take the form of printed materials, informational or documentary videotapes, or live guest speakers. The fact that international exchange of technological and sociopolitical information occurs overwhelmingly in English holds special implications for the field of EFL and has a positive effect on access to pedagogical resources.

With appropriate adaptation such authentic materials provide the learner with examples of the conversational language functions cited by Brown. Moreover, activities derived from these examples can serve to give the learner an opportunity to practice these functions. This is especially true of intermediate and advanced learners who are eager to participate in an exchange and discussion, using informed opinions.

The presentation of the informational content through a variety of media makes the material more vivid and compelling. These media may include a combination of printed materials, videotapes, live speakers, field trips to relevant sites, and simulation activities. However, as noted, the teacher must adapt these activities from the authentic materials to the level of the learners' capabilities.

Comprehension through interaction of language knowledge with cues

This item acknowledges the findings of recent research in second language acquisition and addresses the issue of "comprehensible input" (Krashen, 1981), the idea that input containing elements new to the learner can be understood through the interaction of cues from the situational and verbal contexts with the learner's existing linguistic knowledge, world knowledge, and expectations. There is evidence that comprehensible input may be a sufficient condition for attaining high proficiency in listening and reading yet may not develop accurate productive skills (Swain, 1985; Sheen, 1994). To improve production, it has been suggested that learners must produce "pushed" output (Swain, 1985), that is, output which, through negotiated interaction, has become increasingly like the TL.

These controversies imply that in all aspects of curriculum design, opportunities for meaning-focused output, as well as input, should be maximized by careful choice of the method of instruction, the nature of the content, and the selection and adaptation of materials. The content theme of global issues can promote both input and output through stimulating discussion of opinions.

Implementing a Global Issues Content-Based Curriculum

I will now discuss the implementation of a global issues-oriented approach to content-based EFL instruction within a Japanese context. Some aspects of implementation, including the degree and techniques of materials adaptation and also administrative issues, vary according to the specific educational setting. Others, such as the availability of authentic resources, restrictions on their use, and measures intended to ensure objectivity, show less variation from classroom to classroom.

Availability of resources

Although the various mass media are sources of adaptable material, a word of caution should be offered concerning their use. In general, newspapers and magazines are very generous about the reproduction and adaptation of their products for classroom use. This is looked upon as a means of cultivation of future readership. Teachers need not have reservations about the use of such materials in individual classrooms or programs, but if one intends to publish a collection of teaching materials, naturally permission must be requested and compensation may be required.

In an EFL environment such as Japan, use of videotaped teaching materials can be a worthy substitute for being in an environment where the TL is spoken (Jeppsen, 1986). Even in an ESL environment, videotapes can serve to introduce useful cultural content. However, off-the-air recording of broadcast programming is complicated. In the United States, an off-the-air recording may be presented publicly only within the first ten school days following the original broadcast. Without special authorization, a teacher is allowed to show a segment only twice during those ten school days; and after 45 calendar days the tape must be erased (*Guidelines for off-air recording*, 1979). These restrictions make it difficult to prepare and use materials effectively.

Fortunately, teachers in Japan are not so constrained in the use of recordings. In response to inquiries by concerned educators, the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications has advised that when a foreign produced program has been broadcast on-the-air by a Japanese broadcasting organization, such as the government sponsored and private commercial networks and the broadcast satellite channels, it is considered that the foreign producer has been already been compensated for copyright by the Japanese broadcasting organization. Therefore, these materials are available for classroom use in Japan.

Teachers are also advised to be cautious about the use of commercial theatrical release feature films in either video or CD ROM format. In addition to the fact that most movies are too long, are scripted as opposed to unscripted, and lack adequate informational content for classroom use in higher education, some movie production companies and broadcast news organizations are entering the EFL materials market and becoming more assertive about copyright protection. Therefore, it is best to err on the side of caution. Computer software is another area of concern for issues of intellectual property rights. A patent on an algorithm is currently under consideration in the U.S.

There are three sources of abundant materials which teachers can use without reservations regarding copyright infringement. These are governmental agencies, non-governmental organizations, and corporations. Such entities all produce and distribute materials in English meant to impart information and advance their policies. These include printed materials, informational and documentary videotapes. Furthermore, many governmental agencies and private corporations in Japan maintain museums or exhibits to disseminate information regarding sociopolitical issues. Examples include: the Museum of Posts and Telecommunications, the IBM Information-Science Museum, and the Tokyo Electric Power Company Electric Energy Museum which features a one-third scale nuclear reactor model. Usually, guest speakers from such organizations are compensated by their employers. Although non-governmental organizations rarely have exhibits and public relations departments, they are another source of printed and videotaped information. They also often provide guest speakers who serve as excellent non-native speaker models for the students and who are willing to speak from a sense of commitment to their convictions without requiring remuneration. A directory of non-governmental organizations in Japan is available upon request (see Appendix 1).

Finally, the most technologically advanced information resources, for those fortunate enough to have access, are telecommunications networks, particularly the Internet. This has been characterized as "a global, high-speed computer network dedicated to research and education, used daily by more than one million people" (Sheppard, 1992, p. 182). Material from the Internet can expose the learner to authentic written discourse of TL native speakers, can provide direct access to cultural information, can focus the learner's attention on informational content, and can provide an opportunity for learners to participate in a collaborative project regarding a social or political issue of international importance or related to the learner's major field of study. An example of a global issues Internet project would be to have groups of Japanese EFL learners and other learners in a TL-speaking country who are studying Japanese politics do research and prepare a joint report or presentation comparing the conditions of foreign workers in both countries.

The issue of objectivity

To ask students to analyze information in a foreign language concerning a controversial issue and then use this information as the medium of their learning is a delicate matter. If the learners are not provided with a rationale for selecting a particular issue and given a means of viewing the issue within in a broader framework, the instructor may be perceived as whimsical or biased. To preclude this, it is useful to solicit suggestions of what topics they would like to work with from the learners themselves.

It is also important for the teacher to accept diverse views, to allow the learners to take the position that there is no problem with the status quo. Regardless of the teacher's personal viewpoint, the purpose of content-based exercises is to develop the learners' language proficiency through logical analysis and communicative language use. The learners should be told that evaluation will be based exclusively on effective use of the TL and the ability to express well-supported opinions, whatever they might be.

For teachers who are involved in a cooperative language program, it is advantageous to compile an outline of topics and related resource organizations and materials. Besides serving as a source of organized information for instructors, a topic outline would allow the students to view the issues in a broader context and even function as a kind of menu (Appendix 2). If there is sufficient interest and cooperation among the teaching staff, adaptations of authentic materials concerning specific topics could be assembled into packets and shared.

For almost every social or political controversy, there is usually at least one NGO, one governmental agency, and one corporate entity active in the field. For example, the Citizens' Nuclear Information Center, the Atomic Energy Commission of Japan, and the Tokyo Electric Power Company, Inc. all have their own policy positions and are potential sources of information about the future of the Japanese nuclear industry. To be fair, and to promote development of critical thinking skills, the instructor should try to present the learners with information from as many sources as possible and direct them to resources they can use on their own.

Presentation of informational content

As mentioned, background knowledge is crucial to overall comprehension. The new information that a learner receives must be processed in connection with previous knowledge in order for the new material to be successfully understood (Carrell and Eisterhold, 1988). For this reason, it is best to begin a teaching module with a general introduction and informal discussion to activate the learner's background knowledge of the particular issue. After the issue has been introduced, it is interesting to do a survey or poll of the students' initial opinions. Then, the learners should be assigned readings of differing points of view from the mass media. This allows the learners to question or justify their initial opinions, introduces them to unfamiliar lexical items and expressions necessary to talk about the topic, and gives the instructor a chance to explain and give contextualized examples of grammatical structures. The reading assignments may be exploited by jigsaw activities, cloze passages, true/false and multiple choice quizzes, comprehension questions, paraphrasing activities, sequencing exercises, comprehension questions, etc. Currently, the number of articles being published in the professional EFL literature which detail specific instructional activities related particular global topics is increasing rapidly (Cates, 1992; Fujioka, 1992; Stempleski, 1992).

After the reading activity, the class can be divided into groups of four to six for the culminating activity of the module. This might be a persuasive speech advocating a proposed public policy, a debate, a panel discussion, a simulation, etc. The instructor should be ready to assist the groups by providing information resources for their research, for example videotaped information from one of the resource organizations previously mentioned. In most classroom situations, it is desirable for videotapes to be 40 minutes or less in length. The brevity promotes better understanding of the nonlinguistic content as well as allowing greater explanation and exploitation of linguistic items. Henderson and Setliff make some suggestions for effective use of videotapes of television news which can be generally applied to other varieties of video:

> It is advisable to break the piece down into short sections according to the developmental organization of the report. Each short piece should be introduced before viewing and briefly discussed after viewing; students should be encouraged to ask questions about anything they may have difficulty understanding so they will be better prepared to process the following parts. Once the entire segment has been presented, a series of practice activities can provide learners with opportunities to use the new vocabulary and structures that have been selected as target patterns. This would also be an appropriate time to give concentrated practice in the pronunciation of sounds or sound combinations that the students may find especially troublesome. All of these activities will make it possible for the learners to increase their level of comprehension as they proceed to the next step, which is to view the news segment in its entirety, concentrating on meaning and on the developmental structure of the report. Finally, as a follow-up activity, the class can use the information they have heard as a basis for questions and answers or for more extended discussion. This may consist primarily of comprehension questions to check on the students' grasp of the overall message of the report, and their understanding of specific important details. For more advanced learners, a more open-ended discussion of their own opinions and reactions would be valuable.

> The important thing is that learners be given an opportunity to use the target language items as well as the new knowledge they have gained from the news segment. (Henderson and Setliff, 1992, pp. 262-263)

During the final activity, a field trip to a relevant site can drive home the reality of the topic under discussion and further motivate the learners. Inviting a guest speaker from one of the resource organizations can also increase motivation. If there are no objections, it is recommended to videotape guest lectures and the students' final activity for later examination and analysis. A follow-up survey to track change in learner opinions compared to the initial survey can also be instructive.

Some Disadvantages

The disadvantages of using global issues as the content theme for EFL instruction seem to be twofold and they are the same for any content-based language program, regardless of the informational content. Firstly, the instructor must take responsibility for materials adaptation and development. Substantially more preparation for class may be required. However, it should noted that support from program administrators and cooperation among teachers can lighten this burden considerably. The other disadvantage is that teachers must manage information from areas outside their professional training. Some may be uncomfortable with this, but they should be assured that it is unnecessary to become a technical expert in these fields to conduct a language class which addresses general issues.

Conclusions

The benefits of content-based instruction are manifold and outweigh the few disadvantages. Relating the curriculum to aspects of the real world activates background knowledge and enhances the motivation of the learners. Skills of organizing content information which can generalize across disciplines are refined. The TL is not simply treated as an object of study, but is used as a means of communication. Adaptations of materials can be tailored to the proficiency level of the learners and modules can be condensed or expanded, simplified or made more difficult, as appropriate.

Content-based second/foreign language instruction itself is a relatively new field and much empirical research and work in design and implementation remains to be done. The efforts of classroom teachers to cooperate in the establishment of integrated curricula and coordinate elements of classroom practice with theory of second language acquisition will expedite this process.

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Appendix 1: Directory of Non-Governmental Organizations in Japan and NGOs Active in International Cooperation

Compiled and published by: Japanese NGO Center for International Cooperation (JANIC)
Address: #3 Daini-shibata Building, 3-21 Kanda-nishiki-cho, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo, Japan 101
Cost: ¥2,500 plus postage.

This directory lists 186 Japanese organizations involved in a wide variety of cooperative, non-profit activities in developing countries throughout the world. These groups are categorized according to purpose, size, and funding. They are indexed according to field of interest, geographical area of activity, and alphabetically in English and Japanese. Information is provided on contact persons, staff and support, objectives, activities, field of assistance, regions of activity, financial status, membership, and affiliated organizations overseas.

Appendix 2: Sample Outline

The following is a sample outline for the topic of human rights, with potential resoucres which could be revised and expanded.

Legend: T = major topic
S = subtopics
N = adaptable non-ESL materials
C = related computer software
E = ESL materials to serve as procedural models
V = adaptable videos
R = relevant resource organizations

T: Human Rights.
S: Political Prisoners and Nonviolent Dissent.
Forced Labor.
Refugees.
Prejudice and Discrimination: Race, Ethnicity, Religion, Social Background, Age, Gender, Physical and Mental Disabilities.
Examples and examination of social pressure, cultural relativism, and universal values.
E: Refugees, Unit 14, *Our World*, Eichosha Longman (intermediate)*.
Women's Liberation: The Search for Equality, Unit 7, *Advanced Listening Comprehension*, Newbury House (advanced)
Writing a Short Constitution and Bill of Rights, Unit 20, *The Non-Stop Discussion Workbook*, Newbury House (intermediate/advanced).
N: Teaching About Human Rights: Issues of Justice in a Global Age, Center for Teaching International Relations, University of Denver.
V: United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, State of Siege, Missing, The Chocolate War, 60 Minutes Documentary: Chinese Prison Industry, M.L.K.: I Have a Dream Speech, Cry Freedom, Gandhi, The Hooded Men.
R: United Nations Information Center, Amnesty International, Japan Anti-Apartheid Committee.

* Note: The texts are given here for reference only. Relevant laws apply to all copyrighted materials

Imagery, Verbal Processes, and Second Language Learning

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It has long been theorized that imagery underlies many verbal processes. Although this hypothesis is not without controversy, it is supported by connectionist theories which hold that the processing of linguistic units is done in parallel and may be based on different kinds of underlying forms. Further support is offered by the results of research on the role of imagery in expediting various aspects of the language learning process. Thus, hearers may not rely solely on parsing when comprehending ambiguous sentences, but may also employ imagery as a disambiguation strategy. This paper attempts to describe the nature of imagery, to show its place in theories of language learning and to provide guidelines for its use in the second language classroom.

多くの言語処理の根底にイメージがあるという理論は昔からある。この仮説には異論がないわけではないが、言語処理においては異なるユニットの処理が並行して行われ、異なる種類の形式がもとになっているかもしれないと主張するコネクショニスト理論は、この仮説を支持している。さらに、言語学習の過程をさまざまな面で促進するイメージの役割に関する研究からもこの仮説を支持する結果が得られている。つまり、聞き手は、曖昧な文を理解するときにパーシングのみに依存するのではなく、意味を特定するためのストラテジーとして、イメージを使っているかもしれないということである。この論文は、イメージの特性を記述し、それが言語学習理論の中にどのように位置づけられるかを示し、第二言語の授業での利用法のガイドラインを提供する。

The deep structure of much language might be composed of images. Twenty years ago, such a statement would have been made with few to listen. Now, however, the theories underlying language learning known as connectionism, parallel distributed processing (PDP), or associationism give new weight to this possibility. In a PDP model of language (see Ney and Pearson, 1990; Rumelhart and McClelland, 1987; Shirai and Yap, 1993) the processing of linguistic units is suggested to be done in parallel. PDP approaches have been used to program computers to imitate human language learning (Rumelhart, 1987; Seidenberg, 1994)

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and, based on the results of such research, it appears that information for the production and recognition of language may come from a number of different places in the brain. It is therefore quite possible that certain linguistic elements are based on different kinds of underlying forms. For a number of people, one such underlying form might be imagery.

Ambiguous elements, for instance, may be of this nature and may possibly be disambiguated by the use of imagery as well as parsing. Consider the disambiguation of *The shooting of the hunters* (Chomsky, 1957, p. 88). Traditional grammarians parse the sentence in a serial fashion so that, in one reading, the noun, "hunters," is subject and in another reading the noun, "hunters," is object. However, it is possible that some English speakers may also call up images of the hunters being shot for one interpretation and the hunters doing some shooting for the other interpretation, thereby retrieving information as images which provide for the disambiguation of the two readings of sentence.

The sentence, *Time flies*, is also ambiguous, although the ambiguity might not be readily apparent. For most people, the Latin words *Tempus fugit* come to mind. However, for a less frequent reading, there is an image of a man with a stop watch timing flies in a miniature fly race. At this point, there are two possible "readings" of *Time flies*. There is the picture of the man, the flies, and the stop watch and there is the abstract concept of the rapid passage of time. The underlying forms for *Time flies* on the one hand, might be verbal and, on the other hand, might also be imagery.

Similarly, in speech ["the" sənz reiz miit] is ambiguous, whereas the written form is not ambiguous; it is either "the sons raise meat" (that is, they work on a cattle ranch) or "the sun's rays meet" (as, for instance, in an evening sunset). Each of these meanings can be visualized in terms of imagery.

A bi-modal disambiguation of these two examples, the sentence *Time flies* and the phrase, [sənz reiz miit], can be explained by the presence of two systems in the mind, one verbal and the other non-verbal. Paivio's dual coding hypothesis (1986) holds that all human thought is either in the form of words or images. As suggested by Marschark and Hunt (1989, p. 710), "Human cognition is assumed to include separate but interconnected verbal and imaginal processing systems." The verbal system might well conform to Chomsky's deep structure as logical form; whereas the nonverbal may be cast in the form of imagery. To quote Paivio, "the nonverbal and verbal symbolic systems are assumed to be functionally independent in the sense that one system can be active without the other or both can be active in parallel ..." (1986, p. 62), as they are in the two "readings" of the examples given above or in a computer simulation of the phrases using PDP analysis (Ney and Pearson, 1990).

This line of reasoning presents the possibility that speakers of a language do not only use an elaborate system of parsing to arrive at an understanding of an ambiguous reference, but may also have access to imagery as well. And it is at this point that imagery and its effect on mental processes fits into the teaching/learning paradigm. From such a perspective, it may be that Asher's position (1969, 1972, 1977) that children learn languages better than adults because they learn in the context of bodily action may not be completely accurate. Language learning by children is facilitated not only by the context of bodily action but also by the contexts of images, emotions and whatever else is in the perceptual field of the youngsters. In contrast, language learning by adults in many classroom settings is often more limited in terms of input rich in and evocative of the images, bodily actions and emotions found in a natural setting. Such a context-free learning environment may tend to mitigate against free access of the imagery pathway as a learning strategy.

A Connectionist Perspective on Language-Specific Forms

In the early days of transformational grammar, Lakoff (1969) published a paper suggesting that pattern practice is ineffective since language is innate. However, if this is so, then how do humans learn vocabulary and those facets of a language that are language specific and, thus, cannot be a part of an innate universal grammar? This question remains relevant since linguists and language teaching methodologists have said very little about the mastery of vocabulary or linguistic features which are language specific, often irregular and seldom rule-based. The answer is not found in a transformational system of language analysis which, all along, has pushed irregularities off into the lexicon and has never provided any hint as to how the irregular facets of language are learned. An alternative interpretation of the process of language learning is found in connectionist or PDP systems where "Rule-based, analogy-based, and rote-based ..." facets of language are learned by the same mechanisms and in the same way (Rumelhart and McClelland, 1987, p. 226; see also Shirai and Yap, 1993; Seidenberg, 1994).

Cohen's *The Use of Verbal and Imagery Mnemonics in Second Language Vocabulary Learning* presents a quick survey of methods that minimize "The use of the native language in the classroom . . ." (1987, p. 52) but skip the practice-based exercises of many language learning methods. However, practice as classroom pedagogy seems to be on the verge of a resurgence under the impetus of associationism, connectionism, and PDP. (See Gasser, 1990; Ney and Pearson, 1990; Sokolik, 1990.) Since the transformational revolution in 1957, it is impossible to ignore the creative aspect of language use. Now, however, with the advent of connectionism, it is no longer possible to down play the habitual aspect of language use. The first requires that the language teacher use creative exercises, as in communicative language teaching methods or the Natural Approach; the second requires that exercises be used to help with the drudgery of learning the habitual aspects of language use. As Gallagher states, "I don't know anybody who has learned a second language who has not had to do a lot of memorization" (1976, p. 93).

These two aspects of language use, the habitual and the creative, are found in a PDP or connectionist model. Rumelhart and McClelland (1987, p. 226) provide support for such a duality when they write about "rote" learning and "A blend of rule-based, analogy-based, and rote-based learning." The present report deals largely with what Rumelhart and McClelland call "rote" learning (see also Chandler, 1993).

Research Findings on the Role of Imagery in Learning

At this point, it is useful to look at the place of imagery in the teaching/learning paradigm. Here we find that imagery is used to improve reading (Long, Winograd and Bridge, 1989; Oakhill and Patel, 1991; Jawitz, 1990, Cothern, Konopack and Willis, 1990), geometry instruction and reasoning (Battista and Clements, 1991; Mitsuda, 1994). It is also used to aid students in mastering writing (Good, 1986; Jampole, 1990; Miller, 1990; Worley, 1991) and in the comprehension of complex verbal material (Drose, 1989). Jampole, Konopak, Readence and Moser (1991) found positive effects for the use of imagery in the creative writing of academically gifted elementary students and Yoder (1991) determined that use of imagery helped college students in reading. McDermott and Roediger (1994) found that it also helped in test-taking. Nelson (1992) determined that imagery assisted fourth graders in verbal narrations and Jawitz (1990) found that it also helped elementary students in reading comprehension. Imagery has been shown to facilitate the recall of science textbook material (Knuttgen, 1992) and historical facts (Ruggieri and Alfieri, 1992; Dretzke and Levin, 1990), and has also been used extensively in teaching the learning disabled (Rawley, 1991; Ferro, 1991; Whitmire and Stone 1991).

Imagery has been especially valuable in helping students to learn second language vocabulary (Cohen, 1987; Wang, Thomas and Ouelette, 1992; Johnson, Adams and Bruning, 1985; Hager, 1990) and has been shown to have improved the retention of Chinese characters in a language class (Wang et al., 1992). Imagery has been used to enhance the whole language classroom in teaching language arts (Shaw, 1990) and also to encourage creativity with Native American children (Nelson and Lalemi, 1991). There is even a *Journal of Mental Imagery* which discusses, among other things, the use of mental imagery in medical procedures (Korol and von Baeyer, 1992; see also Daake and Gueldner, 1989).

These diverse studies point to the necessity of describing the nature of imagery, especially as it is used pedagogically.

Types of Imagery in the Language Classroom

In second language classrooms, many teachers use imagery in the form of pictures to help with the mastery of vocabulary. These pictures call up high-imagery words that "are easier to remember than abstract, low-imagery words" (Coltheart and Winograd, 1986, p. 174; see also Stokes, 1929). Imagery can be classified according to the various types of imagining devices that serve as mnemonics. For instance, in *peg type mnemonics*, vocabulary items are associated with pegs by being referenced to pictureable words. This type of mnemonic has been used for years.

Paivio recounts how he first encountered the peg mnemonic in an undergraduate psychology course. He and other students were introduced to a so-called "expert mnemonist" who exhibited amazing powers of memory. In the demonstration, the students named twenty objects around them. The students then took turns choosing the numbers in any order. The "expert mnemonist" (in reality, a graduate assistant posing as an expert) then named the object corresponding to each number. The professor then explained how the graduate assistant had managed such a feat, and how it was possible for most people to do the same.

> The assistant had used a mnemonic scheme consisting of twenty memory pegs that rhymed with numbers—one-run, two-zoo, three-tree, four-door, and so on. She had imagined the first item in a bizarre interactive relation with someone running, the second similarly associated with a zoo animal. When a number was subsequently called out, she retrieved the corresponding peg word and its associated compound image, from which the target item could be recalled. (Paivio, 1991, p. 2)

Wang et al. (1992, p. 359) refer to this as the "one-is-a-bun" pegword system in which a set of pre-memorized concrete pegwords are used that rhyme with numbers (one-bun, two-shoe, three-tree, etc.). The pegwords serve as mental pegs on which a person "hangs" the items to be remembered by using visual imagery to associate the pegwords with the item (Higbee, Markham and Crandall, 1991, p. 65). Paivio states that many of the popular memory systems since the 1920's have been based on the pegword system (1991).

The keyword mnemonic system uses imagery in much the same fashion as the pegword system. For Wang et al. (1992, p. 359), the keyword mnemonic would be invoked, for instance, by an English speaker learning the Spanish word *caballero* who decides that "eye" is a good keyword since it is found in the pronunciation of the second syllable. The learner would then form an interactive image that incorporates both the keyword, "eye," and English translation of *caballero*. A suitable image might be the eye of a horse. The keyword, then would evoke *caballero* and, at the same time, would evoke the image in the English translation, "horseman."

Cohen (1987, p. 45) discusses this use of a *keyword mnemonic*, suggesting that the keyword—a native language word or phrase which is similar in sound to part or all of the foreign language word—is an "acoustic link" between the native language item and the foreign language word to be learned. He then goes on to state that:

> An interacting image is created between the recoded or functional stimulus, the keyword, and the native language word or phrase ... the imagery link. The intended result is that an encounter with the foreign word will evoke the key word which in turn re-evokes the imagery link, and finally the native language equivalent can then be retrieved from the interaction or imagery link. (Cohen, 1987, p. 45)

In the teaching of Spanish as a foreign language, Cohen gives the example of an English speaking learner who masters the Spanish word *pato*, duck, by creating a mental image or being furnished with

> a picture of a duck wearing a pot (the key word) on its head. When they are asked the meaning of *pato*, this evokes the key word "pot," which in turn re-evokes the image of the duck wearing the pot on its head. (Cohen, 1987, p. 45)

At this point, it might be pointed out that the mnemonic used appears rather bizarre because ducks do not normally go around with tin pots on their heads, but, in some studies, the more bizarre the imagery, the more effective it is (Iaccino and Sowa, 1989; Kline and Lowell, 1991; McDaniel and Einstein, 1989).

Johnson et al. (1985, p. 125) discuss the use of a keyword in German class where the keyword, "car," might be used to evoke the German word, kartoffel, which means "potato." To do this the students might visualize a car with large potatoes for wheels. Wang et al. (1992, p. 520) use the example of the keyword, "egg," being offered to evoke the French word *eglise* (church). The visual image linking the two words would be a church built of eggs. In all of these exercises, a keyword is a familiar word that bears an acoustic resemblance to a novel word.

Paivio (1991, p. 203) discusses an example in which the French word *couteau*, "knife," would be presented to English speaking students who would then learn by selecting, "toe," as the key word since the last part of the word couteau sounds like the word "toe." While hearing the word *couteau* being uttered, these students imagine a knife cutting a toe. After the exercise, they would remember the image of a knife cutting a toe when presented with the English word "knife" and from the image of the knife they would reconstruct the word *couteau*.

Another example of the peg mnemonic involves teaching the French keyword *tornado*, or "tornado" for the German *torlauf*, or 'slalom', which is also translated as '*slalom*' in French. Since a skier in the slalom moves down the mountain side like a tornado (*tornade*) the association would be easy (Desrochers and Wieland, 1989, p. 27).

Thus, keyword and peg word mnemonics are very similar. The difference lies in the fact that the peg word mnemonic requires a rhyming couplet between the mnemonic word, a number, and the key word, whereas the keyword requires only a rhyming syllable with the mnemonic word.

At this point, it might be wise to inject a word of caution. Over time, students sometimes have difficulty recalling the keyword or the word to which it is linked. Thus, Johnson et al. suggest:

> Keywords which are both semantically and acoustically related to target words might be more resistant to decoding failure. The previously learned meaning of the keyword, already well integrated in semantic memory and similar to the meaning of the new word, could provide an additional, durable cue for recall. (1985, p. 137)

In another type of mnemonic, the chain type, "Words are remembered by their use in a story, by their being linked together through a series of visual images or by their use in rhymes" (Cohen, 1987, p. 44). Thus, attempts to link language learning exercises to some sort of discourse are chain mnemonics.

In slightly different words, chain mnemonics are "encoding mnemonics whereby verbal material (e.g. a word, phrase, or a sentence) and visual imagery serve as cognitive mediators" (Cohen, 1987, p. 45). As a result, a verbal mnemonic for a Spanish speaker learning the English word "chalk" might be constructed in the following fashion. The student might be presented with a sentence: *La tisa se choca con la pizzara* (The chalk strikes the blackboard). In this, "The Spanish mnemonic [*choca* - "strike"] has a sound similar to that of the target-language word [chalk] and is linked in meaning through the sentence that is created" (Cohen 1987, p. 45). Here, *choca* would be the link in the chain mnemonic.

By way of summary, then, mnemonics can be either peg type, chain type or keyword type, and can be either student-generated or instructor-provided. Conventionally, these mnemonics can employ various combinations of verbal and pictorial devices. When mnemonics are provided, the teacher may supply both the keywords on tape and interactive pictures on slides or as handouts (Trout-Ervin, 1990).

Using Imagery to Support Language Learning

The advantages of using mnemonics in the language class are many. First, let us consider the use of imagery as an ongoing process during speaking, reading and writing. "Images may be continually constructed and held in working memory as new information is assimilated" (Long et al., 1989, p. 368). This continual use of imagery enables memory. "There is substantial evidence that speed of acquisition and immediate recall [of second language vocabulary] are enhanced by the keyword method" (Wang et al., 1992, p. 520). Simply put, Wang and his colleagues determined that imagery mnemonics aided second language learners in acquiring vocabulary. Besides this, the use of mnemonics helped in the retention of the vocabulary learned. Coltheart and Winograd (1986, p. 179) assert that, "Word imagery remains a robust determinant of memory."

As a second important consideration, Kasper (1985) notes,

> imagery and rehearsal influence recall in different ways. While imagery subjects were able to generalize what they had learned to novel contexts, rehearsal subjects were not. This suggests that imagery enhances recall by inducing subjects to process item specific information for individual words, while rehearsal leads to the processing of complete units and dependence upon the context of original learning. (Kaspar, 1985, p. 1080A)

Learning vocabulary through the use of imagery allows learners more flexibility in recall and promotes the ability to recall vocabulary in novel environments (Long et al., 1989). Furthermore "Imagery is involved in the organization and storage of information (Lesgold, McCormick, and

Golinck, 1975, p. 369)." As reinforcement for this point, results of experiments,

> indicate that the peg mnemonic and high-imagery both helped learning more than they helped retention, that high-imagery helped recall more than did low-imagery only for high-familiarity sayings, and that the recall measures affected high-imagery sayings more than low-imagery sayings. (Higbee et al., 1991)

Regarding this consideration, Paivio has stated, "The concreteness or image-arousing value of the peg word is assumed to be important in the rhyme mnemonic technique" (1991, p. 3).

This point is of significance because learning vocabulary has been slighted by generations of linguists and language teachers. And strangely enough, it has now been displaced by the teaching of grammar. It should not have been. When students learn words properly, they also learn grammar. For example, if students have not learned that the verb, 'enjoy' is followed by the gerund and not the infinitive, they have not learned the word. So, in a very real sense, the learning of vocabulary entails the learning of grammar. However, it should be noted that, although many communicative teaching methods tend to minimize vocabulary learning, this is not true of Suggestopedia (Bancroft, 1977, 1978; Racle, 1979), which has offered teachers a means to aid students in the mastery of vocabulary. Further, as Stevick (1986) maintains, if most nonverbal systems, including emotion, can be classified as imagery, then it follows that the success of Suggestopedic teaching rests at least partly in the imaging systems that are utilized so effectively in this method.

Conclusions

If verbal processes have as their deep structure images as well as words and phrases (Paivio, 1991), then it stands to reason that images help in the mastery of language related material. Further, it would seem that models derived from current theoretical positions such as connectionism (PDP) give a theoretical basis for the use of imagery. As a result, it would seem prudent for second language teachers to fill classroom material with images to aid students in their quest for mastery of the target language. Such images include keyword mnemonic devices, peg word mnemonic devices and chain mnemonics, all of which have been shown to aid students in the mastery of second language vocabulary.

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Reviews

Sociolinguistics. Janet Holmes. London and New York: Longman, 1992. 412 pp.

Language in Society: An Introduction to Sociolinguistics. Susanne Romaine. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994. 235 pp.

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Throughout the 20th century, "core" linguistics has focused on grammar of isolated sentences that are unrelated to any particular speaker, status, or situation. When the term "applied linguistics" appeared in the 1960s during the heyday of contrastive analysis, the conventional wisdom of the period was that a detailed comparison and contrast of the learners' native grammar with the target grammar constituted the proper focus and preparation for foreign language teachers. At that time, applied linguistics was, therefore, very much applied "linguistics."

At about the same time, "sociolinguistics" was establishing itself as a new field, evolving out of dialectology and other disciplines interested in language variation. Although "sociolinguistics" is sometimes used synonymously with "applied linguistics," it is useful to distinguish the two from each other and from "linguistics." Sociolinguistics studies the relationship between language and society and accounts for linguistic variation. In contrast to core linguistics, sociolinguistics often examines language that is more than one sentence in length, explaining how it relates to a context of variables.

Those who like to quibble with the term "applied linguistics" will enjoy doing the same with "sociolinguistics." Some areas of socioling*uistics* are remote from the concerns of core linguistics, and few in university departments of sociology refer to themselves as *socio*linguists. These terminological distinctions, however, deserve more respect than they are commonly accorded, and ignorance of them and their histories has caused a lot of unnecessary misunderstanding and ill will.

Over the past two decades, applied linguists, including those in the language teaching profession, have been looking less to core linguistics and more to sociolinguistics in order to understand and address language problems in education and society. This review examines two new "introductions to sociolinguistics" that may be of interest to applied linguists and language teachers.

In her preface, Janet Holmes, a Reader in Linguistics at Victoria University in Wellington, New Zealand, carefully states that her book has been written "for people who have never heard of sociolinguistics," and that she intends to prepare them for "more sophisticated" books in the field (p. x). Holmes has apparently developed this book from earlier drafts that she has field-tested with students in her classrooms. The Longman book jacket properly recommends the textbook for "senior school (6th form) and 1st year undergraduate students in sociolinguistics."

This textbook by Holmes may be the most carefully written, and symmetrical, introduction to sociolinguistics published. The twelve-chapter body of the text is framed by a short introductory chapter and a short conclusion. The twelve body-chapters are grouped into three major sections, each 110 to 120 pages in length and including four chapters. Each chapter has an introduction and a conclusion, and contains a number of highlighted and indented sociolinguistic "Examples" that illustrate some sociolinguistic topic. The "Examples," in turn, are frequently followed by "Exercises" testing or developing the reader's comprehension. Each "Exercise" is immediately followed by an "Answer." Relatively few works are cited within the text, and an extensive list of references appears at the end of the book. The main sections of all chapters are carefully edited.

Less well edited, at the end of each body-chapter, are poorly formatted and sometimes incomplete lists of important concepts introduced in the chapter, sources for the chapter, and suggestions for additional reading. In addition, some tables and examples (e.g., pp. 92, 271) are poorly formatted, and the index is not as thorough as it should be (e.g., omitting "India," which is used in several sections).

Section I, "Multilingual Speech Communities," contains four chapters on language choice, language maintenance and shift, language varieties and multilingual nations, and national languages and language planning. Here one finds sociolinguistic "Examples" from diverse speech communities around the world: the unemployed urban youth of eastern Zaire, the Vaupes in the northwest Amazon, the Cantonese of Singapore, among others. Below is a representative "Example" that Holmes included in her discussion of "language death and language loss," amid predictions that by the year 2000 almost all Australian Aboriginal languages will be extinct:

> Annie at 20 is a young speaker of Dyirbal, an Australian Aboriginal language. She also speaks English which she learned at school. There is no written Dyirbal material for her to read, and there are fewer and fewer contexts in which she can appropriately hear and speak the language. So she is steadily becoming less proficient in it. She can understand the Dyirbal she hears used by older people in her community, and she uses it to speak to her grandmother. But her grandmother is scathing about her ability in Dyirbal, saying Annie doesn't speak the language properly. (p. 62)

Especially in the early chapters, Holmes experiments with an introductory-textbook prose style that experienced readers may find annoying, for instance her definition and description of pidgin (p. 90). Another problem with the early chapters is that some answers to the exercises are a bit simplistic and misleading. For example, in Holmes' discussion (pp. 74, 88) of language planning and language revival, she stresses positive "attitudes" as the reason for the Israeli and the Tanzanian successes with Hebrew and Swahili, respectively; but she completely ignores what others have considered to be the crucial factor: the absence of a pre-existing common language used by the majority of the population. (Positive attitudes alone have not been enough in the case of motivated and patriotic Irish to re-establish Irish Gaelic into Ireland because the va*st majority already knew English* and could not shift away from that pre-existing language of contact.) Nonetheless, although one may not always be pleased with Holmes' "Answers" one must appreciate the way she reduces complex sociolinguistic data to neat, comprehensible packages that appeal to students.

In sections II and III, both the prose style and the discussion become more sophisticated. Section II, "Language Variation: Reflecting its users," contains four chapters on regional and social dialects, sex and age, ethnicity and social networks, and language change. This section covers a number of the classic studies on linguistic (mostly English) variation involving variables such as h-dropping, and final "-ing" in the USA and the UK. To these, Holmes adds some more recent and less widely publicized studies from Australia and New Zealand. Included in this section are "Explanations of women's linguistic behaviour" (pp. 171-181) and some interesting parallels between Maori English and British and American Black English.

Compared with Romaine, Holmes seems even-handed, dispassionate and (in as much as it is possible) objective in her description of sociolinguistic variation across gender, age, nationality, and other factors. Occasionally, however, Holmes shows a Western bias:

> Finally, the generalisation about women leading change towards the standard dialect applied only where women play some role in public life. In Iran and India, for instance, it has been found that women's speech does not follow the western pattern. In these places the status of women is relatively fixed and there is no motivation for them to lead linguistic change. It will not lead them anywhere socially. In these societies women do not lead linguistic innovation in any direction. (p. 234)

Unfortunately, Holmes does not address that fact that Turkey, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, India, and the Philippines have all had democratically elected female heads of state. Elsewhere, Holmes (p. 271) classifies "Style in non-Western societies" as if there were a straightforward and simple binary distinction. Sometimes she is not in command of the world data that she uses, evident in her assessment that the population of India is "over 700 million" (p. 79), and that in "West Africa, Hausa is learned as a second language and used in nearly every market place" (p. 88).

Section III, "Language Variation: Reflecting its uses" contains four chapters: on style, context, and register; speech functions, politeness, and cross-cultural communication; sex, politeness, and stereotypes; and attitudes and applications. Here, Holmes' steady tone and even-handed treatment of gender provide a clear contrast with Romaine's treatment of the same topics. Holmes summarizes a range of sociolinguistic research by noting that, "it is quite clearly gender rather than occupational status, social class, or some other social factor, which most adequately accounts for the interactional patterns described" (p. 329).

These chapters in section III coincide with some of Holmes' own areas of expertise and previous publications on pragmatics and miscommunication. In section III, as in section II, she supplements classic studies from Europe and North America with less widely known material, often from Australia and New Zealand. The discussion of register, for example, includes a fascinating account of Australian sports announcer talk, and its syntactic reduction, syntactic inversion, and heavy noun modification.

Susanne Romaine's text, *Language and Society*, covers many of the same topics as Holmes'. Romaine's treatment of these topics, however, is both more spontaneous and brilliant and less organized and careful. The most deeply rooted difference between these two books lies in their assumed readerships. Unlike Holmes, who is constantly attentive to the needs of her 18-year-old reader, Romaine never bothers to identify her readership. It is clear from the outset, however, that Romaine is speaking as much to her peer sociolinguists around the world as she is to her students. Romaine has impressive credentials. A Professor of

English at Oxford, since 1988 she has published four books on pidgins and creoles, bilingualism, Tok Pisin, and Australian languages—all sources from which she draws freely to provide material for the book reviewed here.

Whereas Holmes selects examples from all around the world without exploring any particular culture or language at length or in depth, Romaine relies heavily on examples from the Germanic language branch in Europe and North America, and on her previous work involving Tok Pisin in Melanesia. As Melanesia is recycled across chapters and topics, and examined from different sociolinguistic angles, the reader leaves the book with a sense of the whole and of "having been there." Romaine grabs our attention and sweeps us through the text, which in sections is a pleasure to read. Unlike Holmes, however, Romaine seldom stops to review, summarize or check our understanding, Romaine's book is only half the length of that of Holmes, in part because Romaine assumes a much greater knowledge on the part of her readers.

Romaine's tone is confident, personal, cynical, and anecdotal, drawing freely on her own unpleasant experiences with neighbors and colleagues, and as a pro*fessor* at Oxford among *male professors*. Her cloaked references (e.g., pp. viii, 25, 124) to sociolinguists may appeal to peers who know who and what she is talking about, but they are likely to confound students.

Romaine's bare bones table of contents inadequately reveals her chapters' contents, which, for that reason, must be spelled out below. In Chapter 1, "Language in Society/Society in Language," one quickly encounters one of the important resources of the book, the rich vein of sociolinguistic data drawn from the languages and societies of Papua New Guinea and New Britain. Using the Melanesian setting, Romaine clearly demonstrates why "language" and "dialect" are social rather than linguistic constructs and that "the very concept of discrete languages is probably a European cultural artifact fostered by processes such as literacy and standardization" (p. 12).

Chapter 2, "Language Choice," addresses individual and societal bilingualism and multilingualism. Here one finds familiar sociolinguistic examples dealing with Scandinavia, Quebec, Ireland, Hungarians in Austria, and Puerto Ricans and Amish in the USA. While Romaine acknowledges that a lot of standard theory on bilingualism is based on the European "one-language: one state" paradigm and is therefore limited, she fails to challenge this paradigm and ignores material on the bilingual's repertoire in multilingual settings which scholars in South and Southeast Asia have recently produced. Her heavy reliance on

European and North American scholarship here reflects one weakness of the book as a whole.

A good example of how Holmes and Romaine illustrate the same topic differently may be seen in a their accounts of "language shift" across "language domains." Both use the same example from a village in Austria, but Romaine's table (p. 51) involves 32 speakers interacting with each of 11 different "interlocutors." Holmes' table (p. 58) simplifies the material, showing just seven speakers and six "addressees," for her 18-year-old reader

Chapter 3, "Sociolinguistic Patterns," deals with sociolinguistic variables such as social class, style, gender, age, and network. In this chapter, more than any other, Romaine's carelessness in putting the book together is evident. She refers to Melbourne as having "the largest concentration of Greek speakers in the world" (p. 68). She also introduces Tok Pisin (p. 54), after having already used it and assumed familiarity with it earlier (pp. 10, 45, 46). The largest section, on language standardization, does not fit the rest of the chapter, although the material, especially that involving Western missionaries in Papua New Guinea, is interesting.

The subsections of Chapter 4, "Language and Gender," include "Man-Made Language," "Learning to Talk Like a Lady," and "Gossip Talk vs. Shop Talk." Here Romaine addresses two fundamental questions: How do women speak? How are they spoken about? The discussion, unfortunately, is not new and relies mostly on familiar examples from western cultures and little on her work with Australian and Melanesian languages. Romaine's argument ends at the same point where Holmes, always the more careful of the two, begins: "In conclusion, we can say that the study of men's versus women's speech is much more complicated than it at first appears" (Romaine, p. 131).

Chapter 5, "Linguistic Change in Social Perspective," deals with dialectology, focusing on numerous familiar examples of Low, Middle, and High German, rhotic and non-rhotic English dialects, and pronouns of solidarity. Little Melanesian material enlivens the discussion, perhaps because the linguistic history of preliterate cultures is difficult to reconstruct.

Chapter 6, "Pidgins and Creoles," drawing on Romaine's previous work in Melanesia, is one of the best chapters in the book. Here she interprets the distribution, origin, structure, and social context of pidgins. Romaine succeeds in illustrating a number of points introductory texts often avoid: (1) Creolization and decreolization can co-exist (p. 171); (2) "phonology remains the least stable component of otherwise stabilized pidgins" (p. 179), and (3) "there is no reduction in the overall semantic domains covered by a pidgin, but merely in the number of items used to map them" (p. 181). In this chapter, as elsewhere, one wishes that Romaine had used more word-for-word glosses and phonetic transcription. Again, Holmes helps here by providing an appendix with a phonetic alphabet; Romaine does not.

Chapter 7, "Linguistic Problems as Societal Problems," is a concatenation of accusations involving "language and educational failure," deficit theories, biased testing, bilingual education, immersion, and "semilingualism." Romaine's rhetorical tone exhausts rather than inspires the reader and her arguments are weak on three counts: (1) most of the examples are familiar ones from Western cultures; (2) unlike Holmes (e.g., p. 357), Romaine neither acknowledges social progress nor inspires students to bring it about; (3) Romaine offers little support for her arguments. Describing American immigrants, for example, she says "The number of foreigners deported [who had been assessed as feeble-minded largely because they did not understand English] increased by approximately 350 percent in 1913 and 570 per cent in 1914" (p. 193). Unless we are given more information and some raw data as a baseline, it is impossible to interpret the significance of these percentages.

Holmes concludes as carefully as she began: she summarizes "sociolinguistic competence" and offers a conservative list of sociolinguistic universals involving solidarity, status, and formality for her students to look for in the future. Romaine concludes her final chapter, Chapter 8, as recklessly as she began: "While there are at the moment no ready-made social theories for sociolinguists to plug all of their data into which will cover all the aspects of language use I have discussed in the book, there is also no reason to dismiss the enterprise" (p. 227). One leaves Romaine's book more impressed by individual sections, especially those dealing with Melanesia, and less impressed with the overall organization and coherence of the work.

Neither Romaine's nor Holmes's book serves as a guide for "how to do sociolinguistics" or presents an eloquent, unifying theory, but no introduction ever does. Both books, however, offer numerous insights about language variation, and many of these insights should add to our understanding the larger social context in which of language learning and teaching occur.

Holmes' book is highly recommended for those it is written for—a class of eighteen-year-olds; older students may find it a bit slow, pedantic, and patronizing. Romaine's book, despite the many problems pointed out above, will appeal to readers who have already read at least one other introduction to sociolinguistics and are looking for another perspective of the field.

Beyond the Monitor Model: Comments on Current Theory and Practice in Second Language Acquisition. Ronald M. Barasch and C. Vaughan James (Eds.). Boston: Heinle and Heinle, 1994. 290 pp.

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Educators variously find Stephen D. Krashen's influential ideas on second language acquisition useful, objectionable, or both. Few remain unaffected. Many use his terminology (comprehensible input, the affective filter) chiefly as convenient shorthand in discussing methods, especially when working from a communicative-based pedagogy. Even if teachers have not read Krashen's theoretical works, such as *Principles and Practice in Second Language Acquisition* (1982), they are probably familiar with his and Terrell's *The Natural Approach* (1983), directly or through secondary texts (see Richards & Rodgers, 1986, pp. 128-141). Barasch and James' *Beyond the Monitor Model* continues this commentary on Krashen's theories and their effects on the language teaching community. One strength of the book is its writings critiquing or expanding on most major aspects of Krashen's theory of language acquisition. Another strength is its essays by experts from North America as well as Europe. (Krashen, unfortunately does not contribute.) Timely topics in language teaching are brought up, directly or indirectly, throughout the book. This review summarizes selected articles from the book to show its breadth and tone.

Sheila M. Shannon's introduction outlines Krashen's theory of second language acquisition and its five hypotheses: (1) the Acquisition Learning Hypothesis; (2) the Natural Order Hypothesis; (3)he Monitor Hypothesis; (4) the Input Hypothesis; and (5) the Affective Filter Hypothesis. She highlights aspects of the hypotheses that have preoccupied scholars and teachers, including those in this volume.

Part 1, "Theoretical Bases," begins with two essays strongly critical of Krashen's theory. Peter af Trampe calls the monitor theory "simplistic and unscientific" (p. 27). For example, Krashen's differentiation between learning and acquisition is vague. Krashen does not explain precisely how conscious and subconscious learning occur or differ, nor does he account for the possibility that distinct aspects of language will be internalized differently. As af Trampe considers Krashen's advice theoretically unsound, he advises teachers to approach the theory "with the healthy skepticism it deserves" (p. 36). As a cautionary tale, he relates three cases where acceptance of a new "scientific" theory hurt educational efforts in Sweden.

In "Krashen's Theory, Acquisition Theory, and Theory," Kevin Gregg argues that the theory does not meet Atkinson's (1982) conditions for a language acquisition theory. Among the flaws he highlights is the failure to define a "domain of inquiry," or "D" in Atkinson's terminology. In other words, Krashen does not limit his analysis to one aspect of language, for example the acquisition of a phonological system (p. 39).

Next, Waldemar Marton argues in pedagogical terms against the tenet that "natural" practice of a second language is superior to organized presentation in the classroom. Marton's contribution is noteworthy for going beyond arguing theory to offering suggestions for teachers. Marton admits that Krashen uses some empirical evidence to support his "natural approach"; however, studies exist to the contrary. Marton questions Krashen's studies, stating that they are not "truly convincing for the simple reason that none of them in fact take into consideration one decisive factor—the quality of the teacher" (p. 60). Marton finds Krashen's reduction of language teaching to the providing of comprehensible input objectionable because it ignores strategies that have been successful in some situations. For example, Krashen and Terrell doubt the benefits of expansion (1983, p. 87), or the technique of repeating the speaker's incorrect utterance correctly. Some studies indicate, however, that these can be effective.

Wilga M. Rivers recommends an interactive approach that requires teachers to assess each teaching situation, indeed each student, separately. She argues that Krashen's view that comprehensible input leads to acquisition is not logical: it doesn't account for degrees of effectiveness of teachers or for students' motivational levels. Also, by recommending that students listen first and produce only later, she argues Krashen would have the teacher miss an opportunity to help the student gain confidence through interaction. Rivers reviews studies of situations very similar to Krashen's ideal situation of language acquisition, noting that in such cases students did not necessarily acquire greater accuracy in the target language, as he predicts, and sometimes developed "fossilized" inaccuracies (p. 84).

Essays in the next section, "Some Hypotheses Examined," continue to examine and critique the utility of aspects of Krashen's hypotheses. However, a shift from theory to the inclusion of research, analysis, and literature reviews makes these essays more practical for the teacher than most of those in the first section.

In "The Case for Learning," the late Carlos Yorio disputes Krashen's suggestion that acquisition as a strategy is superior to learning. Yorio studied his own use of English, not his first language, and found that monitoring himself did not necessarily inhibit effective communication. Krashen suggests that such cases are atypical, since they are narrated by linguists or those interested in linguistics. Yorio responds that this is irrelevant, and that the fact that helpful monitoring is possible suggests it should be developed in learners. Additionally, Yorio holds that language learned solely through acquisition can lead to fossilized errors, to the academic or professional detriment of some learners. To this end he examines a case study of a Korean immigrant studying in a U.S. college and results drawn from the Canadian French immersion program.

Rod Ellis and Peter af Trampe both highlight elements of Krashen's theory that they find inadequate, due largely to vagueness or the ignoring of important information. According to Ellis, Krashen does not account for situational and linguistic context—the social aspects of language. As a result, his model has a limited usefulness. In "Rules, Consciousness, and Learning," af Trampe examines the role of rules in language development, and chastises Krashen for offering a vague definition of "rules" (p. 159). Additionally, he is dissatisfied with Krashen's classification of conscious learning and unconscious acquisition, a complaint that recurs throughout this book. Af Trampe finds it possible to assume that consciousness is a matter of degree, in regard to knowledge of rules and capacity for self-monitoring.

The third section, "From Theory to Practice," examines how Krashen's hypotheses can be or have been put into practice. Teresa Pica studied the progress of grammatical competency in students in three environments, including a group learning (acquiring) only through social interaction, and a group formally studying EFL. In other words, she studied what kind of input specifically leads to improvement. Krashen and Terrell write of the "limited role" that grammar instruction should play in certain contexts (1983, p. 57). Pica's results were inconclusive; in some cases they supported Krashen and Terrell's prediction, but in others they did not.

Next, William T. Littlewood examines the usefulness of the Natural Approach in teaching a foreign language in a secondary school. He imagines a tired teacher's response to *Principles and Practice and Second Language Acquisition* (Krashen, 1982). He imagines the teacher reacting positively, deciding to enliven the classroom with some motivating activities that will include reading and listening. This essays stands out as a reminder of the appeal that Krashen holds for many teachers who have observed that drilling and other traditional methods do not result in accurate language production in learners outside of the classroom.

Essays by Reinhold Freudenstein and Ian Dunlop both assert that many of Krashen's ideas are not new. Freudenstein provides many proofs of this, citing earlier research and citations. In some cases, similarities with earlier European models are striking; only the terminology is different. Freudenstein finds this indicative of a lack of professional dialogue which discourages the development of strong research that can be incorporated into methodology. He concludes with a reminder that teachers must think of students first, and should remember that one method is not necessarily ideal for all students.

A practical and accessible article by Bill VanPatten argues for the importance of input in language teaching. In "On Babies and Bathwater: Input in Foreign Language Learning," he also addresses the complaint by some EFL teachers that since Krashen's theories are based on data generated in second language situations, they should not be applied to teaching foreign languages. He thinks it mistaken to de-emphasize input in favor of grammar, simply because of changes that may result from the "Proficiency Movement" (p. 231). To throw out the input "baby" with the "bathwater" of the monitor theory seems needless. Rather, the input hypothesis can be modified to take variability into account (p. 229). VanPatten offers a "rough outline" for curriculum progression that accounts for using input as well as grammar instruction, with Natural Approach activities most evident in early and intermediate stage curriculum.

Karl J. Krahnke suggests that while Krashen's theory of acquisition has a "classificatory and descriptive function" (p. 247), it lacks details that would give teachers direction. The theory's generality allows, perhaps with positive results, "for individual teacher interpretation and application" (p. 246). The theory does not, however, offer specific aims or outcomes to teachers. It offers, in Krahnke's view, "empowerment" without "enlightenment." He warns, "language instruction that is based on vague license with no knowledge of the context in which that license has developed [nor] of what effects it will have also tends toward chaos" (p. 247). Overall then, as a methodological resource, Krahnke finds Krashen's theory limited.

The final section of *Beyond the Monitor Model,* "The Panacea Fallacy," includes essays reiterating many of the points discussed above. Christopher Brumfit reminds us that language teachers interact in an "unstable world," and "are more akin to social workers, marriage guidance counselors, career advisers, and even priests or parents than they are to lawyers, accountants, or even doctors" (p. 266). He recommends administrative changes to encourage dialogue between teachers and theorists. More interaction and an "openness of argument" will help teachers acquire range in their varied situations. It is not the teacher's role to apply any particular theory, as Krashen seems to encourage in his writings.

Individuals with a thorough knowledge of Krashen's writing will find this book engaging. This book might supplement training grounded in communicative approaches, but instructors should bear in mind its negative tone and somewhat repetitious content. It might be more suitable as a text for a seminar specifically dealing with Krashen and his influence. The "Topics for Discussion" appendix would encourage seminar participants to relate readings to their own teaching experiences, and also to view the essays in light of other acquisition theory and research. Such discussion would go far to encourage teachers to consider the role of theory in their own classrooms, and to assess the merits of relying on scientific models.

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Language and the Law. John Gibbons (Ed.). London: Longman, 1994. 476 pp.

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In his introduction to *Language and the Law,* series editor Christopher N. Candlin states that "the series exists to explore the contention that our understanding of the social order is most easily and conveniently achieved through a critical awareness of the power of language; to recognize that access to and participation in the power forums of society depend largely on a mastery of their discourses and through that knowledge and that communicative competence to enable the achievement of personal, social, and professional goals." The law is certainly a power forum constructed by language as well as played out through language. Furthermore, a lack of competence on the part of those uneducated in legal discourse often leads to disadvantage and inequality before the law and is thus a concern for social order. For these reasons, *Language and the Law* is a natural choice for this series.

The book collects papers written mainly by linguists for those with a professional interest in the law—lawyers, sociologists, anthropologists, and other linguists. Its three parts represent areas where language and the law coincide: language constructing law, language and disadvantage before the law, and forensic linguistics. Editor John Gibbons introduces each section, and a lawyer with a specific interest in the content concludes each section with a commentary.

Part 1, "Language Constructing Law," shows the evolution of the language of the law in the context of the developing literacy within a culture. The basis for this part is the chapter "The Language of the Law" (Maley) which examines three legal discourse situations—legislation, trial proceedings, and judicial judgments—and provides the framework for the rest of this part. The following four chapters take the reader through aspects of a legal system in pre-literate, literate, and post-literate cultures ranging from the concept of "accident" in the forensic discourse of the Huli people of Papua New Guinea (Goldman) to caveats and endorsements for video depositions (Person and Berch). The latter presents an interesting juxtaposition to the chapter on Anglo-Saxon wills (Danet and Bogoch) which examines the transition from oral to written wills while the advent of video depositions in the present era takes us in the opposite direction—from written to oral testimony. The chapter on "Cognitive Structuring in Legislative Provisions" (Bhatia) is an exemplary balance of the tools of the linguists and the needs of the lawyers. Through the use of a two-part interactive cognitive structure consisting of the main provisionary clause and its qualifications, Bhatia unravels some of the mysteries underlying the reading and interpretations of statutory legislation.

Part 2 of this book examines language and disadvantage before the law. Just because the law provides equal treatment for everyone does not mean that it is operating fairly. Gibbons advises constant vigilance in areas where disparities of power and knowledge of legal language produce injustice. This part begins with a chapter on the cross-examination of children in criminal courts (Brennan) where, in an adversarial legal system, the victims of child abuse are abused again when they become the victims of the skilled language of a cross-examining lawyer—a telling criticism of the system. Walsh examines the ways courtroom styles disadvantage Aborigines within the Australian legal system, and Eades discusses the communication clash caused by cultural and linguistic differences between the modern Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal cultures in Australia. Labov and Harris provide a chapter on how linguistic testimony, such as surveys on interpretation, readability, and syntactic complexity, plays an important part in judicial decisions in the United States. Two of the cases they consider deal with ethnic and racial minorities disadvantaged by the complexities of written legal language.

Part 3, by its nature the most technical part of the book, covers forensic linguistics which primarily deals with expert linguistic evidence. The chapters in this part examine the reliability of such evidence in a variety of categories such as speaker recognition (Nolan), voice identification (Jones), disputed written authorship (Smith), and discourse analysis (Coulthard). This reveals the problems of admissibility of linguistic evidence due to the judiciary's suspicion of new disciplines, the probability rather than the certainty of the expert testimony, and the length of time and intelligibility of presentation to a court. The part concludes with a cautionary tale regarding the confidentiality of linguistic material (Simpson).

The papers in Langu*age and the Law* suggest solutions, as well as informing us of and criticizing prevailing trends. The major thread of advice in Part 1 (in line with the plain-language movements in the U.S., Australia, and England) is to narrow the gap between the language of the law and everyday language needs. However, this advice is balanced by the sensible recognition that many of the linguistic complexities of legal language, especially statutory legislation, are unavoidable due to the unenviable task of those who draft the law to be not only clear, precise, and unambiguous but also to be all-inclusive. In other words, legal discourses are contingent upon the systems within which they operate—for there to be a change in the language there needs to be change in the legal institution. However, this does not mean that there is no room for immediate improvement. Part 2 demonstrates areas of legal discourse, such as dealing with children and racial or ethnic minorities where disadvantage does occur, and counsels vigilance and offers measures to address such situations.

However, L*anguage and the Law* has its limits. First is its limited scope. The "Language" is English and the "Law" refers to systems primarily influenced by the Anglo-Saxon common law, which is adversarial in its trial proceedings. Little account is taken of the European system which is "inquisitorial" or systems such as the Japanese where there is no jury system and criminal proceedings are based primarily on confessions and written testimony. Furthermore, 11 of the 19 papers and lawyer responses are by authors based in Australia and three of these papers are on issues involving the Aboriginal peoples. The disadvantages suffered by Aborigines within the Australian legal system because of disparities in culture and language may or may not transfer to other people who are disenfranchised or discriminated against, but that is not investigated here either in relation to other countries (with the exception of Blacks and Puerto Ricans in the United States) or even in relation to other minority populations within Australia itself.

A second problem lies in the structure of the book. There is a sense, rightly or wrongly, that the available papers dictated the structure of the book, rather than vice versa; although the papers are interesting and informative in themselves, the cohesion of the book seems forced. The lawyer responses at the end of each part tend to focus on a specific interest in a particular chapter rather than commenting on the full part, which suggests that the content matter of the section may be too wide or too complex for comment. In fact, parts of the final section on forensic linguistics become so technical and inaccessible to non-linguists that one wonders at the irony of a book which starts out with linguists advising us of the need to simplify the language of the law, and ends by becoming bogged down in the jargon and conflicts of the linguistic profession itself.

I have reviewed this book both as a lawyer and as a language teacher: I use the topic of law in content-based English language courses and am a qualified lawyer. La*nguage and the Law* is a brave and ambitious attempt to illuminate linguistics as found in the classroom by taking it into the context of the courtroom. In this it mostly succeeds. By demonstrating the practical application of linguistics to the language of the law and in particular showing how language is power and how people without the necessary language skills are disadvantaged within legal systems, the book fulfills many of the objectives in the series.

Further, the broad base of the book's material introduces linguists, lawyers, sociologists, and anthropologists to topics they might otherwise miss. While linguists wrote the majority of the papers, the topics are accessible and informative to lawyers and teachers of ESL or EFL. The section on forensic linguistics, as with any discipline involving expert testimony, is less accessible and thus serves as a salutary reminder to us as teachers of the problems students face when the process —

legal or linguistic or cultural—is difficult to present and comprehend.

Language and the Law is a welcome addition to the limited resources on the topic and provides a wide range of subjects by some distinguished writers relevant to a variety of disciplines. For teachers of English as a foreign language, the application of linguistic theories to legislative and judicial discourse is particularly enlightening. In addition, it reminds us that the rules of evidence and procedure do not often translate to other countries, and that we need to be aware of these differences. For those using current affairs topics as a teaching medium, legal, and more specifically these days, trial issues are increasingly important. Merely consider the cultural and linguistic components of cases such as the US soldiers accused of rape in Okinawa, the allegations and procedures in the Aum cases, the issues raised in the lengthy trial of O.J. Simpson, and the differing expectations of banks, legislators, and regulators in the Daiwa case. Language and the Law is a worthwhile reminder of how language does not exist in a vacuum but brings with it a whole array of advantages and disadvantages for the participants in the legal process.

Studies in Team Teaching. Minoru Wada and Antony Cominos (Eds.). Tokyo: Kenkyusha, 1994. 228 pp.

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With more than 3,300 participants and sending foreign teachers into secondary schools in Japan, the JET (Japan Exchange Teaching) program (started in 1987) is clearly a subject meriting serious study. Until now, as Wada notes in this volume, "the seemingly abundant literature ... is based on personal impressions and anecdotes" (p. 42). That is precisely what the JALT Junior and Senior High School (formerly Team Teaching) N-SIG was formed to counteract and the task editors Wada and Cominos undertake in *Studies in Team Teaching*.

In their introduction, the editors argue for pedagogically informed team teaching, noting, "it is essential ... to [marshal] both empirical evidence and theory driven argument which will help us to understand team teaching and [the] JET program" (pp. 5-6). They hope to complement the JET Program's organizers' (CLAIR) perspective that team teaching is part of a larger project promoting "mutual understanding between Japan and other nations" (pp. 4-5). Wada and Cominos, while recognizing the political and budgetary limits the Home Affairs Ministry places on the program, argue for a firmer pedagogical base for JET instructors. In particular, they point out that the characteristics of JET participants—their youth (they must be under 35 years of age at entry), high turnover (they can serve a maximum of three years), and inexperience (only 11.7 percent of participants in 1991 had any sort of TEFL qualification [also discussed by Garant, p. 105])—probably has a significant effect on English education in Japan.

These concerns animate the book, which, while having no single overall argument, addresses a wide range of issues. The material falls into four areas and could have been usefully organized into sections along these lines: institutional influences on the JET Program and team teaching (Chapters 1, 3, 7, 14, 15, and 16); suggestions for classroom practice in a team teaching situation (Chapters 2, 8, 9, and 10); lessons drawn from the examination of specific team teaching situations (Chapters 4, 6, and 13); and the cultural and communication problems involved in native/non-native team teaching situations (Chapters 5, 11, and 12).

At the institutional level, in Chapter 1 Wada examines the relationship between team teaching and the 1989 revised curriculum for secondary schools. Wada, then a senior curriculum specialist in English at the Ministry of Education, points out that the JET Program was expected to play a crucial part in developing "communicative skills and mutual understanding between Japan and the rest of the world' (p. 9). However, problems in implementing team teaching emerged, first because in a "top-down" educational system, there is a "gap between what the 'top' wants to achieve and the 'bottom' really wants to do" (p. 15). A second, more basic, and more shocking, source of problems is the "fact that team teaching began without any form of pedagogic research to validate it as an effective educational innovation" (p. 15). With hindsight he urges this be rectified.

In Chapter 3, Gillis-Furutaka notes the worrying lack of teacher training of new AETs and proposes two new roles for JTEs who have studied TEFL abroad. First, they could train the inexperienced AETs. Second, they could help educate other JTEs whose training, based largely on the examples of senior teachers, tends to perpetuate outdated methods. However, Gillis-Furutaka overlooks a number of problems with this proposal. First, since the number of teachers sent abroad is pitifully small—in 1990, 175 teachers studied abroad for two months, 50 for 6 months, and only 5 for a year—the number of qualified JTE trainers is inadequate. Further, though she states, "communicative language teaching does not require the presence of a native speaker at all" (p. 38), Gillis-Furutaka fails to consider arguments for increasing the number of foreign-educated JTEs rather than increasing the number of AETs, who after all each represent a temporary investment.

One of the most commonly cited institutional constraints on English teaching in Japan is the college entrance exam system, and in Chapter 7 Law examines whether claims that they fail to test communication are well-founded (c.f. Shillaw, 1990). After making a careful study of the tests of 11 different universities, Law concludes: "College entrance exams are not perfect but they could be a lot worse; and reform-minded JTEs and AETs have better things to do than simply moan about them" (p. 100). Instead he suggests they recognize the administrative limits on testing oral skills and, in line with recent changes in exams, focus on replacing "yakudoku" translation reading classes with a more communicative approach. Law's article reminds us of the dangers of making wild claims that are unsubstantiated by empirical evidence.

In chapters 14 and 15, Gottlieb offers a study of team teaching in Australian universities, while Fanselow looks at "JET as an Exercise in Program Analysis." Gottlieb provides a detailed profile of a Japanese-language team teaching program in which native and non-native speakers teach separate but coordinated courses, arguing that this model could be considered in Japan—a proposition that ignores the limited TEFL qualifications of AETs. Gottlieb criticizes Krashen and Terrell's (1983) Natural Approach hypotheses when she writes, "learners ... do not just passively acquire the language through comprehensible input" (p. 197). Instead she seems to support consciousness-raising theories (Ellis, 1992) by writing, "Learners ... actively question ... the grammar they are using" (p. 197). She weakens her position by failing to support her arguments with empirical evidence or by referring to the theoretical literature. Similarly, Fanselow's paper is less grounded in academic research than in philosophical speculation. For example, to widen our perspectives on the JET program, he invites readers to make positive statements about the program and turn them into negative ones. He then urges us to back up such exercises with the systematic collection of data (interviews, observations, and reading), without offering readers his own supporting ideas.

In the final paper, Brogan describes British Council Koto-ku (Tokyo) team teaching projects which predate the JET program by two years. He describes methodological and institutional restrictions on English education stemming, on the one hand, from "teachers who feel most comfortable when lecturing about grammar" (p. 218) and on the other from the "little time for teacher training" (p. 222). However, he concludes that team-teaching can help motivate both JTEs and students.

Chapters 2, 8, 9, and 10 offer various suggestions to counter the "ineffective utilization of ALTs in the classroom" (p. 18). Brown and Evans propose content-based teaching on cultural themes. Garant would have AETs focus on specific speaking and listening activities. Jannuzi conversely argues that they should focus on reading, and Griffee describes the use of songs in the team teaching classroom. Each article is well researched and backed up with relevant readings from the field. However, this emphasizes that more empirical research is required to recommend one teaching method over the others. I don't underestimate the difficulty of such research, but the limited experience and contact time of most AETs makes it all the more necessary.

In Chapter 4, the first of the three chapters looking at specific team teaching situations, Yukawa attempts to address the above problem using Hymes' (1982) ethnography of speaking. Her valuable study compares three classes in detail at different points in the academic year and analyses the effects of an AET on a JTE's teaching techniques. She shows that JTEs clearly modified their teaching methodology in both solo and team-taught classes as a result of team teaching, shifting from 63% to 28% translation in lessons over a six-month period. She concludes by suggesting, "Studies are needed of schools where innovative teachers have managed to unite the faculty in a common search for the best use of an AET" (p. 57).

In Chapter 6, Smith observes five team teaching relationships towards the end of the academic year in order to determine the content and activities of apparently successful team lessons. Though there are a wide range of activities, the emphasis falls on specific reviews of parts of the textbook or on general communicative reviews. Smith acknowledges that this is partly due to the timing of the study at the end of the school year, but he argues for "the presence in team teaching of 'review' activities" (p. 81) as one of the possibilities in otherwise "fossilized team teaching practices" (p. 88).

Chapter 13 describes an experiment in team teaching in Japanese universities and evaluates it based on a student questionnaire. This is less convincing than the detailed ethnographic transcriptions of Yukawa and Smith, and the conclusions are necessarily more general: "Students ... found the combination of the two teachers to be interesting and stimulating" (p. 184). The authors admit that their data is subjective and needs to be followed up.

The three remaining chapters (5, 11, and 12) focus on inter-cultural problems in team teaching. Voci-Reed, looking at stress in Chapter 5, points to differing role expectations, poor communications, and their limited influence as stress factors for AETs, and sees JTEs' stress factors in team teaching situations as professional responsibilities, cultural differences, and lack of support for innovation. Her proposals for solving such problems remain vague: "The key to success remains within individuals themselves" (p. 70). Identifying more specific responses is the next step. In Chapter 11, Miyazaki makes a detailed analysis of communication strategies between native and non-native teachers in a Japanese-language program in Australia. He notes, "communicative negotiation is indispensable in order for NNT [non-native teachers] to develop their interactive confidence in real social contexts" (p. 152). From this he argues that for the JET program this means enlarging the opportunities for AETs and JTEs to communicate in and out of school to increase the latter's communicative competence. In Chapter 12 Kobayashi uses a questionnaire to look at cultural differences perceived by JTEs and AETs, and discovers findings similar to Voci-Reed's. Like Voci-Reed's, Kobayashi's suggestions for dealing with these problems remain vague, noting that success "depends on one's personal viewpoint" and ability to "recognize that both [cultures] have merits and demerits" (p. 175).

In varying ways, these 16 papers attempt to marshal "both empirical evidence and theory driven argument" to improve team teaching in Japan, the stated goal of the volume. Clearly some are more successful than others. Moreover, the book's lack of thematic organization makes it difficult to see a direction in which to move. Nevertheless, it represents a welcome start on a larger project: the development of pedagogical viewpoints on the JET program. To a degree, the future of the JET program rests on these matters, especially as the broader "cultural understanding" goals of CLAIR become fulfilled through other means. That future is uncertain until genuine pedagogical benefits can be shown for team teaching. This book represents the first step on that road.

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Appropriate Methodology and Social Context. Adrian Holliday. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994. 237 pp.

Reviewed by
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Reading *Appropriate Methodology and Social Context* (*AM&SC*) brought back memories of studying sociology and psychology. Yet, as interesting as this book was personally, I wondered about its appropriateness to the average L2 teacher in general and English teachers in Japan in particular. To evaluate this work on its applicability to L2 classrooms was difficult since it was not written as a classroom cookbook but as a sociological study. *AM&SC* appears to be aimed at educational sociologists. Does this book have relevance for practicing L2 teachers, or is it only for theoretical scholars? If the book does not provide clear solutions to real world problems, how can the determined L2 teacher find a way to apply specifically the information in it?

As the title implies, *AM&SC* presents arguments for using methodologies appropriate to the culture and country. It is divided into three main parts: Part A, The Cultures of the Classroom; Part B, Sources of Conflict; and Part C, Appropriate Methodology Design. Each of the 12 chapters includes a summary and questions for discussion. There is quite an extensive list of references. One potential drawback for the language teacher in Japan is that most of the case studies were drawn from experiences in the Middle East (i.e. Egypt, Iran, Morocco and Pakistan). There are only four references to Japan. However, if as statistics suggest, there is more difference within a group than between groups, then we can still learn from Holliday's analysis.

I have selected six salient points from the book for discussion.

Culture is changeable: It is important for L2 teachers to realize that their classroom cultures change not only with geographic borders, but with temporal ones as well. Indeed, the teaching of a language is often accompanied by the teaching of culture. As students master the new language, they may also adopt some of the cultural ways that go with that language, hence their classroom behavior may noticeably change during their years of study.

Cultural imperialism and classroom expectations: A key point, addressed in section 3.5.3, is the varying expectations of students and teachers. One study cited in Holliday (Coleman, 1987) examined how local students and teachers on the one hand, and expatriate teachers and curriculum developers on the other, saw the same situation differently. While the first group felt that learning not initially taking place was "not problematic as long as there was a harmonious teacher-learner relationship," the second group found the situation extremely unsettling for the very reason that learning was not taking place (p. 50). These varying expectations raise questions. Indeed, what is a teacher to do? What exactly is the job of an L2 teacher? It is to teach language? It is to meet some hidden agenda? Is it for some unstated and perhaps unknown purpose? Holliday reminds us that in most TESEP[1] (tertiary, secondary and primary) educational situations, the education process is intimately connected with socialization, and refers to other authors (cf. Bernstein, 1971; Stenhouse, 1975; LoCastro, 1989) in arguing that teachers are a primary source of socialization and "have responsibility as role models in the process of socializing their students" (p. 94).

In Part B, the schematic discussion of cultural imperialism, linguicism, politics, and the special needs of state education makes the reader aware of many problems faced by language teachers yet fails to provide solutions.

In BANA2 (Britain, Australasia, and North America) cultural and educational methodology, the concept of socialization as a factor in education may not be regarded as highly significant in secondary and post-secondary education. However, the emphasis placed on it in other cultures may be higher than what most native speaking English teachers are familiar with. Highly qualified, professional BANA educators may be placed in circumstances where they face low job satisfaction, low respect by their local peers and students, and an inability to complete their curriculum solely because of a misunderstanding of the social expectations. It follows that an understanding of Part B, Sources of Conflict, may help lessen the risk of culture shock in a new position.

Learning festivals: In section 3.2 the author introduces related concepts drawn from anthropology and applied to the classroom culture: "teaching spectacles" and "learning festivals." These, if pedagogically valid, would provide the basis for a valuable classroom approach. Teaching spectacles are seen as rituals which are staged by a teacher to serve a purpose. The example given (p. 36) is of an Indonesian puppet show with students being relatively passive viewers. A learning festival, on the other hand, is oriented toward increasing student participation. Obviously, this requires change and cooperation on the part of both the students and the teachers. I have sometimes found this to be a valuable approach. The classroom culture must first be thoroughly examined to determine whether a learning festival is appropriate, and if the necessary changes are feasible. However, in many contemporary classroom environments a more traditional approach is expected and preferred.

Classroom culture: Most non-sociologists think of a 'culture' as a large body of people, a group such as those who inhabit a country or practice a religion. However, a culture may be a smaller unit, and Chapter 4 looks at institutional cultures and classroom cultures. One point deals with class size. As any TESEP teacher in Japan knows, large classes are the rule. Holliday suggests it is an error to attribute this to a lack of funds for education.

> Large classes might be permissible where prevailing educational ideologies do not see the role of the teacher as a monitor of learning, but [as] a fount of knowledge, which is delivered without any concession to the students, and which students must struggle to attain. (pp. 58-59)

Teaching or learning: Chapter 5.4, "Setting the scene for conflict", is difficult to sum up, yet contains some important points. In many cultures the concept of teaching implies a traditional teacher/lecturer and student/receiver style of education. However, many contemporary BANA methodologies encourage a more active learner role. Obviously, when students expect a passive role, with the teacher as the supplier of wisdom and knowledge, and are then faced with demands for active participation, conflict seems inevitable. Interestingly, this also occurs when non-BANA English teachers attend BANA institutes of higher learning.

This particular section also deals with a variety of dichotomies: linguistics vs. language skills; theory vs. practical application; professor vs. teacher; giving the lesson vs. managing the learning; discovery vs. confusion; learning without teaching. The points raised address issues which affect teachers in every cultural setting.

Appropriate methodology design: The title suggests the book is about appropriate methodology. However, even though the last three chapters are devoted to this topic with a few examples of curriculum design, the task is an impossible one. Even the most casual reader must surely see this point. After all, if culture is changeable and there is such a multitude of cultures that even discrete classroom cultures exist, then how can one text cover all conceivable methodologies? Holliday realizes this, and, rather than provide a single method, gives ideas on analyzing the particular classroom which can aid in designing a methodology appropriate to that venue.

This text is not for everybody. The teacher who needs a syllabus for next week, or the curriculum designer who must redesign the school's curriculum by next month will not be helped. However, it does a reasonable job of introducing ways to take culture into account in academic preparation, and as such would be useful to study. For serious teachers who want to better understand their classes and for those with the time and willingness to undertake the venture, I recommend it. For those in search of a quick answer to a social or cultural problem, it will not be of much help.

Notes

1. Holliday repeatedly uses two acronyms, TESEP (tertiary, secondary and primary) and BANA (Britain, Australasia, and North America).
2. Holliday has a very schematic view of the English language teaching world and divides it into two unequal parts: BANA and non-BANA (the rest of the world).

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Assessing Language Ability in the Classroom. 2nd Edition. Andrew D. Cohen. Boston: Heinle & Heinle Publishers, 1994. 394 pp.

Reviewed by
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As the introduction to this volume states: "The assessment of students' language abilities is something on which teachers spend a fair amount of class time in one way or another" (p. 1). It would appear, given the recent literature in the field, that assessment is also something language teachers think about quite a lot outside the classroom: JALT '95 in Nagoya took on testing as a central theme with the plenary address of J.D. Brown and the first publication in the JALT Applied Materials series (Brown and Yamashita, 1995) focuses on language testing in Japan. Globally, there has been an explosion recently in the number of books concentrating specifically on how we test our students (e.g. Alderson, Clapham, & Wall, 1995; Brown, 1995) and even on the 20th century history of language testing itself (Spolsky, 1995). *Assessing Language Ability in the Classroom* claims to support this body of literature rather than try to replicate it. Cohen claims that the book was not written for testing novices, but the back cover advertises it as "accessible to novices in the field." This strange identity crisis plagues the book throughout. Cohen attempts to address issues that are left out in other texts on assessment, yet in so doing leaves out large chunks of necessary basic information about the assessment process. In the end, however, the book raises interesting and valid points about assessment in our own classrooms.

The book has 10 chapters, with the chapters organizing themselves into identifiable groups, though the sequencing of the chapters themselves is puzzling and not very intuitive. The first two chapters invite the readers to question their own philosophy of and need for assessment. The second group of chapters (3 through 6) focuses more discretely on instruments and the assessment process and environment. The final group of chapters (7 through 10) addresses individual skills and alternatives to the ways they are traditionally assessed. Throughout each chapter, Research Notes give those readers who want a more theoretical understanding of the material short summaries of research studies relevant to the current topic. I found this feature helpful; it concentrated most of the references into small areas of the text, allowing readers to skip over them as they please, in turn helping the general flow of the prose, which seems a little less burdened with parenthetical references than other language assessment texts.

The first chapter asks teachers to inventory their own needs and purposes for assessment. A questionnaire presents eight questions to help readers decide how the book will be helpful and the discussion that follows guides the readers to relevant sections of the following chapters depending on the answers generated. For example, item four in the questionnaire asks the teacher to consider how often assessment should take place in their classroom. The discussion of the questionnaire directs the readers to chapter 2, which "looks briefly at the issues of when to assess and the challenge associated with working out a series of ongoing, informal assessment techniques ..." (p. 9). This road map, a useful part of the text, makes the book more like a handbook and resource than a read-through volume on how to go about assessing students.

Chapter 2 includes brief discussions of the notions of reliability and validity, as well as the differences between norm-referenced and criterion-referenced instruments. Cohen highlights the role of the quiz, as opposed to the test, as a means of ongoing assessment of language ability. Although the terminology and concepts are defined, these discussions assume prior knowledge, not because they are complex but because they do not thoroughly cover these areas of assessment and are only partial thoughts on what these concepts mean in classroom testing. This weakens the book for anyone not comfortable with these concepts. If basic knowledge of these tenets is what is being sought by the reader, then this is not the volume to turn to.

Chapters 3 through 6 offer discussions of test-takers, instruments, and the processes involved in assessment. Chapter 3 sets forth a vocabulary for discussing assessment instruments, giving the reader a basis for the rest of the book. It also offers a "best of" selection of suggestions for those who are designing testing instruments for use in their classes. One example is an excellent suggestion about ways of gathering distractors for a multiple-choice measure. Rather than test developers guessing at what might be attractive distractors, Cohen suggests, citing relevant research, administering items in an open-ended format first and choosing popular wrong answers as distractors for future multiple-choice measures. This gem of a suggestion is one of many in this text.

Chapters 4 and 5 entertain issues and problems related to scoring and evaluating assessment instruments. They cover basic ground with a discussion of item analysis and revision and the meaning of a particular score on an instrument. More innovative suggestions are made regarding processes teachers may follow to continually evaluate assessment in programs and classrooms. Cohen includes a set of guidelines with some rather helpful and penetrating questions to ask about instruments.

Another insight from these two chapters is the use of student reporting about instruments themselves and about the strategies they use to answer items. Cohen discusses methods of gathering this information, including student verbal reports, inserting overt strategy items between language assessment items on an instrument, and administering checklist instruments on test-taking strategies after the fact. This leads to a discussion of students' test-taking strategies and what they can tell us about our own instruments.

Chapter 6 focuses on the development of assessment instruments. This seems out of place, since Chapters 3 through 5 deal with the processes of administering, scoring, evaluating, and gathering feedback on tests. It is strangely off-putting to read a discussion of item elicitation methods after we have already read an extended discussion of how to analyze whether items on a test have performed as we hoped they would. In many ways, the book would be more psychologically comforting if Chapters 3 through 6 were reversed. The introductory nature of the material contributes to the disjointed feeling.

By far the most useful part of the book, the final chapters (7, 8, and 9) raise important issues and provide a list of examples and possibilities for thinking about and assessing reading comprehension, listening and speaking, and writing. Here Cohen discusses current theory pertaining to these skills and various methods for eliciting performance in them. This section will help those who are designing their own instruments and need some fresh ideas. The brief treatment of computer-assisted testing of reading comprehension is an excellent example of the sort of insight that constitutes the greatest strength of the text.

In spite of these strengths, Assessing *Language Ability in the Classroom* tries to be too many things at once. The text contains useful and interesting directions to follow in assessment, information to put assessment into practice, and topics for further debate and clarification of one's own views. But without a great deal of effort in piecing together this scattered information, the reader comes away with a fuzzy picture of how to go about the task of assessment from beginning to end. This book does not provide a novice in language assessment with a clear and orderly presentation of the basic information needed to initiate an assessment process. We are left with a confusing question: who do we believe, the introduction, which claims the text was revised for those who have test-constructing experience, or the back cover, which claims it is accessible to the novice?

The conclusion to the text answers this question in a way when it says that the writer's goal was to give classroom teachers practical ideas on assessment, and "to write a testing book around the edges of other testing books—i.e., covering topics not covered in much depth elsewhere" (p. 358). Extending the metaphor, to me this book feels like only the edges of a picture, with many of the important details cut out and hidden away elsewhere. As a handbook of suggestions and an introduction to some currently debated issues in assessment, this book may prove satisfying. It is in this light that I again mention the questionnaire/road map in Chapter 1. Properly used, this feature may guide the reader directly to useful information, saving time and energy trying to figure out the organization and flow of the text as a whole. Readers requiring more systematic introduction to how to go about assessing students and evaluating instruments we use for assessment should look elsewhere.

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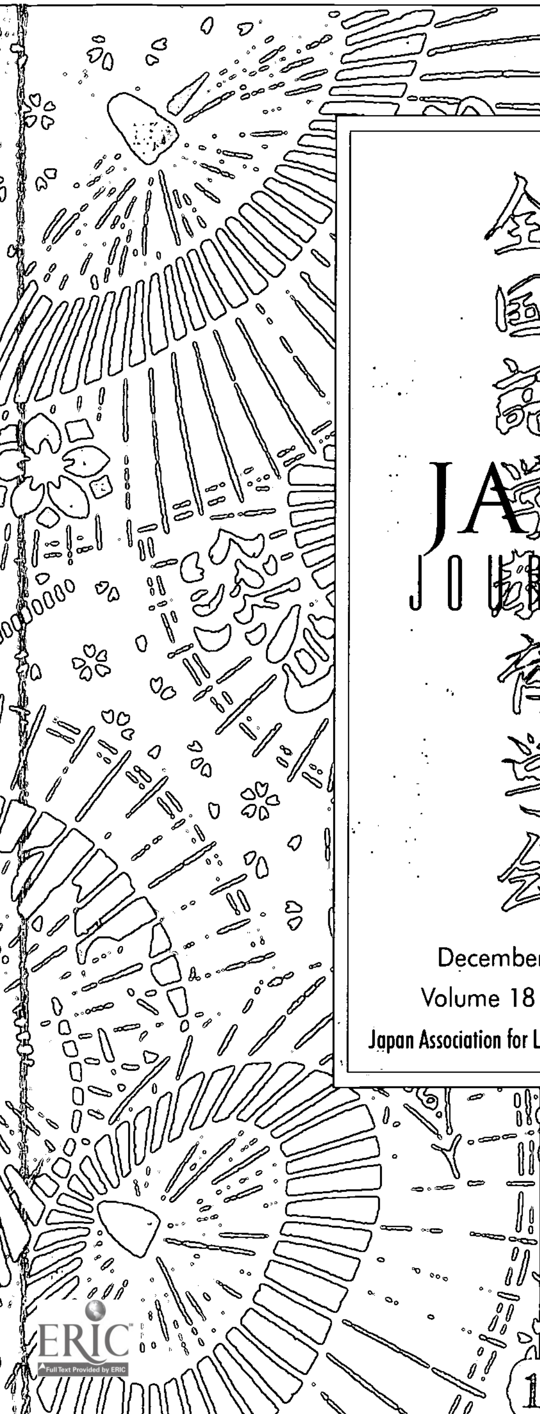

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JALT JOURNAL

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Japan Association for Language Teaching

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Japan Association for Language Teaching

JALT is a professional organization dedicated to the improvement of language learning and teaching in Japan, a vehicle for the exchange of new ideas and techniques, and a means of keeping abreast of new developments in a rapidly changing field. Formed in 1976, JALT has an international membership of more than 4000. There are currently 38 JALT chapters throughout Japan. It is the Japan affiliate of International TESOL (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages) and a branch of IATEFL (International Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language).

JALT publishes *JALT Journal*, *The Language Teacher* (a monthly magazine of articles and announcements on professional concerns), *JALT Applied Materials* (a monograph series), and JALT International Conference proceedings.

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JALT Journal

Volume 18, No. 2
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In this issue

Articles

English questions on Japanese university entrance examinations are examined by **Akihiro Ito** to determine whether they are reliable and valid measures of examinees' language proficiency. Results are mixed, indicating a need to develop a reliable external criterion listening test in addition to studies of larger populations.

A study by **James Sick** compares the listening comprehension ability of graduates of junior high schools which frequently employed native-speakers as assistant language teachers (ALTs) with graduates of programs that employed them less frequently or not at all. It was found that scores varied significantly among graduates of high, average, and low ALT utilization programs.

Questionnaires aimed at tapping Chinese and Japanese students' attitudes and motivational levels are examined by **Bill Teweles**. Differences were found between the student groups. In addition, positive attitudes toward the target language (English) indicated in the initial survey were not necessarily supported by a commitment to actually use the language, especially on the part of the Japanese respondents.

A two-part questionnaire regarding acceptable classroom behavior, as perceived by native-speaking EFL teachers in Japan is examined by **Catherine L. Sasaki.** Results confirm a mismatch between NS-teacher preferences and Japanese college-student behavior and point to a need for both parties to work towards minimizing the classroom-culture gap.

Teresa Pica reviews theory and research on the role of negotiation in second language (L2) learning, with application to the communicative classroom. Findings indicate that when learners and interlocutors engage in negotiation to resolve communication difficulties they signal and respond in ways that facilitate the process of L2 learning.

In an article in Japanese, **Satoshi Miyazaki** and **Jun Pirotta-Maruyama** examine the interactive contact situations experienced by JSL learners. Results reveal that learners consciously applied and acquired social strategies while in Japan and tended to become more intercultural as their learning proceeds; however, these gains were not necessarily maintained after leaving.

Research Forum

Two papers appear in this issue. First, pragmatic use of rudeness in five situations in which anger was expected is investigated by **Mitsuyo Toya** and **Mary Kodis** in their study of 10 native speakers of English and 10 native speakers of Japanese. Then, **Adrienne Nicosia** and **Lynn**

Stein evaluate the roles of teachers and students in academic writing conferences, or tutorials, in an English for Academic Purposes (EAP) program.

Perspectives

In the first article, **Janet Anderson-Hsieh** discusses the importance of suprasegmentals and the effectiveness of electronic visual feedback (EVF) for their instruction, explaining the specific ways that EVF can be used to teach suprasegmentals to Japanese learners of English. In the second article, **Kiwamu Izumi** presents a preliminary report on the teaching of sociolinguistic knowledge in a high school EFL class and suggests how non-native-speaking (NNS) high school teachers can overcome problems they face in teaching this knowledge to Japanese learners.

Reviews

Seven books are reviewed in this issue. **Kaye M. Dunn**, **William Corr**, **Milan Davidovic**, **Thomas L. Simmons**, **Tim Knight**, **David Cozy**, and **Wm. Thomas Hill** review texts on curriculum innovation, the language used about poverty, becoming a successful language learner, language awareness, multiple intelligences, multilingualism, and contrastive rhetoric in L2 writing.

From the Editors

With this issue, the *JALT Journal* welcomes several members to the Editorial Advisory Board. **Christine Pearson Casanave**, **Dale Griffee**, **Patrick R. Rosenkjar**, and **Deryn Verity** have taken on the task of reviewing manuscripts for *JALT Journal*. In addition, **William Acton**, **Noël Houck**, and **Brad Visgatis** will be reviewing manuscripts as Additional Readers. Their willingness to volunteer their services to JALT is deeply appreciated.

Articles

Testing English Tests: A Language Proficiency Perspective

Akihiro Ito
Hiroshima University

This study examines whether English questions on Japanese university entrance examinations are reliable and valid measures of examinees' language proficiency. The following tests were administered to 100 college freshmen: a narration-based, 700-word level, 70-item, open-ended Cloze Test; a test from the National Center for University Entrance Examination (NCUEE-Test) with the additional paper-pencil Pronunciation Tests; three grammar tests (A, B, C); TOEFL Listening Comprehension Test. Results indicate the NCUEE-Test is a fairly reliable and somewhat valid testing device to measure students' English proficiency. The grammar tests had a tendency not to be reliable and valid measures of students' proficiency, though the Grammar Test C showed moderate reliability and correlation with the Cloze Test. The Pronunciation Test in the NCUEE-Test is not a reliable measure of the students' listening ability. The need to develop a reliable external criterion listening test and to replicate the same kind of research using a larger sample of participants is also discussed.

本研究は、日本の大学入試の英語の問題が受験者の言語能力を測定する信頼性と妥当性をもっているかどうかを検証するものである。以下のテストを、100名の大学1年生に実施した。700語レベルの物語を使った70項目の書き込み式クローズテスト、大学入試センター試験に文字による発音問題を追加したもの、3種類の文法問題（A、B、C）、TOEFLのリスニング問題である。その結果、大学入試センター試験はかなり信頼性があり、学生の英語能力を測定する手段として妥当性がないわけではないこと、文法のテストは、Cのみまずまずの信頼性とクローズ・テストとの相関を示したものの、信頼性、妥当性とも低い傾向にあること、大学入試センター試験の発音問題は、学生の聞き取り能力を測る手段としては信頼性がないことがわかった。最後に、信頼性のある外部の基準に基づいた聞き取りのテスト開発と、より多数の被験者を使った本研究の追試の必要性が論じられている。

English tests are widely used for screening students in university entrance examinations in Japan. However, since some regard the tests as immutable and limited empirical research on the reliability and validity of English questions has been conducted, the conclusions from the research tend to be speculative. I would therefore like to shed some light on the reliability and validity of English questions used for university entrance examinations, and to provide data for further improvement in the quality of the questions.

The types of English entrance examinations may be divided into the following three categories: (a) the test of the National Center for University Entrance Examination (NCUEE-Test), (b) the second screening by the national university entrance examinations, and (c) private university entrance examinations.

Problems with English Tests in University Entrance Examinations

In this section, the problems with the NCUEE-Test, the second screening tests for national university entrance examinations, and the private university entrance examinations will be clarified and the Group of Hypotheses will be set up for the investigation.

Concerns about the NCUEE-Test: In order to enter a national university in Japan, examinees must take two examinations: the NCUEE-Test and the second screening test at their prospective university.

In 1979, the *Kyōtsū Ichiji* (Preliminary Standard College Entrance Examination: PSCEE) was introduced by the Japanese Ministry of Education, Science, and Culture to Japanese universities as an entrance examination. The purpose of the PSCEE was to measure applicants' basic achievement levels in various subjects. In 1989, the university examination system changed and the PSCEE was altered to a different type of test: the NCUEE-Test. However, the contents remained virtually the same as those of the PSCEE. The NCUEE-Test is a "a first stage exam, somewhat analogous to the College Board SAT, in that many universities subscribe to it" (Brown & Yamashita, 1995, p. 12).

There seem to be fewer problems with the reliability and validity of English tests in the PSCEE and the NCUEE-Test in comparison with other English tests. Historically speaking, several researchers have proposed improvement in the validity and reliability of the NCUEE-Test. Kiyomura (1989, p. 245) argues, as a result of his inquiry, that the English questions in the NCUEE-Test are relatively valid for measuring students' achievement level. He found a moderate correlation ($r = 0.330$ to 0.620) between the examinees' scores in the NCUEE-Test and those scores appearing in the records from their high schools. In addition, Yanai, Maekawa, and Ikeda (1989) report constantly high reliability coefficients of English tests (r = 0.940 to 0.956) in the PSCEE from 1979 to 1984.

However, there is one very serious problem with the test. Although fifteen years have passed since the PSCEE/NCUEE-Test was first used, a listening test has not been administered. The lack of the listening test and the problems with the use of paper-pencil pronunciation tests as alternative measures have been widely and heatedly discussed (Ishii, 1981; Kira, 1981; Kuniyoshi, 1981; Masukawa, 1981; H. Suzuki, 1981; Kashima, Tanaka, Tanabe, & Nakamura, 1983; Ohtomo, 1983; Shiozawa, 1983; Ibe, 1983; S. Suzuki, 1985; Ikeura, 1990; T. Takahashi, 1990; Wakabayashi & Negishi, 1990a, 1990b, 1991, 1994).

It seems that most researchers and university personnel are concerned with three issues. First, that the pronunciation test in the first section of the PSCEE or NCUEE-Test is not a reliable or valid measure of examinees' listening and pronunciation abilities. Second, that though it is very expensive to acquire the supplies needed to conduct a listening test nation-wide, a listening test is a "must" to produce a more valid PSCEE (NCUEE-Test) (H. Suzuki, 1981, pp. 23-25). Third, even though the Ministry of Education, Science, and Culture (1989) implemented aural/oral guidelines in 1994 and has tried to enhance high school students' listening skills in Oral Communication B, the English tests in the NCUEE-Test have not changed to reflect the new direction toward emphasizing aural skills. In short, as Brown and Yamashita (1995, p. 28) say, there is a contradiction between what is tested in the NCUEE-Test and what the Ministry of Education promotes in its curriculum.

It is hoped, therefore, that the NCUEE-Test will institute the use of a listening component as soon as possible to increase the validity of the tests, just as the STEP (The Society for Testing English Proficiency) test has already done (Shimizu, 1989, p.115).

In sum, a debate has been entertained regarding the lack of listening components in the NCUEE-Test, but the issue has remained unresolved because of various factors, including expense.

Concerns about the second screening tests for national university entrance examinations: In contrast to the NCUEE-Test, the national university second screening tests are still of the translation type, though some researchers (Wakabayashi & Negishi, 1994) argue that translation cannot be a reliable and valid measure of examinees' English proficiency. Brown and Yamashita (1995) point out that translation items in university entrance examinations are "out of date because translation was abandoned years ago in ESL instruction" (p. 28). In addition, the test called Sogo Mondai (General Questions) has been criticized by Utsunomiya (1985) and Wakabayashi and Negishi (1990a, 1990b, 1991, 1994). For this paper, however, research on the second screening tests for national university entrance examinations was not be conducted. This is because it is quite difficult to get information about the scoring criteria for these tests from each university. This research paper targets the objective tests, such as the NCUEE-Test and grammar tests used in private university entrance examinations.

Concerns about the private university entrance examinations: The concerns about the English questions on private university entrance examinations are divided into the following two categories. First, in some examinations there are several types of questions, such as grammar tests, which seem to measure examinees' knowledge about intricate grammatical rules (Wakabayashi & Negishi, 1990a, 1990b, 1991, 1994) not language proficiency as a whole. Second, a large number of questions are too difficult for the examinees, who are mainly third-year high school students (Negishi, 1990).

The hypotheses: From the above, the following three Groups of Hypotheses (GH) were developed.

GH 1: The reliability of the NCUEE-Test will be high. There will be a moderate correlation between the external criterion test, the Cloze Test, and the NCUEE-Test.

GH 2: The reliability of the Pronunciation Test will be low. There will be correlation, albeit low, between the external criterion listening test, the TOEFL Listening Test, and the Pronunciation Test.

GH 3: The reliability of grammar tests used in private university entrance examinations will be low. There will be correlation, again low, between the scores of grammar tests and that of the Cloze Test.

The Study

As the purpose of this study was to investigate the reliability and validity of English questions on Japanese university entrance examinations, my goals were: 1) to determine if the English questions in the Japanese university entrance examinations, such as the NCUEE-Test, the paper-pencil Pronunciation Test, and the grammar tests, are reliable and valid measures of students' language proficiency, and 2) to examine the three groups of hypotheses set up in the introduction.

Method

Subjects: The experimental sample (n = 100) was taken from the first-year students who were enrolled in an undergraduate class in general English at Aichi University of Education in Japan. Most of them were eighteen years old. They were predominantly male. All of them would have taken more than six years of formal English courses prior to this study. They were majoring in a scientific field. The sample was thus homogeneous with regard to nationality, language background, educational level, and age. It is noteworthy that the participants were cooperative and showed a great deal of interest in the research.

Instruments: The following instruments were used in this experiment:

1. A 70-item open-ended Cloze Test (Appendix). The participants were allowed 30 minutes for completion.
2. A 50-item TOEFL Listening Comprehension Test (Steinberg, 1987, pp. 75-89). It took 25 minutes to finish this listening test.
3. English questions used in university entrance examinations.
   a. A 58-item NCUEE-Test; 1991, the second version.
   b. A 20-item Pronunciation Test; 1989 & 1992. The Pronunciation Test was administered with the NCUEE-Test. The Pronunciation Tests in NCUEE-Tests are basically divided into three types. In this study, the paper-pencil pronunciation test where participants are required to distinguish the segmental phonemes was used. Sixty minutes were allowed to complete 3a & 3b.
   c. 16-item grammar tests A, B, and C: 1991, 1992, & 1993. The participants were allowed 25 minutes for completion.

Grammar Test categorization: The types of the grammar tests used in this study are divided into two categories, Grammar Test A type and Grammar Test C type, following Wakabayashi & Negishi (1990a, 1990b, 1991). Grammar Test A, called *Goi Hoju Mondai*, is a fill-in-the-blank-with-an-appropriate word composition test, whereas Grammar C, *Seijo Mondai*, is a placing-the-words-in-order composition test. The Grammar Test B consists of two parts, both fill-in-the-blank and placing-the-words-in-order.

Examples of the Grammar Tests: In Grammar Test A examinees are required to fill in the blanks by selecting one of four given words.

Example A: The two players faced each other ( ) the chessboard in the final match.

(A) along (B) to (C) toward (D) across

In Grammar Test B the examinees are asked to fill in the blanks by selecting one of four given words in first half.

Example B1: They could not _____ the expense of sending their daughter to college.

A. give B. afford C. spoil D. spend

In the second half, the examinees are required to place given words in their correct order and to mark the number of words which are put in the second and fourth blanks, following a Japanese translation as a key.

Example B2: Kono shosetsu no sakusha wa daredato omoimasuka (in Japanese).

Who ( ) (1) ( ) (2) ( ) ( ) of the novel?

[A. is B. do C. the D. you E. think F. author]

(1. CA 2. CF 3. DA 4. DC 5. EA)

In Grammar Test C, first the examinees are required to place given words in the correct order to produce meaningful sentences, using a Japanese translation as a key. However, one of the words essential to make a meaningful sentence is intentionally eliminated. Then the examinees must select an appropriate word from the given word list to complete the sentence.

Example C: Karewa nisan nichi de shinu desho (in Japanese).

(he, few, will, die, days, a)

A. maybe B. after C. in D. later

The NCUEE-Test, the additional Pronunciation Tests, Grammar Tests A, B, and C, and their answers were sampled from the *Daigaku Nyushi* (University Entrance Exams) Series (1994). The grammar tests were selected from three different university tests published in the series.

Procedure

Cloze Test construction & scoring method: In order to examine the concurrent validity of the NCUEE-Test and grammar tests in question, a carefully constructed Cloze Test was used as an external criterion test. The Cloze Test was produced on the basis of the results of recent research on cloze test construction: 1) the selection of appropriate texts (Nishida, 1986, 1987; Mochizuki, 1984, 1994; Y. Takahashi, 1984, 1988); 2) word-level (Mochizuki, 1992); 3) the essential number of questions and scoring methods (Sciarone & Schoorl, 1989); and 4) the deletion frequency of words (Alderson, 1979; Nishida, 1985). The cloze passage was adapted from a low intermediate reader (700 word level) for Japanese high school students by Ishiguro & Tucker (1989). The passage selected, "Wang's story," a relatively neutral, narrative topic, contained 457 words. Its readability level was about 8th grade level as measured by the Flesch-Kincaid readability formula by using computer program *Grammatik IV* (1988). The Cloze Test itself was created by deleting every 6th word for a total of 70 blanks. Two sentences were left intact: one was at the beginning of the passage and one at the end to provide complete context. Sciarone & Schoorl (1989) say that a cloze test of about 75 items should be scored with the contextually acceptable method to maintain a satisfactory reliability ($r > .80$). Then the Cloze Test was scored by me based on the contextually acceptable word method with the help of a British native speaker of English.

Reliability and concurrent validity of the Cloze Test: In order to examine the concurrent validity of the Cloze Test itself, the correlation between the scores of the 100-item TOEFL Practice Test (40 items structure & written expression, 60 items reading comprehension) (Steinberg, 1987), and the Cloze Test was measured in a pilot study. In the pilot study, the participants were 100 sophomore students enrolled in general English at Aichi University of Education in Japan. They were all Japanese speakers and majoring in Japanese language education or art education. Most of them were eighteen years old. The ratio between male and female was almost 1 to 1.

In the pilot study and the main study the split-half method was used to calculate the reliability of the tests. The use of the split-half method in the calculation of the reliability of cloze tests is still controversial because the method basically is designed for estimating the reliability coefficient of tests in which each item is independent. Brown (1983), however, shows that the lack of independence between items was not a problem for the internal consistency estimates on cloze tests. So I felt that the split-half method was permissible for estimating the reliability of cloze tests. In the split-half method, I scored the odd and even numbered items separately and examined the correlation between two halves. After the value for r was measured, each value for r was corrected for the reduction to half-test length using the Spearman-Brown prophecy formula ($r_{xx'} = 2_{rhh'}/1+r_{hh'}$).

Results of the Pilot Study

High reliability of the tests and the moderate correlation coefficient between them ($r = 0.489$, $p < 0.01$) and the correlation coefficient cor-

Table 1: Reliability Coefficients by Spearman-Brown Split-Half Method (n = 100)

Tests	r	Mean(M)	Full Score	SD
Cloze Test	0.840	33.450	70	7.815
TOEFL	0.781	31.720	100	8.128

rected for attenuation in the Cloze Test is: $r = 0.604$, $p < 0.01$ were found. In this regard, the Cloze Test had a relatively high reliability coefficient ($r = 0.840$) and moderate correlation ($r = 0.489$) with a reliable discrete-point test such as TOEFL[1] (Table 1).

The final decision on the Cloze Test: The author then made a final decision to employ the Cloze Test as an external criterion test for measuring participants' language proficiency in this investigation. This is because the reliability of the Cloze Test exceeded the critical threshold level of 0.80 ($r = 0.840$) and the test correlated with the reliable discrete-point test, TOEFL, at close to 0.5 ($r = 0.489$, $p < 0.01$). The correlation corrected for attenuation in the Cloze Test was more than 0.5 ($r = 0.604$, $p < 0.01$).[1]

The reliability and concurrent validity of the TOEFL Listening Test: The TOEFL Listening Comprehension Test was used as another external criterion test for measuring the concurrent validity of the Pronunciation Test. The author did not conduct a study on the concurrent validity of the TOEFL Listening Test. The reason for this is that the test has been utilized in real TOEFL testing sessions, and we can therefore conclude that the test might be reliable and valid enough to be an external criterion listening test.

Scoring procedure for the other tests: After all the tests except the Cloze Test were administered, the test papers were exchanged between students and scored under my direction. After the test papers were collected, they were reviewed by me before the statistical calculations were performed.

Results of Study

Table 2 shows the reliability coefficients of the tests. The reliability coefficients of the Cloze Test ($r = 0.853$), slightly higher than in the pilot study, and the NCUEE-Test ($r = 0.817$) are high. The three grammar tests are placed in the order of reliability coefficients from highest to lowest:

Table 2: Reliability Coefficients by Spearman-Brown Split-Half Method (n=100)

Tests	r	Mean(M)	Full Score	SD
Cloze Test	0.853	32.850	70	7.697
NCUEE-Test	0.817	34.920	58	8.013
Grammar Test A	0.099	9.190	16	1.948
Grammar Test B	0.436	7.930	16	2.483
Grammar Test C	0.570	7.810	16	2.497
TOEFL				
Listening Test	0.398	13.060	50	3.484
Pronunciation Test	0.208	8.350	20	2.355

C (r = 0.570); B (r = 0.436); A (r = 0.099). The differences in mean scores among the three grammar tests show that the mean score of the Grammar Test A is the highest (M = 9.190), and the mean scores of the other two Grammar Test B and C are almost the same (M = 7.930; M = 7.810). Though it is clear that the participants performed better in Grammar Test A than in grammar tests B and C in terms of the mean scores, the reliability of Grammar Test A is the lowest among the three. The reliability coefficients of the TOEFL Listening Comprehension Test (r = 0.398) and the Pronunciation Test (r = 0.208) are low.

Table 3 displays the correlation coefficients between the Cloze Test and NCUEE-Test and grammar tests. There were moderate correlations between the Cloze Test and the NCUEE-Test and Grammar Test C and low correlations between the Cloze Test and grammar tests A and B. The three grammar tests are placed in the order of the correlation coefficients from highest to lowest: C (r = 0.441); A (r = 0.346); B (r = 0.323). Grammar Test C shows the highest reliability and correlation among the

Table 3: Correlation between Cloze Test and the NCUEE-Test and the Grammar Tests (n=100)

Tests	r	p
Cloze Test and NCUEE-Test	0.462	<0.01
Cloze Test and Grammar Test A	0.346	<0.01
Cloze Test and Grammar Test B	0.323	<0.01
Cloze Test and Grammar Test C	0.441	<0.01

grammar tests. Finally, no significant correlation was found between the TOEFL Listening Comprehension Test and the Pronunciation Test in this study (r = -.078, p = n.s.).

Discussion

The results were then examined according to the three Groups of Hypotheses (GH) presented above.

GH 1, of a high reliability for the NCUEE-Test ($r = 0.817$) and moderate correlation ($r = 0.462$, $p < 0.01$) between the Cloze Test and NCUEE-Test, was supported. Therefore, the NCUEE-Test is a fairly reliable and somewhat valid measure of examinees' English proficiency.

GH 2, of low reliability for the Pronunciation Test ($r = 0.208$), was supported. However, that part of GH 2 which posited correlation, albeit low, between TOEFL Listening Test and the Pronunciation Test was not supported because there was negative correlation, although not significant, between the two tests ($r = -0.078$, n.s.). The lack of correlation may be due to the fact that the ability to distinguish among segmental phonemes in the Pronunciation Test cannot cover the wide range of listening abilities which the TOEFL Listening Test tries to examine. The TOEFL Listening Test consists of three parts. In order to get a high score on the TOEFL Listening Test the examinees must understand 1) the meaning of sentences spoken, 2) the actual discourse between two speakers, and 3) lectures in a classroom setting.

However, the problem is the reliability of the external criterion listening test: the TOEFL Listening Test reliability is low ($r = 0.398$), a finding which calls for further research on the matter. Therefore, whether or not the Pronunciation Test might be eliminated remained unresolved because of the low reliability of the two tests. I will assume that a more reliable external criterion listening test could be found or tailored through in-depth item-test correlation analysis in future research.

GH 3, concerning the low reliability of the grammar tests, was supported in only Grammar Test A ($r = 0.099$). The reliability of Grammar Tests B ($r = 0.436$) and C ($r = 0.570$) was moderate. The low correlation between the Cloze Test and the Grammar Tests was supported as far as Grammar Tests A and B were concerned. There was a moderate correlation between the Cloze Test and Grammar Test C ($r = 0.441$, $p < 0.01$). In this study, however, it cannot be easily concluded that the Grammar Test C has far-reaching potential for becoming a reliable and valid grammar test. This is because in the three Grammar Tests different sentence structures and vocabulary are used. In the future, research on the effect of test type or test format should be conducted in order to examine what kind of test types or test formats are appropriate to measure language learners' proficiency and the relationship with learners' proficiency levels in conditions in which the variable is limited to only test type or test format.

In addition, I must say that the lack of correlation in many places in the study may be due to the following three factors: 1) lack of reliability in the measures in general, and/or 2) lack of reliability with my specific group of students, and/or 3) restrictions in the range of ability that I sampled in the investigation. Tests are not simply reliable and valid in and of themselves. They are reliable and valid for specific types of students and specific ranges of ability (Brown 1983, 1996). Future research should be conducted, again under more controlled conditions, with a larger sample of participants with their proficiency levels taken into consideration.

Conclusion and Remaining Issues

In this study, I investigated the English questions used in university entrance examinations to determine if they are reliable and valid measures of examinees' English proficiency. The data indicated that, first, the NCUEE-Test is, to some degree, an appropriate measure of examinees' English proficiency in terms of reliability and validity. Second, there was no significant correlation between the TOEFL Listening Test and the Pronunciation Test. However, since both of the two tests showed low reliability, more research on this matter should be conducted in order to clarify whether the Pronunciation Test is or is not a valid measure of examinees' listening ability, measuring the correlation with a more reliable external criterion listening test. Third, test designers should try to produce more valid and reliable grammar tests. Further research is also needed to identify what kind of grammar tests have the potential of being reliable and valid testing devices. Moreover, this kind of research should be carried out again with a larger sample of participants, again with participants' proficiency level taken into consideration.

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Note

1. Klein-Braley and Raatz (1984) propose the criteria to judge the quality of the C-Test. In their six C-Test construction axioms, they say that a valid C-Test should correlate with a reliable discrete-point test at 0.5 or higher. Since C-Tests are one of the modified versions of cloze tests, I applied Klein-Braley and Raatz's idea for judging the concurrent validity of the Cloze Test in this study.

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Appendix: Cloze Test

One day Wang lost his way while he was gathering wool. He wandered in the woods (01) hours, but could not find (02) path to lead him home. (03) came and Wang was tired (04) very hungry. When he passed (05) big rock, he thought he (06) human voices. He walked around (07) rock and found a cave. (08) voices came from the cave. (09) was almost dusk, but when (10) entered the cave, he noticed (11) was light and comfortable inside. (12) walked deeper into the cave (13) he came to a room at (14) end. Light and fresh air (15) from the ceiling.

Two men (16) sitting before a chess board. (17) were playing chess, chatting merrily. (18) neither talked to Wang nor (19) looked at him, but went (20) on playing. Now and then (21) drank from their cups which (22) held in their hands. Since (23) was so hungry and thirsty, (24) asked for a sip. For (25) first time they looked at (26) and smiled, offering him the (27) kind of a cup. Although (28) did not talk to him, (29) invited him to drink by gesture. (30) drink was fragrant and (31) as sweet as honey. Wang (32) he had finished it all, (33) strangely enough, the cup was refilled (34) he noticed it.

Wang (35) no longer hungry nor thirsty (36) he drank from the cup. He (37) sat down beside the two (38) and watched their chess game. (39) two men continued playing chess, (40) chatting and laughing. The game (41) so exciting that Wang became (42) in it. It took some (43) before it was over. Maybe (44) hour or more had passed, (45) thought. He had spent too (46) time in the cave, and (47) good-bye to the chess (48) who gave him a bag (49) a souvenir.

After he came out of (50) cave, he could find his (51) home easily. However, when (52) entered his home village and (53) some people on the road, (54) did not know any of (55). They were all strangers. He (56) the place where his old (57) was, but there was nothing (58) a few decayed poles and (59). He did not understand what (60) happened, and looked around for (61) neighbors' houses. They were all (62) from what he used to (63). The people living there were (64) strangers too. being at a (65) for what to do, he (66) the bag that the chess (67) had given him. Out came (68) stream of smoke, and in (69) minute, his hair had turned (70) and he found himself an old man. What does this story remind you of ?

Assistant Language Teachers in Junior High School: Do Programs Stressing Their Inclusion Produce Better Listeners?

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Recently, most secondary schools in Japan have been employing native speakers as assistant language teachers (ALTs) in their English programs. However, the frequency of such classes may vary from school to school. In spite of the resources invested in this program, little empirical research has been done that directly tests its effectiveness. This paper reports an empirical study which compared the listening comprehension ability of graduates of junior high schools which frequently employed ALTs with graduates of programs that employed them less frequently or not at all. It was found that mean scores on a listening test varied significantly among graduates of high, average, and low ALT utilization programs.

最近ではいわゆるＡＬＴの英語授業への導入は一般的になってきたが、授業の行われる頻度は学校によりまちまちである。ALT プログラムには多くの費用と努力がそそがれてはいるが、その効果を実証的に研究した例はあまりない。本稿は中学校段階で頻繁にＡＬＴ導入授業を受けた者とそうでない者がリスニングにおいて発揮する能力を比較検証したものである。その結果、中学校段階でＡＬＴ導入授業を頻繁に受けた者、平均的回数を受けた者、あまり受けなかった者，この三つのグループ間にはリスニングテストの結果においてあきらかな差異が認められた。

Since 1987, most junior and senior high schools in Japan have begun using native speakers as assistant language teachers (ALTs) in EFL classrooms. While the practice has now achieved a wide degree of acceptance, it has not been without its critics (cf. Inoue, 1992). Do language programs which make frequent use of ALTs offer any advantages over those which do not? Do they, for instance, produce better speakers or better listeners? Considering the resources that have been invested in these programs, there is little empirical research that directly addresses this question.

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In the high school where I teach, all first-year students are required to take Oral Communication B, a class which is team-taught by a native-speaking teacher and a Japanese teacher of English (JTE) using English as the primary language of instruction and classroom communication. Entering students, though otherwise a very homogeneous group, differ in their ability to understand spoken English. This can be observed in their responses to instructions and direct questions during classroom activities, as well as their performance on the listening portions of mid-term and final examinations. At a teachers' meeting, it was suggested that this variation was due to students' previous exposure to native speakers: Some had attended junior high schools which made frequent use of ALTs, while others had had few or even no classes with an ALT in junior high school. While it seemed dubious that the amount of exposure to ALTs could be the whole story, the school does draw its students from a large number of junior high schools. Perhaps those schools whose language programs stress the inclusion of ALTs differ in a number of ways which ultimately produce better listeners.

The inclusion of native speakers as ALTs in secondary schools is largely a result of the Ministry of Education's efforts to promote a more communicative approach to foreign language teaching. Though goals are not always stated in educational terms, in general they include exposing students to native speech and accent, increasing student motivation by providing opportunities to listen to and interact with native speakers, enhancing cultural awareness, and inducing JTEs to improve their own spoken communication skills. ALTs in Tokyo public schools are recruited from a variety of sources. Some are resident foreigners hired directly by local school boards. Others are recruited abroad as part of the Japan Exchange Teaching (JET) program, a joint project by three Japanese government ministries with the goal of promoting internationalization at the local level (CLAIR, 1996) and assigned to schools by a joint council. Due to diverse backgrounds, ALTs probably vary in training, experience, and commitment to education. In addition, there seems to be no official guidelines specifying how they should be used. While their role no doubt varies from classroom to classroom, there are indications that the presence of ALTs is often accompanied by more spoken input, authentic texts, and communicative activities (Garant, 1992; Yukawa, 1992).

According to Minoru Wada, a former curriculum specialist at the Ministry of Education, junior high schools vary in the degree to which they employ ALTs for logistical and economic reasons, and there are not enough ALTs to assign one to each school, even if every school wanted one (Cominos, 1992). It seems that in some cases schools with strong language programs are given preference in ALT assignments (Kageura, 1992). In general, ALT assignments falls into one of three categories. In the "one shot," or occasional-visit system, ALTs make irregular visits, usually once or twice per year, to each school in a local district. In the regular-visit system, ALTs are assigned to more than one school, but make regular and more frequent visits, usually once a month. In the base-school system, a school has its own ALT(s) who teach regular classes, generally once a week or twice a month. There are also indications that ALT utilization may vary within a single school as the question of when and how to use an ALT is left to individual teachers who call on ALTs' services when and if they desire them (Iwami, 1992).

There are thus reasons to expect variance in both how often ALTS are used as well as how they are used. This study examines the relationship between the degree to which junior high schools include ALTs in their classrooms and their students' listening comprehension ability upon graduation. Since there are so many variables in the way ALTs can be utilized, not to mention factors that could lead a school or teacher to seek their services, causal variables cannot be inferred. Rather, it will be assumed from the beginning that programs making frequent use of ALTs vary from those that do not in myriad ways, any or all of which might contribute to the development of better listening skills. The research questions are:

1. Do junior high schools in the Tokyo area vary in the degree to which they incorporate ALTs in their language programs, and if so
2. Do graduates of programs making frequent use of ALTs have better listening comprehension than graduates from programs making average or infrequent use of ALTs?

The Study

Subjects

The subjects were 192 first-year high school students in an all boys private high school in Japan. The school is affiliated with a well known university, and the students are high academic achievers: usually placing around the 95th percentile on academic aptitude tests administered by *jukus* (privately run examination preparation schools). In all, they had been drawn from 154 junior high schools, primarily public, in the Tokyo area. Approximately one-third were admitted to the high school through direct recommendation from the junior high schools, and twothirds after passing a rigorous entrance examination which did not include a listening test.

Materials

Data for this study were drawn from two sources: a survey in which subjects were asked to report the frequency of classes with an ALT during each of their three years of junior high school, and a set of 11 listening proficiency items which were included on the first mid-term examination of the Oral Communication B class.

ALT Frequency Survey: The ALT frequency survey was written in Japanese and administered during a regular class period, under the direction of a Japanese teacher. For each of their three years of junior high school, subjects were asked to select one of five categories which best described the frequency of classes with an ALT. For the analysis, each category was assigned a numerical score. The five categories and their scores were:

1) none at all	(0 points)
2) a few times a year	(1 point)
3) once a month	(2 points)
4) twice a month	(3 points)
5) once a week or more	(4 points)

In addition, subjects were asked to report time spent living abroad and/or any English instruction from a native speakers they may have received outside of school, such as at a *juku* or conversation school. As I wanted to examine only the effect of ALTs in the regular school system, subjects who reported extracurricular instruction with a native speakers, or who had lived abroad for more than three months, were eliminated from the study. This reduced the total number of subjects to 183.

Listening Comprehension Test: Each subject was given a listening comprehension score based on the 11 proficiency items which were part of the first mid-term examination in Oral Communication B. As this study was carried out in a functioning EFL class, some compromises were necessary. We were unable to devote a full class period to a listening proficiency test. It was also considered undesirable to make their first high school listening test discouragingly difficult. Thus, 11 listening proficiency items were prepared and inserted in what was otherwise a criterion-referenced achievement test. The proficiency items, chosen because they had been used in previous tests with similar students and were known to have good item discrimination values, involved selecting an abstract figure from among four choices after listening to a dialogue discussing it (see Heaton, 1988, p. 73 for a prototype).

Descriptive statistics for the listening comprehension test are given in Table 1. It should be noted that when the scores were plotted and examined, a ceiling effect could be observed, with about 26% of the subjects receiving a perfect score. Also, reliability was low (Cronbach alpha = .63), probably due to the small number of items.

Table1: Listening Test Descriptive Statistics

Variable	*n*	K	*Mean*	*SD*	Minimum	Maximum
Value	183	11	82.0%	17.1%	27.3%	100%

Reliability (Cronbach alpha) a = .63

The mid-term test was administered after four classroom hours of Oral Communication B. These four hours of instruction could be significant as in a few cases, they constitute more exposure to a native speakers than subjects received during all three years of junior high school.

Analyses

Results of the survey were tabulated for differences in how frequently the various junior high schools had utilized ALTs. Next, a total frequency score was computed for each subject by totaling his points for three years of study. Total scores ranged from zero (no classes with an ALT during junior high school), to twelve (once a week or more during each of three years). Subjects were then divided into three groups based on their total scores, identifying the junior high school programs as having high, average, or low utilization of ALTs. A mean score on the listening comprehension test was calculated for each group, and a one-way ANOVA used to test for differences among the groups. Since the majority of subjects fell into the average ALT utilization group, an additional analysis was done which focussed on students from high utilization versus low utilization programs. A two-way chi-square analysis was used to see if the frequency of "good listeners," those scoring 90% or above on the listening test, versus "poor listeners," those scoring below 65% on the listening test, differed significantly between subjects from high and low utilization programs. Null hypotheses of no difference between group means or frequency of good listeners/bad listeners were adopted and a significance level of alpha < .05, one directional was accepted for the study.

Results

Responses to the ALT frequency survey are summarized in Table 2. As can be seen, most subjects (about 60%) reported having classes with ALTs a few times a year for each of their three years, indicating that most public junior high schools have only occasional visits. There were sizable minori-

Table 2: Responses to ALT Frequency Survey

Frequency of Classes using an ALT	1st-year	2nd-year	3rd-year
none at all	11%	7%	14%
a few times per year	63%	60%	55%
once a month	11%	14%	15%
twice a month	8%	11%	9%
once a week or more	7%	8%	7%
Total (n = 183)	100%	100%	100%

Table 3: Distribution of total frequency scores and division of subjects into utilization groups

Total score	n	ALT Utilization Groups
12	9	
11	1	
10	0	High Utilization Programs
9	11	n = 46
8	6	
7	3	
6	16	
5	11	Average Utilization Programs
4	10	n = 110
3	89	
2	18	Low Utilization Programs
1	5	n = 27
0	4	

ties, however, with very high or very low utilization of ALTs. It's also worth noting that the number of schools offering no classes with an ALT increased slightly during the third year, perhaps due to an increased focus on grammar as students prepared for high school entrance examinations.

The distribution of total ALT frequency scores is shown in Table 3. The most common score was three (n = 89), which could indicate occasional visits during each of three years, but could also result from other combinations; for instance, occasional visits during the first year, once a month during the second, and no meetings during the third year. Scores of three, four, or five accounted for about sixty percent of the subjects and were designated as "average utilization" programs. A score of six or more, which would indicate that the school probably had a base school ALT, was designated high utilization, and below three, a low utilization program. The distribution of these three groups is also shown.

The mean listening test scores for the high, average, and low utilization groups are given in Table 4. The means varied from 87 to 73 percent, in the expected order. Table 5 gives the results of the one-way ANOVA. Since the overall F value was 5.61 ($p < 0.005$), post hoc comparisons were performed using the Scheffe procedure. The high utilization and low utilization groups, as well as the average utilization and low utilization groups, were found to be significantly different at the .05 level (Table 6).

Table 4: Mean Scores of ALT Utilization Groups

Group	*n*	*Mean*	*SD*	*SE*	Minimum	Maximum
High	46	86.6%	14.0	2.1	45.5%	100.0%
Average	110	82.2%	16.5	1.6	27.7%	100.0%
Low	27	73.1%	20.9	4.0	27.3%	100.0%
Total	183					

Table 5: Results of One-Way Analysis of Variance

	df	*SS*	*MS*	F	*p*
Between Groups	2	3118.8	1559.4	5.61	.004
Within Groups	180	50017.7	277.9		
Total	182	53136.7			

Table 6: Multiple Range Test: Scheffe Procedure

Score	Group	High	Average	Low
86.6%	High			
82.2%	Average			
73.1%	Low	*	*	

* $p <$ 0.05 level

Finally, while the analysis of variance indicates a relationship between ALT programs and listening proficiency, the actual effect on individuals is somewhat obscured. Do language programs that make frequent use of ALTs really produce more good listeners and fewer poor listeners? Table 7 shows the relative frequencies of good versus poor listeners in the high versus low utilization groups. A chi-square analysis was used to test for differences. Since the expected frequencies in two cells fell below 10, Yates' correction formula was applied. The results, chi square = 6.05, df = 1, indicate a significant difference at $p < 0.05$. Differences between observed and expected frequencies were greatest in the number of failing students, in both the high and low exposure groups. This may be partly due to the ceiling effect on the listening test. That is, the test was more effective at discriminating between low scorers and average scorers than it was at discriminating between high scorers and average scorers.

Table 7: Frequencies of good listeners versus poor listeners in high and low utilization groups

	Good listeners	Poor listeners
High utilization	26	3
Low utilization	9	8

chi sq. = 6.05, df = 1, $p < 0.05$

Discussion

The analyses allow us to reject the null hypothesis that there is no correlation between the degree to which junior high schools use ALTs and their graduates' listening proficiency. There are a few caveats, however. First, the homogeneity of the group calls into question the generalizability of the results. The subjects were all male, motivated, high achievers, and very test-wise. The results could be quite different for a group with different attributes. Second, since there was no follow-up test it is not clear whether the subjects' head start in listening was momentary or long lasting.

This study did not attempt to determine specifically what it is about these programs that creates better listeners. Rather, it was assumed from the beginning that programs making frequent use of ALTs may differ in a variety of ways that contribute to better listening. It is, however, worth speculating on what some of those differences might be.

Perhaps the most obvious possibility is that ALTs provide more spoken comprehensible input. Since speaking English is what they do best, lesson plans often have ALTs speak to students about themselves, their countries, their reactions to Japan, etc. Moreover, ALTs at base schools probably establish routines, such as leading certain classroom activities. The input they provide in those circumstances could be more comprehensible because it is contextual and familiar.

Another possibility is that ALTs in the classroom increase learner motivation. Survey data often report favorable attitudes by learners to ALT classes (Miyashita, 1994). Having an opportunity to listen to or speak with a native speakers may induce learners to focus their study on understanding English as opposed to memorizing material for the next exam. It may also trigger other behaviors such as listening to English radio broadcasts, watching English videos, and writing to a foreign pen-pal.

The inclusion of ALTs in a program may lead JTEs to experiment with new teaching methods, although the converse may also be true. The literature suggests that JTEs have looked for creative ways to utilize ALTs as part of regular lessons, have developed communicative lessons as supplements to regular instruction, and, in some instances, have adopted communicative coursebooks published from outside Japan (Iwami, 1992; Kawamura & Sloss, 1992). Schools with a base ALT may be more likely to incorporate full-fledged courses in communicative English. They may also go to the trouble of incorporating a listening component in mid-term and final exams. Communicative methods may filter out to non-ALT classes as well-focussed listening exercises in a reading lesson or communicatively oriented grammar tasks, for example.

Finally, Wada remarked that he felt the most significant achievement of the JET program was its effect on JTEs (Cominos, 1992). With widespread inclusion of native speakers in the education system, more JTEs have come to regard communication in English as central to their work. Schools with high utilization programs may have JTEs who perceive the need for practical, communicative skills, and their regular contact with native speakers provides them with opportunities for self-improvement. Daily use of English may then induce them to use it more in the classroom, or to try to motivate their students to seek opportunities to use English.

Though listening comprehension is only one aspect of language, it must be regarded as especially important, as it is an essential part of communicative competence. Indeed, it is hard to imagine any meaningful discourse without it. If the goal of foreign language education in Japan is to shift toward using English as a means of international communication, developing listening skills is essential. Nevertheless, the chief concern of most JTEs and their students is passing entrance exams, and as Iwami (1992, p. 21) points out, the norm in most secondary schools is still examination-oriented instruction with emphasis on grammar, reading, and translation.

Aside from the fact that many universities now include listening sections in their entrance exams (Brown and Yamashita, 1995), there are grounds to argue that listening comprehension need not be acquired at the expense of grammatical knowledge or other examination-oriented skills. Ellis (1995) cites a series of studies on comprehension-based methods which demonstrate this (i.e. Winitz, 1981; Asher, Kusudo & de la Torre, 1974; Doughty, 1991). Comprehension methods typically give learners lots of spoken or written input with expansions and clarifications, and nonverbal tasks to demonstrate that they have understood. Studies comparing comprehension methods with methods that rely more on explicit instruction or controlled practice found that learners using a comprehension approach did better on tests of reading and listening comprehension (as one would expect), while doing just as well on tests of speaking, writing, and grammar. Though this study can make no claims regarding the effect of ALT utilization on grammar or other skills, past research indicates that the high utilization group's greater listening proficiency could well have been achieved in conjunction with rather than at the expense of other kinds of knowledge. Further research could investigate whether ALT utilization has any effect, positive or negative, on exam skills or other aspects of language proficiency.

Listening, as comprehensible input, plays a central role in most current theories of second language acquisition (i.e., Krashen, 1981; Long, 1985, Ellis 1994). While not all regard it as a causal factor, most at least view it as a necessary condition for developing an implicit knowledge of the target language. Morley (1984) notes how the role of listening in the classroom has evolved over the past four decades from listening as a means to teach speaking (providing a model for imitation as in the audiolingual method), to listening as a skill in its own right (listening comprehension tasks), to listening as a means to learn a language (comprehension methods). ALTs are likely used for all of the these purposes, but it seems reasonable to speculate that graduates who can demonstrate greater listening skills have experienced more of the latter two, and have thus come from a more acquisition inducing environment than is found in other language classrooms.

Whether ALTs are "doing something," or are just "a part of something," their presence seems to correlate with a desirable result. It is the author's hope that this finding will induce school systems that are under-utilizing ALTs to reconsider, and, if administrators, JTEs, parents, students, and least not ALTs themselves are not already doing so, to take these positions seriously.

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Motivational Differences Between Chinese and Japanese Learners of English as a Foreign Language

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As part of a longitudinal study conducted at Hunan University, China and Okayama University, Japan, questionnaires aimed at tapping attitudes and motivational levels of two groups of 20 freshmen and sophomores at each university (n = 80) were administered. A slight inclination toward "instrumental" indicators was shown by Chinese learners, while a preference for "integrative" indicators was shown by Japanese learners. A follow-up questionnaire showed that the generally positive attitudes toward the target language (English) indicated in the initial survey were not necessarily supported by a commitment to actually use the language, especially on the part of the Japanese respondents. This parallels Benson's (1991) findings. The rather unimpressive correlation between levels of motivation and performance on written tests, especially when compared to the higher correlation shown on a standardized grammar test (Part II of the CELT), also invites caution against overstating the role of motivation when assessing proficiency in writing and related skills.

中国、Hunan大学と、日本の岡山大学において行われた縦断的研究の一部として、各大学の1年生と2年生それぞれ20名、計80名を対象に、アンケート調査が行われた。中国人学習者は、道具的動機づけが若干強く、日本人学習者では統合的動機づけがより好まれることがわかった。動機の強さを測定するための、フォローアップのアンケートでは、一回めのアンケートで多くの学習者によって示された目標言語（英語）に対する肯定的態度が、特に日本人学習者においては、必ずしも目標言語の積極的使用にはつながらないことがわかった。これは、個人的動機が存在しても、学習者が大学の英語教育を経験するうちに、それはやがて道具的動機づけにとってかわられるというBenson (1991)の指摘を裏づけるものである。北京語話者においては、現在進行中の中国の近代化と英語との間に存在する明らかに重要な関係が安定した道具的動機づけを維持するのに役だっている。特に作文の成績と標準化された文法テスト（CELTのPartII）との間のより高い相関と比較した場合、動機のレベルと作文の成績との相関は低く、このことは作文やそれに関連したスキルの能力を評価する際に、動機が果たす役割に重きをおきすぎてはいけないという警告になっている。

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A one-year "matched group" study conducted at Hunan University, a large national university in Changsha, Hunan Province, People's Republic of China and Okayama (National) University in Okayama City, Japan revealed a significant difference between the levels of "instrumental" as opposed to "integrative" motivation reported by two groups of freshmen and sophomores at both universities.[1] Based on the first of a pair of attitudinal questionnaires (See Appendix 1), a slight leaning toward "instrumental" motivation was shown by the Mandarin-speaking freshmen and sophomores, with their Japanese-speaking counterparts being more inclined toward "integrative" motivational indicators. Nevertheless, when a follow-up "motivational intensity scale," based on the one designed by Gardner and Lambert (1972), is taken into consideration, a more negative or distant attitude toward English is shown, particularly on the part of the Japanese freshmen and sophomores. This seems to confirm findings by Benson (1991), who in surveying over 300 freshmen in the same region of Japan, found that "personal" motivation was a more appropriate way to gauge interest in and application to the L2 (in this case, English). Further statistical analysis showed a weak-to-moderate correlation between motivation level and proficiency level as shown on a battery of tests taken by all groups of EFL learners. The overall result largely corroborates findings by Oller, Hudson, and Liu (1977) and Chihara and Oller (1978), which showed a stronger positive correlation between attitudes and performance by Chinese students (in an ESL setting) than by a larger group of Japanese adults studying EFL at a private language school. The different directionalities shown in the combined motivational surveys also suggest that the importance of a positive attitude toward the target language (or TL-speaking community) is not as important as the presence of a strong commitment to practice and will to actually use the language in question.

The Study

Subjects

Two groups of 10 freshmen in separate sections of an English class in the Department of Liberal Arts at Hunan University taking English as a departmental requirement were surveyed (n = 20). Of the 20, there were 18 females and two males. A second group of 20 sophomores taking English as a required course in the same department, 13 females and seven males, was also surveyed (n = 20).

Two groups of 10 freshmen taking English as a general graduation requirement in the Department of Liberal Sciences at Okayama University were tested (n = 20). Of these 20, there were 11 females and nine males. A second group of 20 sophomores taking English as a general requirement in the Department of Education at the same school was made up of 18 females and two males (n = 20).

Procedures

Freshmen and sophomores at Hunan and Okayama universitieswho had indicated on a consent agreement that they would participate in a comparative study and be willing to take a series of written tests were asked on the second day of testing to complete a two-part "Attitudinal Questionnaire" (Appendix 1). One purpose of this was to get an indication, via 5-point Likert scale, whether students were "instrumentally" or "integratively" motivated.[2] Eight of the 10 statements (evenly divided between "instrumental" and "integrative"-type assessments of English) on this first questionnaire were drawn from Gardner and Lambert (1972) and were worth a total of 40 points. An additional yes/no question (#7) asked if the student was mainly taking English in order to gain college course credit. A final open question (#10) gave students a chance to elaborate on any of the responses given or offer other personal reasons for learning English. A second questionnaire (Appendix 2) made up of six additional yes/no questions was included as a follow-up to the first questionnaire.

Questions on this "motivational intensity scale," based on a longer version in Gardner and Lambert (1972), were more closely directed to the individual English language learner, and were designed to indicate how "active" or "personally committed" a particular learner was to the target language (i.e. outside the classroom). Worth a single point each, the tally of "yes" and "no" responses on the second questionnaire was also intended as a check on initial assignment of students to a "HIGH" (averaging above 70%) or "LOW" (below the 70% benchmark) motivation level. As the point scales and response mechanisms differ on the two questionnaires, "motivational intensity" will subsequently be referred to as "motivation level" in determining the effects of motivation on the students' overall proficiency scores.

Results and Discussion

A sample question on the first Attitudinal Questionnaire that 52 of the 80 students polled at both universities responded to showed that 30 students at Hunan University, 93.75% of respondents, agreed that English should be required in high school, while 17 (85%) of the Okayama University students who responded agreed. Given the particular weight of English in determining who gets admitted to universities in both countries, it is not surprising that a solid majority responded favorably on this question. A second question on the first attitudinal questionnaire, which also did not figure in the overall motivational score, asked whether the student was "taking English mainly to gain course credit." Looking at the breakdown of responses given by the 40 students in each of the profiled groups, there was a considerably greater attitudinal difference shown here than for the previous question on the importance of English in the high school curriculum.

Table 1: Question 7 "I am taking English mainly to gain college course credit."

Group	Yes	No	Total	N
Okayama Univ. Sophomores	15	5	75% Yes	*n* = 20
Okayama Univ. Freshmen	12	8	60% Yes	*n* = 20
Hunan Univ. Sophomores	0	20	100% No	*n* = 20
Hunan Univ. Freshmen	0	19*	95% No	*n* = 19

*Note: One freshman at Hunan University did not respond.

It is noteworthy that while 67.5% of the Japanese students responded "negatively" to this question (a "yes" answer indicating that they were mainly taking English to get course credit and might not bother to take it otherwise), all of the Chinese students replied "affirmatively." The unanimity of the Chinese students on this question underlines the positive response they showed on the first (eight question) attitudinal questionnaire. Hunan University students compiled an average of 33.45 instrumental motivation points out of 40, or 83.63%, and an integrative mean score of 32.85 out of 40, or 82.13%. That nearly three-fourths of the Okayama University students indicated having little academic interest in English aside from its satisfying a graduation requirement seems to compromise the generally high mean scores they produced on the first attitudinal questionnaire. On this, Okayama University students averaged 29.95 instrumental motivation points of out of 40, or 74.88%, and had an integrative mean score of 31.65 out of 40, or 79.13%.

In spite of the fact that an abbreviated version of Gardner and Lambert's (1972) Attitude and Motivational Index was used, it is noteworthy, but not surprising that Japanese students tended to score higher on integrative indicators. Berwick and Ross (1989) and Benson (1991) both elaborated on the considerable decline in "instrumental" interest (particularly in freshman learners of English) once the college entrance examination was in the past. Responses to a "Supplementary Questionnaire" (Appendix 3) taken by a class of 29 juniors at Kyoto University of Foreign Studies in Spring, 1994, also support Benson's view that a more "personal" motivation begins to take hold of the Japanese undergraduate once "instrumental motivation" has run its course. Here, an equally favorable view of English to that held by 23 sophomore respondents at Hunan University in various skill areas was shown. Scores ranged from a high mean score of 4.1724 (on a five-point Likert scale) on pronunciation to a "low" of 3.1724 on vocabulary. While not designed to directly tap into considerations of instrumental and integrative motivation, the questionnaire was able to elicit both positive and negative views toward the target language and culture as well as the following examples of "personal motivation."

Q 1 What topics do you feel comfortable using English to talk about?
"Hobby, friendship, (and) relationship between men and women." "Music, family, myself."

Q 3 What do you like most about English as a second language?
"It's my dream to go abroad and speak with foreigner." "It's more informal than my native language." "I can be another person and freely express myself." "It allows you to communicate with people from countries other than English-speaking countries."

Q 6 What do you like most about English-speaking people?
"Their speech . . . is great, with some jokes which draws the audience within."

Other responses indicated a decidedly mixed attitude toward the subject language and culture.

Q 6 What do you like most about English-speaking people?
"They are friendly and kind."

Q 7 What do you dislike most about them?
"They are insensitive, generally, I think."

As Tables 2, 3, 4, and 5 reveal, all eight groups of freshmen and sophomores at Okayama and Hunan Universities showed relatively high levels of motivation (i.e. scored 70 percent or higher on the combined motivational assessments). The motivational assessments below provide

Instrumental and Integrative mean scores for each of the four groups of freshmen and sophomores at both schools.

Table 2: Response of Freshman Groups at Okayama University

Group	High/Low Motivation	Instrumental M	Integrative M
One (n = 10)	8/2	15.3	15.6
Two (n = 10)	6/4	14.0	14.6
Total (n = 20)	—	14.7	15.1

Table 3: Response of Sophomore Groups at Okayama University

Group	High/Low Motivation	Instrumental M	Integrative M
One (n = 10)	7/3	14.5	16.4
Two (n = 10)	9/1	16.0	16.4
Total (n = 20)	—	15.25	16.4

Table 4: Response of Freshman Groups at Hunan University

Group	High/Low Motivation	Instrumental M	Integrative M
One (n = 10)	10/0	17.6	17.3
Two (n = 10)	9/1	16.5	16.1
Total (n = 20)	—	17.05	16.7

Table 5: Response of Sophomore Groups at Hunan University

Group	High/Low Motivation	Instrumental M	Integrative M
One (n = 10)	10/0	17.1	17.0
Two (n = 10)	9/1	15.7	15.3
Total (n = 20)	—	16.4	16.15

Table 6: Motivation (MOT) and Proficiency (PRO) Correlations

Freshmen

Test Type	Test No.	MOT	PRO	MOT	PRO
Mult. Choice	#2	.441	.814	.195	.662
	#5	.421	.791	.177	.626
	#8	.503	.821	.253	.674
Cloze	#3	.350	.698	.122	.488
	#6	.499	.805	.249	.649
	#9	.569	.808	.324	.652
Translation	#4	.308	.679	.095	.462
	#7	.364	.737	.133	.542

Sophomores

Test Type	Test No	MOT	PRO	MOT	PRO
Mult. Choice	#2	.255	.866	.065	.751
	#5	.181	.801	.035	.641
	#8	.279	.848	.078	.719
Cloze	#3	.267	.782	.071	.611
	#6	.316	.624	.100	.389
	#9	.270	.614	.073	.377
Translation	#4	.394	.874	.156	.764
	#7	.356	.825	.127	.680

Due to some expected "glossing" of responses on the questions designed to elicit "instrumental" and "integrative" motivation (i.e. the "approval motive" Oller [1981] noted that often colors self-reported attitudes), a six-point "Motivational Intensity Scale" was given in conjunction with the 40-point attitudinal questionnaire. Freshmen and sophomores at both schools were asked questions which highlighted the extent to which they sought to actively apply the target language. Notably, there were *directional* differences between the response patterns for half of the sophomores and for one-third of the freshmen from both universities on these questions. Responses on this portion of the Attitudinal Questionnaire for the sophomores and freshmen profiled from each school appear in Appendix 4.

That a majority of students at both universities (75% at Okayama and 95% at Hunan) showed "high motivation" was borne out in a 3 x 3 cycle

Table 7: One-factor ANOVA on Motivational Scores for Both Groups

Instrumental Scores for Freshmen

L_1	*n*	*M*	*SD*	*SE*
Japanese	20	14.7	2.203	.493
Mandarin	20	17.05*	2.259	.505

(F-Test 11.095, *$p < .05$)

Instrumental Scores for Sophomores

L_1	*n*	*M*	*SD*	*SE*
Japanese	20	15.25	2.197	.491
Mandarin	20	16.4	2.28	.51

(F-Test 2.637, $p = .1126$)

Integrative Scores for Freshmen

L_1	*n*	*M*	*SD*	*SE*
Japanese	20	15.1	1.944	.435
Mandarin	20	16.7*	2.06	.465

(F-Test 6.317, *$p < .05$)

Integrative Scores for Sophomores

L_1	*n*	*M*	*SD*	*SE*
Japanese	20	16.4	1.903	.426
Mandarin	20	16.15*	2.134	.477

(F-Test .153, $p = .698$)

of testing conducted over the following ten weeks of classes, tests that had no direct bearing on these students' immediate coursework. In the end, however, correlations between motivation level and performance on three types (multiple-choice, cloze, and translation) of tests designed to assess development in interlanguage syntax were not particularly strong—these ranged from lows of .308 and .364 for freshmen on Translation (from Mandarin or Japanese into English) to a high of .503 and .569 for a pair of multiple-choice and cloze tests. For sophomores, correlations ranged from a low of .181 on the second multiple-choice test to a high of .394 on the first translation. Meanwhile, the levels of correlation between scores on a standard grammatical proficiency test (Part II of the CELT), given just prior to the test battery, were considerably higher, ranging from a low of .614 for sophomores on the last multiple-choice test to a high of .874 on the first translation.3

Table 6 shows correlation coefficients for Motivation Level, Proficiency Level, and scores on eight tests (three multiple choice-type, T#2, T#5, and T#8, three cloze-type, T#3, T#6, and T#9, and two translation-type T#4 and T#7) for the combined freshman and sophomore groups at both universities. (StatView 512, 1988, was used to calculate all correlation coefficients.)

Based on an analysis of variance (ANOVA) that was conducted on the two sets of forty instrumental and integrative motivation scores, and that set up the first language (Japanese or Mandarin) of the learner as an "X" variable, the statistical breakdown shown in Table 7 was derived.

Table 8: Two-factor ANOVA on Motivational Score (Y_1) and Motivational Level (Y_2)

Motivation Scores for Freshmen (n=40)

Source	df	*SS*	*MS*	F-Test	*p* value
L_1	1	110.063	110.063	5.228	.0282*
Sex (B)	1	8.758	8.758	.416	.523
AB	1	3.756	3.756	.178	.6753
Error	36	757.909	21.053		

AB Incidence Table on Y_1 / Motivation Score

Gender	Male	Female	Totals
L_1 Japanese	*n*=11 / M=29.091	*n*=9 / M=31.222	*n*=20 / M=30.05
L_1 Mandarin	*n*=2 / M=34.5	*n*=18 / M=34.944	*n*=20 / M=34.9
Totals	*n*=13 / M=29.923	*n*=27 / M=33.704	*n*=40 / M=32.475

Motivation Level for Freshmen (n=40)

Source	df	*SS*	*MS*	F-Test	*p* value
L_1	1	2625.751	2625.751	5.678	.0226*
Gender (B)	1	117.753	117.753	.255	.6169
AB	1	557.165	557.165	1.205	.2796
Error	36	16647.302	462.425		

AB Incidence Table on Y_2 / Motivation Level

Gender	Male	Female	Totals
L_1 Japanese	*n*=11 / 42.427%	*n*= 9 / 57.422%	*n*=20 / 49.175%
L_1 Mandarin	*n*= 2 / 75%	*n*=18 / 69.45%	*n*=20 / 70.005%
Totals	*n*=13 / 47.438%	*n*=27 / 65.441%	*n*=40 / 59.59%

Note that while a significant difference is not recorded for both sets of scores at the sophomore level, the Hunan University students scored higher on "instrumental" indicators and the Japanese sophomores scored higher on "integrative" indicators, which is consistent with the results posted by the freshmen groups at both universities.

Table 9: Two-factor ANOVA on Motivational Score (Y_1) and Motivational Level (Y_2)

Motivation Scores for Sophomores (n=40)

Source	df	*SS*	*MS*	F-Test	*p* value
L_1	1	30.382	30.382	2.487	.1235
Gender (B)	1	70.195	70.195	5.746	.0218*
AB	1	2.144	2.144	.176	.6777
Error	36	439.791	12.216		

AB Incidence Table on Y_1 / Motivation Score

Gender	Male	Female	Totals
L_1 Japanese	n=2 / M=27.5	n=18 / M=31.833	n=20 / M=31.4
L_1 Mandarin	n=7 / M=30.571	n=13 / M=33.615	n=20 / M=32.5
Totals	n=9 / M=29.889	n=27 / M=32.581	n=40 / M=31.975

Motivation Level for Sophomores (n=40)

Source	df	*SS*	*MS*	F-Test	*p* value
L_1	1	507.632	507.632	.956	.3347
Gender (B)	1	505.666	505.666	.952	.3356
AB	1	780.268	780.268	1.47	.2333
Error	36	19114.764	530.966		

AB Incidence Table on Y_2 / Motivation Level

Gender	Male	Female	Totals
L_1 Japanese	n=2 / 66.66%	n=18 / 44.45%	n=20 / 46.67%
L_1 Mandarin	n=7 / 64.27%	n=13 / 66.66%	n=20 / 65.83%
Totals	n=9 / 64.8%	n=31 / 53.77%	n=40 / 56.25%

In order to assess the interaction between the two assessments devised to determine motivational *score* (via the 40-point "instrumental" and "integrative" attitudinal survey) and *level* (via the 6-point "motivational intensity scale"), a 2-way ANOVA using first language (L_1) and gender of learner as "X" variables shows L_1 to be a significant factor for freshman respondents at the 95% probability level (*) on both motivational assessments.

Using the same two "X" variables (L1 and gender) to assess sophomore performance on the respective motivational assessments, only learner's gender showed a significant effect on motivational scores. It should be noted that mean scores are directionally higher for the Hunan sophomores throughout, intensity level only being higher for one "group" of two Okayama University males.

A two-factor ANOVA with first language and gender set up as "X" variables, which includes both motivational assessments and proficiency level (the score on Part II of the CELT being set up as a third "Y" variable), yields the following, more decisive result.

Conclusions and Implications

The above results indicate that general verbal ability, as measured by performance on a standard (structure-based) test such as the CELT, shows a consistently higher correlation with performance on a variety of proficiency tests (covering skills in reading comprehension, vocabulary, syntax and writing) than a motivational assessment. These results, which suggest that a standard proficiency test can point to performance on a variety of skill-based tests with nearly 80% accuracy, are, however, decidedly tentative. Sixteen questions and 40 Japanese and Chinese freshmen and sophomores are too limited a sampling to provide an accurate measure of how great a factor attitudes and motivation are in such complex and diverse EFL contexts. Nonetheless, the findings recall those of Chihara and Oller (1978), who also tested groups of adult EFL learners in Japan. Noting the lack of correlation of affective variables and attained proficiency as shown on both standard achievement tests and cloze tests in that research study, particularly when compared with the higher correlations found in a related earlier study that focused on Chinese learners in an ESL setting, Oller's (1981) skepticism about using attitudinal assessments as key indicators of proficiency in a second language is well-founded.

It should also be noted that the battery of tests conducted in this research was primarily designed to assess characteristics of Interlanguage Syntax for speakers of Mandarin and Japanese, and not to comment on the relationship between affective variables and second language proficiency per se. That freshmen and sophomores who were majoring in Liberal Arts and taking English at Hunan University would outscore their Japanese counterparts in the Colleges of Liberal Science and Education at Okayama University was hypothesized a priori due to increased emphasis on En-

Table 10: Two-factor ANOVA on MOT Score (Y_1), MOT Level (Y_2) and PRO Level (Y_3)

Freshmen (n=40)

Source	df	*SS*	*MS*	F-Test	p value
L_1	1	5352.592	5352.592	47.054	.0001*
Gender (B)	1	14.893	14.893	.131	.7196
AB	1	2.179	2.179	.019	.8907
Error	36	4095.162	113.754		

(*significant at 95% level)

AB Incidence Table on Y_3 / Proficiency Level

Gender	Male	Female	Totals
L1 Japanese	n=11 / 55.303	n=9 / 52.981	n=20 / 54.258
L1 Mandarin	n=2 / 86.5	n=18 / 85.463	n=20 / 85.567
Totals	n=13 /60.103	n=27 / 74.636	n=40 / 69.912

Sophomores (n=40)

Source	df	*SS*	*MS*	F-Test	p value
L_1	1	2432.068	2432.068	33.101	.0001*
Gender (B)	1	206.557	206.557	2.811	.1023
AB	1	144.021	144.021	1.96	.1701
Error	36	2645.069	73.474		

(*significant at 95% level)

AB Incidence Table on Y_3 / Proficiency Level

Gender	Male	Female	Totals
L1 Japanese	n=2 / 71.0	n=18 / 59.389	n=20 / 60.55
L1 Mandarin	n=7 / 87.429	n=13 / 86.385	n=20 / 86.75
Totals	n=9 / 83.778	n=31 / 70.71	n=40 / 73.65

glish at the former school and other factors such as "transfer of training" and predicted extent of "first language transfer" (Selinker, 1972). For all intents and purposes, though, as the four groups of students were matched for age and number of years of instruction in English, and had comparably restricted access to the target language, and its speakers, no pre-assumptions were made as to the learners' particular attitudes toward or motivation for learning English.

Motivational and test-taking skill factors aside, the disparity in mean scores can also be partially explained by the different academic emphasis that is placed on English at both universities. While 8 units of English is a general graduation requirement for all liberal arts (and most science) students at Okayama University, English assumes a more specialized role at Hunan University. For example, English courses are often offered in connection with specific occupational needs; i.e., "Business English," along with special classes designed for tour guides and interpreters, future language teachers, etc. Beyond the inevitable Level I/II sequencing that characterizes the Okayama University general foreign language curriculum, Hunan University's foreign language program offers a fairly integrated curriculum that emphasizes all four skills. The long tradition of grammar/translation-based instruction which Scovel (1983), Zhuang (1984), and others have noted as characteristic of foreign language instruction in China is gradually changing. With the opening of its doors to other cultures and purveyors of different ideas about language learning, non-native speaking instructors in China are better able to emphasize communicative aspects of the target language and development in practical skill areas. Japan is also trying to diversify its foreign language methodology, but the heavy dosage of *juken eigo* (English for testing purposes) and associated grammar/translation-centered instruction that most secondary students get during their formative years has made the switch to a more communicative approach difficult.

If the results of the present study may be considered indicative of trends in major Japanese and Chinese cities, then, it is clear that in many respects Hunan University is meeting the "instrumental" designs of its young adult constituency more satisfactorily than Okayama University is meeting the "personal needs" of its student population. Future success in foreign language training in Japan may well depend on retapping the "instrumental motivation" that Gardner and Lambert (1972) noted in their study on ESL in the Philippines and that Fu (1975), Kachru (1977), Shaw (1983), and Young (1987) saw as pivotal in other EFL contexts in Asia. That English is seen in both Japan and China as a critical link to external knowledge and advanced technology, as well as a window onto the modern world of art and science, is well established. This feeling that English is also a necessity for wider communication in today's world is no doubt, too, the closest thing to a consensus that exists between the two cultures vis-a-vis English language instruction. In this regard, a remark made by a freshman informant from Okayama University on the second attitudinal questionnaire may be considered exemplary:

> *"Genzai no kokusai shakai no naka de hitsuyoo to sarete iru kara."*
> [English] has become a necessity in today's modern [lit. international] society.

Whether such compelling expressions of interest can be actuated in practice remains to be seen, however. At present, this researcher can only suggest that Japan take a serious look over its shoulder and examine a bit more closely what some other members of the Asian community are doing with English before proceeding further with "language reform" in the next century. Further contrastive assessments and extensive research are clearly in order to determine how China or other Asian neighbors might be instrumental in helping Japan shape a better balanced approach to foreign language learning.

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Notes

1. Students were matched according to age, level at university, and number of years they had studied English in public school (allowing for up to a year of private instruction). That both Changsha and Okayama are regional capitals

and have relatively few native English-speaking residents was also taken into consideration in selecting freshman and sophomore students from Hunan and Okayama National Universities as participants in the study.

2. Brown (1987) and Macnamara (1973), among others, have questioned the wisdom of trying to bend such a multifaceted concept as motivation into neat binary distinctions. While the two basic types of motivation are fairly straightforward and stem from separate sources (i.e., having to go abroad because the head office is sending you there on business as opposed to heading there because you feel compelled to learn more about the people), it is more difficult to distinguish between them in other areas. For example, if one were to agree with the statement that English is an important tool for intercultural communication, this may reflect both a global view and one that has significant meaning to the individual.
3. Authorization to use CELT for proficiency test purposes granted by McGraw-Hill, Inc.

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Appendix 1: Attitudinal Questionnaire

CIRCLE ONE of the following words to describe how you feel about each of the following:

EXAMPLE: English should be a required course in high school.
STRONGLY AGREE / AGREE / NOT SURE / DISAGREE / STRONGLY DISAGREE

1. English is very useful in the workplace or in most job situations these days.
STRONGLY AGREE / AGREE / NOT SURE / DISAGREE / STRONGLY DISAGREE
2. English helps you make a variety of friends more easily.
STRONGLY AGREE / AGREE / NOT SURE / DISAGREE / STRONGLY DISAGREE
3. A truly educated person should be able to read or understand written or spoken English.
STRONGLY AGREE / AGREE / NOT SURE / DISAGREE / STRONGLY DISAGREE
4. English is very useful for helping us to gain knowledge about life in other countries or to better understand life in other countries.
STRONGLY AGREE / AGREE / NOT SURE / DISAGREE / STRONGLY DISAGREE
5. Knowing at least one foreign language is desirable for social recognition or gaining higher social status.
STRONGLY AGREE / AGREE / NOT SURE / DISAGREE / STRONGLY DISAGREE
6. English is necessary if one wishes to travel abroad or live in another country.
STRONGLY AGREE / AGREE / NOT SURE / DISAGREE / STRONGLY DISAGREE
7. I am taking English mainly to gain college course credit.
YES/NO
8. English is important in order to understand Western thought.
STRONGLY AGREE / AGREE / NOT SURE / DISAGREE / STRONGLY DISAGREE
9. English is necessary in order for us to become truly "internationally minded" or a "world citizen."
STRONGLY AGREE / AGREE / NOT SURE / DISAGREE / STRONGLY DISAGREE
10. Other personal reason(s) for learning English:

Appendix 2: Motivational Intensity Scale

INSTRUCTIONS: CIRCLE "YES" OR "NO" as you feel appropriate in each case.

YES / NO 1. Do you plan to continue learning or to use English after you graduate from college?

YES / NO 2. Do you spend more than the minimum time on most of your English class (homework) assignments?

YES / NO 3. Do you make use of the English language outside of school?

YES / NO 4. Do you ever practice English outside of class; for example, attempt to converse with native speakers of English?

YES / NO 5. Is improving your English important to you aside from getting a good mark in school?

YES / NO 6. If English were not (required as) a school subject, would you take time to learn it?

Appendix 3: Supplementary Questionnaire

Please answer as many of the following questions as you can about using English as a Second (or Foreign) Language

(1) What kinds of topics do you feel comfortable using English to talk about?

________ ________ ________

(2) What subjects do you prefer NOT to use English to discuss?

(3) What do you like most about English as a second language?

(4) What do you dislike most about English?

(5) Rate the following aspects of English by circling one description for (A) to (F)

(A) The sound system (or pronunciation) of English

VERY MUCH LIKE LIKE NEUTRAL DISLIKE VERY MUCH DISLIKE

(B) The system of word formation (or morphology) of English

VERY MUCH LIKE LIKE NEUTRAL DISLIKE VERY MUCH DISLIKE

(C) The broadness of the vocabulary (or word choice) available in English

VERY MUCH LIKE LIKE NEUTRAL DISLIKE VERY MUCH DISLIKE

(D) The grammatical system (or syntactic structure) of English

VERY MUCH LIKE LIKE NEUTRAL DISLIKE VERY MUCH DISLIKE

(E) The logicality (or semantic sense) of English

VERY MUCH LIKE LIKE NEUTRAL DISLIKE VERY MUCH DISLIKE

(F) The various cultural aspects of English-speaking peoples

VERY MUCH LIKE LIKE NEUTRAL DISLIKE VERY MUCH DISLIKE

(6) What do you like most about English-speaking people or their cultures?

(7) What do you dislike most about them?

(8) How would you rate yourself on a scale of 1 (total non-proficiency) to 10 (total proficiency or superfluency) in terms of understanding the English language?

(CIRCLE ONE) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Appendix 4: Responses to Attitudinal Questionaire

Sophomores	Yes	No	No Resp.	Total
Q 1: Do you plan to continue learning or to use English after you graduate from college?				
Hunan Univ.	18	1	1	90% yes
Okayama Univ.	14	5	1	70% yes
Q 2: Do you spend more than the minimum time on most of your English class (homework) assignments?				
Hunan Univ.	6	13	1	65% no
Okayama Univ.	9	11	0	55% no
Q 3: Do you make use of the English language outside of school?				
Hunan Univ.	6	13	1	65% *no*
Okayama Univ.	11	9	0	55% *yes*
Q 4: Do you ever practice English outside of class/attempt to converse with native speakers?				
Hunan Univ.	10	9	1	50% *yes*
Okayama Univ.	2	18	0	90% *no*
Q 5: Is improving your English important to you aside from getting a good mark in school?				
Hunan Univ.	18	1	1	90% yes
Okayama Univ.	17	3	0	85% yes
Q 6: If English were not a required subject, would you take time to learn it?				
Hunan Univ.	17	2	1	85% *yes*
Okayama Univ.	8	11	1	55% *no*
Total Hunan	75	39	*	65.8% yes
Total Okayama	61	57		51.7% yes

*Note: Does not include 6 no responses.

Freshmen		Yes	No	No Resp.	Total
Q1	Hunan Univ.	20	0	0	100% yes
	Okayama Univ.	14	6	0	70% yes
Q 2	Hunan Univ.	7	12	1	60% *no*
	Okayama Univ.	13	7	0	65% *yes*
Q3	Hunan Univ.	6	14	0	70% no
	Okayama Univ.	1	19	0	95% no
Q 4	Hunan Univ.	12	8	0	60% *yes*
	Okayama Univ.	2	18	0	90% *no*
Q 5	Hunan Univ.	19	1	0	95% yes
	Okayama Univ.	16	4	0	80% yes
Q 6	Hunan Univ.	19	1	0	95% yes
	Okayama Univ.	13	6	1	65% yes
	Total Hunan	83	36	**	69.75% *yes*
	Total Okayama	59	60		69.75% *yes*

**Note: Does not include 1 no response.

Combined Total	Yes	No	Total
Hunan	158	75	67.81%† yes
Okayama	120	117	50.633%†† yes

†Note: Does not include 7 no responses.
††Note: Does not include 3 no responses.

Teacher Preferences of Student Behavior in Japan

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The objective of this study was to learn more about the classroom-culture gap in EFL classes taught by native speakers (NS) in Japan. A two-part questionnaire was completed by 81 NSs teaching at Japanese colleges. On the first part, a list of 25 descriptions of student behavior, respondents marked the frequency level at which they prefer (TPref) students engaging in each behavior and the frequency level at which they perceive (TPerc) each behavior occurring in their college-level EFL classes. The second part invited respondents to supply additional descriptions of undesired and desired behaviors. A multivariate significant difference ($p < .0001$) was found between TPref and TPerc. A paired t-test yielded a significant difference ($p < .002$) between preferred and perceived frequencies on 24 of the items. Correlation analysis indicated teaching experience had a significant effect ($p < .05$) on one item of preference and three items of perception. Responses from the second part of the questionnaire underscore a preference for positive classroom participation behaviors. These results, while confirming a mismatch between NS-teacher preferences and Japanese college-student behavior, point to a need for both parties to work towards minimizing the classroom-culture gap.

本研究の目的は、日本において英語母語話者が教える英語の授業に存在する教室文化のギャップについて明かにすることである。2つの部分からなるアンケートを日本の大学で教える81人の英語母語話者に実施した。第一部は学生の行動を記述した25の項目からなり、それぞれの行動が好ましいと考えられる頻度（TPref）と実際に大学の英語の授業でそれらの行動が起こる頻度（TPerc）を記してもらった。第二部は、上記の25項目以外の好ましい行動、好ましくない行動を記してもらった。TPrefとTPercの間には、多変量解析の結果、0.1%レベルの有意差が認められ、t検定の結果でも24項目において、TPrefとTPercの間に2%レベルでの有意差が認められた。相関検定においては、教育経験と強い相関（P<.05）のあったのが、好ましいとされた行動1 項目、よく起きるとされた行動3 項目である。第二部の結果からは、教師が学生の積極的な参加を望んでいることがわかる。全体として、これらの結果は、すでに言われている母語話者教師の好みと日本人学生の行動の不一致を再確認する形になっており、教室文化のギャップを埋める努力が双方に必要とされることを示している。

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Classroom environments, regardless of where they are in the world, exist as a physically defined space in which a teacher provides instruction to students. People tend to think all classrooms are like the ones they have experienced. Close examination of classrooms in different cultures, however, reveal that they are not alike. Moreover, cultural values and social rules heavily influence the conduct of teachers and students in them (Andersen & Powell, 1991). Therefore, it is not surprising to observe miscommunication and communication breakdown when students and teachers of different cultural backgrounds bring their expectations and codes of conduct into the classroom. Archer (1986) uses the term "culture bump" for awkward situations which evolve when one's culturally-rooted expectations are not met by people of a different culture. "Confused encounters" is what Thorp (1991) calls difficulties in interaction stemming from an incompatibility in expectations between student and staff of different cultures.

EFL courses in Japanese higher education often have the basic condition for such encounters: a native speaker (NS) teaching monocultural classes of Japanese students. Both NS and Japanese teachers have recognized difficulties arising from a gap between teacher-held expectations and student participation patterns in EFL classes. Shimazu (1984) describes NS teacher behaviors which make Japanese students feel uncomfortable and student behaviors which frustrate the NS teacher. Thorp (1991) explains how she accommodated her teaching style to Japanese students. Hansen (1986) describes language teachers in Japanese universities as having "*discouraged* personalities" because frustration with student indifference squelches their initial enthusiasm for teaching. "The inertia of student indifference would stifle Sisyphus himself, to say nothing of the well-intentioned mortal" (Hansen, 1986, p. 154).

There is substantial reason to suspect that Japanese student behaviors will deviate from the preferences and expectations held by NS teachers. Research shows that the Japanese communicative style and related norms widely differ from those in the West (e.g., Barnlund, 1989; Naotsuka & Sakamoto, 1981; Neustupny, 1989). Those norms are cultivated and reinforced in the classroom. In Western societies, for example, eloquence is highly valued. Students are guided and encouraged in school to develop skills in verbal analysis, argument, self-disclosure, and self-expression. Verbal expression is less valued in Japan. Western verbal skills would present a threat to harmonic interpersonal and group relations, which are highly valued (Barnlund, 1989). As a result, Japanese schools cultivate intuition, respect, and avoidance of words or acts that might bother others. Rarely are teachers questioned or challenged, and opportunities for discussion, debate, or argument are infrequent. In order not to disturb class harmony, students are reluctant to state personal opinions, engage in logical argument, or make sharp distinctions between "yes" and "no" (Neustupny, 1989).

There is a need to know about sources of mismatch between students and teachers. Thorp (1991) warns that teachers are likely to judge students negatively when the students' styles of interaction do not match their own, regardless of whose culture dominates the classroom. Negative consequences for both student and teacher are apt to escalate if gaps in expectation and behavior are not bridged.

The purpose of the present investigation is two-fold. One objective is to better understand what NS teachers value in student behavior. The other is to learn to what degree teachers perceive students engaging in the behaviors they value. Thus, the research question for the present study is: Is the behavior of college students in EFL classes in Japan consistent with the preferences of their NS teachers? A survey polling NS teachers on their preferences and perceptions of student behavior is expected to reveal they do not coincide.

A secondary interest here is whether preferences and perceptions are influenced by length of teaching experience in Japan and, specifically, teaching at Japanese colleges. Relationships are expected to be found between these factors.

The Study

Method

Subjects: A questionnaire was completed by 81 randomly selected NS teachers of EFL classes in Japanese colleges. The respondents consisted of 49 males and 25 females (7 did not indicate gender) from the following countries: U.S. (n = 61), U.K. (n = 9), Canada (n = 6), New Zealand (n = 3), and Ireland (n = 2). Length of teaching experience in Japanese colleges ranged from 0.5 to 32 years; less than 5 years (n = 35), 5 to 10 years (n = 27), and over 10 years (n = 18). The youngest respondents were in their twenties (n = 2). The majority of respondents were in their thirties (n = 37) and forties (n = 33). Five were in their fifties and three were over 60 years of age.

All 81 teachers conducted classes in oral communication at the time of the survey. Less than half of them were teaching reading, writing, or listening skill classes, and about one-third taught specialized skills and/or content courses.

Due to missing values (unanswered items), which were 1.1% of the data, only nine out of the 25 survey items had a complete set of responses. Zeroes indicating "not applicable" accounted for 2.7% of the data.

Procedure: A list of 25 brief descriptions of behavior was presented in question form, e.g., "Do your students volunteer to answer your questions?" The respondents were instructed to rate how frequently they perceived each behavior occurring in their Japanese college-level EFL classes (TPerc), and how frequently they preferred the occurrence of each behavior in those classes (TPref). A 5-point scale ranging from (1) *Never* to (5) *Always* was used. Respondents marked (0) when a behavior was not applicable to their classes.

The 25 items were arbitrarily derived from the writer's teaching experience in Japan and feedback from NS colleagues. In order to gain a fuller understanding of teacher preferences, respondents were requested to supply additional descriptions of desired and undesired student behaviors.

Results

The Cronbach alpha formula[1] was used to measure internal reliability of the survey items. For this calculation, each missing value was substituted with the mean for its item. "Not applicable" responses were included. The resulting alpha value was .70.

Means for TPerc and TPref frequencies are shown in Table 1. The least occurring behavior was "make clear needs in classroom" (M = 1.86). The behavior perceived to occur most frequently was "wait to be called on before speaking" (M = 4.20). "Over 15 minutes tardy" was the least preferred behavior (M = 1.48) while "do assigned homework" was the most preferred (M = 4.83).

A multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was performed on the TPerc and TPref data. Zeroes and missing values were replaced with the mean for their items. Pillais, Hotellings and Wilks (PHW) indicated a multivariate significant difference at $p < .0001$; therefore, a univariate follow-up t-test was done.

Twenty-five paired t-tests were used to compare means of TPref and TPerc. A Bonferoni adjustment to the alpha level of .05 was made to avoid Type II errors. The resulting alpha value of .002 was determined by dividing .05 by 25. TPref and TPerc were found to be significantly different ($p < .0001$) on 23 of the 25 items. There was no significant difference found on Item 15, "mimic what the teacher says or does" ($p < .003$). Item 21, "show nonverbal signs of not understanding," was sig-

Table 1: Means for TPerc and TPref

	Student Behavior	*n*	TPerc	TPref
1)	Volunteer to answer teacher's questions	79	2.19	4.55
2)	Readily volunteer to share opinions	76	1.91	4.41
3)	Seek clarification from teacher	80	2.35	4.73
4)	Verbally indicate not understanding	81	2.31	4.61
5)	Wait to be called on before speaking	79	4.20	2.36
6)	Listen quietly when teacher speaks	79	3.87	4.48
7)	Listen quietly to classmates	78	3.28	4.76
8)	Do assigned homework	78	3.54	4.83
9)	Over 15 minutes tardy	73	2.41	1.48
10)	Speak audibly in English	79	3.33	4.81
11)	Respond to teacher without consulting others first	77	3.05	4.23
12)	Take risks, are unafraid to make mistakes	79	2.51	4.50
13)	Try to use English as much as possible	78	2.56	4.73
14)	Ask teacher for help	80	2.74	4.38
15)	Mimic what teacher says or does	71	2.36	2.83
16)	Avoid sitting in front rows	68	3.49	1.80
17)	Resist working with students other than friends	72	2.61	1.63
18)	Respond to teacher spontaneously	75	2.53	4.38
19)	More comfortable with structured tasks than loosely structured ones	63	3.68	2.68
20)	Relaxed when teacher monitors	74	3.41	4.33
21)	Show nonverbal signs of not understanding	79	3.15	3.62
22)	Make needs in classroom clear	78	1.86	4.37
23)	Rely more on classmates for instruction than teacher	76	3.41	2.42
24)	Initiate interaction with teacher in English	80	2.71	4.40
25)	Early finishers extend in-class practice activities	73	2.10	4.38

Table 2: Results on t-test for Pairs of TPerc and TPref

	Student Behavior	Mean diff	df	*t*
1)	Volunteer to answer teacher's questions	2.35	78	21.08 *
2)	Readily volunteer to share opinions	2.47	75	24.32 *
3)	Seek clarification from teacher	2.37	79	23.83 *
4)	Verbally indicate not understanding	2.30	80	21.36 *
5)	Wait to be called on before speaking	1.75	78	13.39 *
6)	Listen quietly when teacher speaks	.61	78	6.56 *
7)	Listen quietly to classmates	1.47	77	13.15 *
8)	Do assigned homework	1.29	77	15.09 *
9)	Over 15 minutes tardy	.96	72	8.38 *
10)	Speak audibly in English	1.47	78	15.18 *
11)	Respond to teacher without consulting others first	1.18	76	8.07 *
12)	Take risks, are unafraid to make mistakes	2.00	78	18.25 *
13)	Try to use English as much as possible	2.15	77	17.20*
14)	Ask teacher for help	1.64	79	14.16 *
15)	Mimic what teacher says or does	.46	70	3.10 ($p<.003$)
16)	Avoid sitting in front rows	1.69	67	8.79 *
17)	Resist working with students other than friends	1.03	71	7.42 *
18)	Respond to teacher spontaneously	1.84	74	16.61 *
19)	More comfortable with structured tasks than loosely structured ones	.90	62	6.12 *
20)	Relaxed when teacher monitors	.92	73	8.47 *
21)	Show nonverbal signs of not understanding	.49	78	3.43 ($p<.001$)
22)	Make needs in classroom clear	2.51	77	21.06 *
23)	Rely more on classmates for instruction than teacher	.97	75	7.50 *
24)	Initiate interaction with teacher in English	1.67	79	15.32 *
25)	Early finishers extend in-class practice activities	2.29	72	17.58 *

*$p< .0001$

nificant at the .001 level. Pairs for which there was either no response, or a response of "0" (not applicable) were not included in the t analysis. This is why there are differing degrees of freedom (df) for the 25 items.

Several respondents did not answer Items 15 and 19 as reflected in the low df in Table 2. Confusion over the meaning of those behavior descriptions was a contributing factor. A few respondents noted that they were not sure if "mimic" in Item 15 was intended to mean imitation of native speech as language skill practice, or ridicule of the teacher. On Item 19, which had the highest number of "0" responses for TPref (n = 15), a few teachers were not sure what was meant by "structured activities."

Correlation analysis yielded significant results ($p < .05$) between years of teaching at Japanese colleges and TPerc 6 ($p = .046$), TPerc 16 ($p = .033$), and TPref 21 ($p = .044$). Also found was a significant correlation between years of teaching in Japan and TPerc 21 ($p = .02$). Due to the positively skewed distributions of both length of experience factors, caution is warranted in concluding there is a causal relationship between the variables found significantly correlated.

Of the respondents, 43 gave descriptions of undesirable behaviors and they are summarized in Table 3. Sleeping in class was by far the most frequently mentioned (n = 20).

Table 3: Undesirable Behaviors

n	Behavior descriptions
20	Sleeping
9	Doing homework for other classes or homework which should have been completed for the present class
7	Speaking Japanese during practice time for speaking English
7	Copying homework, answers on tests
3	Not listening, talking with classmates when the teacher is talking
3	Reading comic books, magazines
3	Not doing homework
2	Not bringing paper, pencil, dictionaries to class
2	Coeds doing makeup and grooming themselves and others

Thirty respondents provided descriptions of desirable classroom behaviors. They are summarized and categorized in Table 4. Teachers indicated a desire for students to initiate interaction with the teacher and with other classmates, display a good sense of humor, behave cooperatively with the teacher, and be polite and/or respectful to the teacher.

Table 4: Desirable Behaviors Categorized

n	Behavior descriptions
Interacting With the Teacher	
2	a) talk to teacher after lesson
1	b) ask teacher's opinion
1	c) include teacher in group work when (s)he stops to monitor
2	d) suggest new or different class activities
2	e) dare to disagree with the teacher or text and give sound reasons for opinions
1	f) look at teacher when (s)he is talking
Interacting With Classmates	
1	a) initiate conversation in English
1	b) show support for classmates
1	c) willingly work in groups
General Classroom Behavior	
5	a) behave politely
2	b) smile, laugh
2	c) try to follow directions
1	d) put energy into speaking tasks
1	e) show feelings
5	f) try to use humor
1	g) react verbally or nonverbally

Discussion and Conclusions

This study provides evidence that a classroom-culture gap exists between Japanese college students and NS teachers. The results of the survey clearly indicate the behavior of college students in EFL classes in Japan is not consistent with the preferences of their NS teachers. The MANOVA and paired t-test results indicate NS teachers' preferences are not being met in college-level EFL classes in Japan. This stimulates a broad concern over the influence this gap may have on the climate of the classroom, the interaction between teachers and students, and the achievement of pedagogic goals.

Contrary to what was expected, correlation analysis show that preferred and perceived frequencies were not affected by length of teaching experience in Japan, or at Japanese colleges. Only four of a total of 100 correlations were found to be significant. The possibility that these results were due to chance cannot be excluded. Future studies which control experience factors are needed before any speculation can be made about a causal relationship.

Descriptions of undesired behaviors in Table 3 and the results of TPerc indicate that teachers perceive a high frequency of what Wadden and McGovern (1991) would call "negative class participation" behaviors. Such behaviors, both passive and active, hinder, if not disrupt, classroom learning. For pedagogical purposes alone, behaviors of this type should be minimized, if not eradicated.

Descriptions of desired behaviors in Table 4 and the results of TPref suggest NS teachers would like students to engage in positive classroom participation behaviors. From the limited number of responses obtained, it appears that NS teachers prefer interaction with and among students. Two-way communication between teacher and students seems to be favored over one-way communication from teacher to students, and active learning preferred to passive. These preferences do not coincide with the passive nature of classrooms which Japanese students are accustomed to.

In a sense, this study has exposed the roots of a classroom-culture gap. NS teachers prefer behaviors valued in their cultures, while Japanese students follow their cultural code of classroom conduct. What should be done to close the gap? Teachers who are sensitive to the students' culture have demonstrated ways to accommodate their teaching behavior, in spite of their preferences. Is it unrealistic to ask students to do likewise when the classroom is in their culture?

Assuming the classroom-culture gap between Japanese students and NS-teachers can be closed, the critical question is: Who is responsible for bridging it? The position of this paper is that it is the responsibility of both students and teacher. Allwright (1984), while maintaining that lessons cannot occur without interaction, stresses that successful lessons involve successful management of classroom interaction in which both teachers and students are "managers of learning." Furthermore, he proposes that students can increase their chances of getting better instruction by taking responsibility in the "co-production" of lessons and effectively doing their part to manage interaction in the classroom.

Just as NS teachers should be sensitive to cultural factors operating on the behavior of their students, students need to be aware of cultural influences on the interaction style of NS teachers. There is a need for students to understand that NS teachers are more than teachers: They are cultural beings. If NS teachers make their expectations and preferences of classroom interaction clear, and help students see the cultural roots attached to them, students may be more willing to adjust their style of interaction to meet the preferences of their teacher. As they work towards closing the classroom-culture gap, students will likely find their communicative competence enhanced by increased sociocultural competence in the target language.

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Note

1. See Brown (1995, 1996) for further information on the statistical procedures used in this study.

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The Essential Role of Negotiation in the Communicative Classroom

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This paper reviews theory and research on the role of negotiation in second language (L2) learning, with application to the communicative classroom. What is shown with respect to L2 learning is that when learners and interlocutors engage in negotiation to resolve impasses in their communication, they signal and respond in ways that enhance their comprehension of input, provide them with feedback on form and meaning, assist their production of modified output, and thereby facilitate the process of L2 learning.

本稿は、第二言語学習における交渉の役割に関する理論的、実証的先行研究と、コミュニカティブな授業への応用を概観する。学習者と対話の相手がコミュニケーションの行き詰まりを打開するために交渉を行う時、インプットの理解を促進し、意味と形式に関するフィードバックが提供され、学習者のアウトプットの変更を助けるようなやりとりが行われ、結果として、第二言語の学習が進むということが示される。

Debates, discussions, and disagreements about how best to teach languages, always with us, are alive and well throughout the discourse on language education. I say alive and well because I believe the diversity and range we represent in our views is good for everyone concerned—teachers, researchers, and students alike. It is what brings us to conferences, conventions, and colloquia, and what compels us to keep up with the journals. Debates about language teaching have also sustained a liveliness and curiosity that spans universities, schools and private language institutes and cuts across contexts in the U.S., Japan, and world-wide.

For some, the debate centers on whether to keep the language curriculum focused on literary scholarship or grammar study, or to re-direct and restructure it toward the more functional and communicative aspects of everyday social interaction. Yet, for others, who *have* moved from literature or grammar focused curricula to a more communicative approach, but have been disappointed with the results, the debate is over whether *a return* to text appreciation and grammar practice is in order.

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From another camp, educational theorists and policy makers, who often debate more among themselves than with their field-based colleagues, are advocating a "best of both worlds" approach, which emphasizes communication, and uses communication tasks to talk about texts, though not always literary ones, and to focus on grammar, though seldom through drilled production. There has been increased effort on that front through the work of Loschky and Bley-Vroman (1990). Many of the studies have been carried out in Japan (Ellis, Tanaka & Yamazaki, 1994; Fotos & Ellis, 1993; Nobuyoshi & Ellis, 1993; Ushimura, 1992). However, what I have found is that creating valid and effective grammar-based communication tasks requires a great deal of ingenuity and has in itself presented an overwhelming task for researchers.

Issues surrounding the contributions of communication to language learning are thus central to our current debates about language classrooms and curricula. It is within the context of these issues that discussion can occur about the communicative classroom and the essential role of negotiation therein. For several years now, there has been an increasing acknowledgment of language learning *for* communication and an increasing application of this notion to the classroom (cf. Brumfit & Johnson, 1979; Rivers, 1981; Savignon, 1972, 1983; Widdowson, 1978; Yalden, 1983). We have come to acknowledge that many people study a language so that they can use it in communication.

But where controversy continues to remain is over whether there should be an emphasis on language learning *through* communication as well. Although a number of innovative classroom experiences have come out of such communication-centered programs of language study (DiPietro, 1987; Prabhu, 1987), many educators who endorsed communication as a *goal* have remained undecided as to whether communication is also the *process* by which this goal is best achieved. Such controversy was raised early on in the field of language pedagogy (Brumfit, 1980; Valdman, 1980; Higgs & Clifford, 1982) from both theoretical and observational points of view. Recent research has made it all too clear that communication activities are important, but not sufficient, if learners are to master L2 form (cf. Day & Shapson, 1991; Harley, 1989; Lightbown & Spada, 1990, 1993; White, Spada, Lightbown & Ranta, 1992).

Our uncertainty about the role of communication in language learning is characterized by our questions. We ask whether we might be pushing students too soon into getting their messages across, no matter how imprecise their grammar might be. We question whether we are spending so much time on providing them with meaningful, comprehensible input that we are limiting their access to the grammatical structures they need for competent language use (Swain, 1985). We wonder whether we are trying so hard to replicate what goes on *outside* the classroom while we are still in fact *inside* the classroom, that we are turning out students who can understand and convey the basic content of a message, but find it impossible to go beyond these rudiments (Pica, 1992a).

As we turn for answers to research that has been carried out on the communicative classroom, largely from immersion programs for children and adolescents in Canada and the United States, even the most committed communicative teachers among us must acknowledge some justification for the current concerns in our field. Researchers have found that immersion students' comprehension is good and they are often quite fluent, but their accuracy lags behind, particularly when they try to produce complex structures or draw from complex systems—verb tense and aspect, for example (Plann, 1977; Swain, 1985; Lightbown & Spada, 1993). Students who are in communication-oriented, but not necessarily immersion programs, have also been found to have similar imprecisions (Wong-Fillmore, 1992).

Excerpts from typical communicative activities shed some light on this problem. In excerpt (1), a class of students is working with its teacher on a decision-making task about which one of a list of parents has the qualifications to adopt a child. In (2), we find a group of four students working on a similar task, deciding on which one of five patients should be given the heart available for transplant. These excerpts are typical of the many hundreds that have been examined over the past few years in studies on classroom language learning. (See Chaudron, 1988 for a review of representative studies.)

(1)	**English Native Speaker (NS) Teacher**	**Five English as a Second Language (L2) Learners (nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5)**
	all right how about the fourth family?	1: I know is a good relation one man and two women
	now I must remind you about the seriousness of our job...	laughter
	Guillermo	2: yes I know is your wife too and your sister the application my wife and my sister
		3: no
		1: no, the male is not married to neither of the womens
		2: OK
		4: maybe there are three family persons there

	3: three company
	2: is good I think is more than the last family
OK any comments about this this third family? this fourth family of three?	
	5: I think is very important family because they are one president of an oil company
	1: but no no is maybe they are rich or they are a lot of money

(Pica, 1993, p.457)

(2)

English L2 learner	English L2 learner	English L2 learner	English L2 learner
I think they Elena- I think he isn't old and he isn't young	but what?... I think– I don't know is very difficult but I think is Elena Rodriguez too because she is very young		
is singer but is sing in the Metropolitan Opera	OK go go to um		look look in your family
	this– no–		
um no?	everybody ok?		OK
the second maybe OK Elena singer in the Metropolitan Opera			

(Pica, 1993, p. 458)

What is seen in (1) and (2) is that the emphasis placed on facilitating and insuring communication during discussion, in decision-making, and problem solving, has left little room for work on language itself, or on the cognitive and social processes considered important for language learning. There was a great deal of communication, but the students' numerous inaccuracies in syntax, pronunciation, and lexical choice went unchecked by the teacher and by the students themselves.

Although arguments have been made that such experiences are sufficient evidence for the need to rid the classroom of communicative approaches, it is important to note that studies on other types of classroom environments have shown that all approaches have their shortcomings. For example, in many classrooms, students can be found to engage successfully in pronunciation drills and sentence practice, with considerable accuracy, but with little application beyond the present moment. In other classrooms in which a priority is placed on accuracy of form over communication of meaning, students have reported feeling pressured to offer a public performance that leaves them anxious, embarrassed, and hopelessly competitive. Diary studies have been all too revealing in this area (cf. Bailey, 1983; Bailey & Oshner, 1983; Matsumoto, 1987).

Ultimately, what has come to be acknowledged is that no method guarantees standard language competence or language learning confidence. Furthermore, it is important to acknowledge that no method should be held totally responsible for classroom outcomes, either failures *or* successes. As Skehan's (1989) exhaustive review and analysis have shown, numerous factors come into play, including the learner's own attitude, aptitude, motivation, developmental readiness, and, perhaps most serious of all, time spent on language learning and use.

Yet, we must acknowledge that students are learning quite a bit of language in communicative classrooms. Studies by Spada (1986, 1987) and Montgomery and Eisenstein (1986) attest to that. As classroom surveys reveal, students whose previous classroom experience has centered around drill and practice or grammar-translation, but are now in communicative classrooms, report a greater sense of relaxation and confidence about their language studies (Boyd-Kletzander, in preparation).

So communicative classrooms are working. They are just not doing everything we would like them to do. We would like them to provide an environment in which using the L2 for communication becomes both the learner's goal and the learner's *process* for reaching that goal. But how can this be accomplished? Right now, we look toward communication activities in which, for example, students extend invitations to parties, make complaints about products, deliberate the possible solutions to a problem, or brainstorm the answers to a reading assignment. Sometimes we make available samples of actual discourse as models for appropriate use. The goals of these activities are consistent with important communicative functions and have strong motivational appeal. However, the kinds of actual communication that students use in order to carry out these activities do not appear to engage them *in the kinds of* communication they need to advance the learning process.

Research on L2 acquisition would seem to suggest it is time for methodologists to move on—to concentrate on identifying and assisting the cognitive and social processes needed for language learning. We may not desire another bandwagon, but if there is such a thing as a communicative bandwagon, I do believe it could use a tune-up, a tune-up which is implemented, at least in part, with a good dose of negotiation. For what research has shown is that processes related to the comprehension, feedback, and production needs of language learners are possible during uninterrupted communication, but that it is during negotiation that these needs are much more likely to be served.

Theoretical Background on Negotiation as a Construct in L2 Learning

Negotiation is communication, but it goes much deeper than the fluent, unbroken sequences of message exchange which characterize the usual concept of communication. In fact, it is when the even flow of communication is broken, or is on the verge of breaking down due to the lack of comprehensibility in a message, that we see negotiation arise. When interlocutors negotiate, they engage in any or all of the following activities: 1) they anticipate possible communication breakdowns, as they ask clarification questions and check each other's comprehension, 2) they identify communication breakdowns for each other, and 3) they repair them through signals and reformulations. If we aim for communication in a classroom, but do not build in a need to anticipate, identify, or repair breakdowns, not only is negotiation unnecessary, but processes relevant and helpful for language learning are unlikely to occur.

Most language learning scholars and researchers who write on negotiation trace their roots to ethnomethodology and conversational analysis, particularly Garfinkel (1967), where the term was used to refer to the ongoing process by which interlocutors structured their social relationships through interaction, taking turns at talking and communicating meaning to each other. This ethnomethodological perspective on negotiation as a social process has contributed substantially to studies on interaction, interactional modification, and repairs as a means for L2 learners to access L2 input and produce and modify their interlanguage output (cf. Doughty & Pica, 1986; Gass & Varonis, 1984, 1985, 1989; Goldstein & Conrad, 1990; Hatch, 1978a, 1978b; Long, 1980, 1981, 1983, 1985; Pica, 1987a, 1987b; Pica, Doughty & Young, 1986; Pica, Young & Doughty, 1987; Schwartz, 1980; Varonis & Gass, 1982, 1985a, 1985b; Day 1986).

Interest in negotiation among L2 researchers also grew out of earlier work on a special register for NS-NNS interaction known as "foreigner talk." The challenge to examine the properties of foreigner talk for evidence of L2 learning processes was articulated by Hatch (1978a, 1978b), who argued that research on learner discourse could yield not only insight about social aspects of speech to learners, but also about linguistic and cognitive features of the L2 learning process. To do this, Hatch told researchers that they needed to reverse their assumption that the nature of the learning process was one in which L2 structure learning *led to* the learner's communicative use of the L2. Instead, their work should focus on how the learning of L2 structure *evolved out of* communicative use.

With the studies of Long (1980, 1981), the empirical work needed to address Hatch's challenge was undertaken. Long (1980) described and quantified features of negotiation in the social discourse of NNSs and their NS interlocutors, and identified negotiation as a process which included requests for clarification and confirmation of message meaning and checks on message comprehensibility. These features, which he referred to as interactional modifications, served to identify negotiation as a type of communication highly suited to L2 learners' needs and requirements in the learning process. The studies that have followed further described negotiation as a social process and connected it to linguistic and cognitive processes of L2 learning. Such connections may be observed in excerpts (3) to (5), taken from communication tasks in which NSs and learners of English took turns describing a picture for the other either to draw or to select from a group of pictures. Some of the communication went smoothly, with mutual understanding about the pictures. Descriptive information was conveyed successfully and when information was sought, questions were responded to fluently and quickly. At other times their communication triggered negotiation about the meaning of the information conveyed or sought about the picture. As interlocutors, they expressed their lack of understanding through a variety of signals, shown in *italics* below. Responses to other's signals are shown sans serif. These signals for lack of understanding and responses to signals are what characterize the negotiation process.

(3)	English NS	English L2 Learner
	it's a rectangular bench	*rectangular?*
	yeah it's in the shape of a rectangle with um you know a rectangle has two long sides and two short sides	
		rectangle?
	re-rectangle it's it's like a square	

except you you flatten it out	*square except*
uh a rectangle is a square	uhuh
except a square has four equal	yes
sides a rectangle has two sides	
that are much longer and two	
sides that are much shorter	OK (Pica, 1993, p. 437, 1994, p. 513)

(4)

English NS	**English L2 Learner**
the windows are clozed	
the windows have what?	crozed
crossed? I'm not sure what	
you're saying there	windows are closed
oh the windows are closed oh	
OK sorry	(Pica, 1994, p. 514)

(5)

English L2 Learner	**English L2 Learner**
Where do you put the three	three floor em I put it at the um right
floor house three floor	and middle
right and middle	yes close the cir cir the circuit
in across the circle circle	yes
	OK um three floors
three floors	yes (Pica, 1992b, p. 225)

As these selections reveal, negotiation engages learners in communication at a deeper level than the even flow of exchanges that was seen in (1) and (2). During negotiation, the overall message meaning remains, as both givers and receivers modify and manipulate the form in which the message is encoded, until its meaning can be conveyed.

Theoretical Support for Negotiation in Language Learning

As theories about L2 learning have proliferated, the early theoretical claims of Hatch and Long about the role of communication in language learning, and about the importance of negotiation in particular, have continued to hold importance. Although the field of language learning has been grounded in descriptive studies a theoretical picture is emerging of the complex process of learning a language. Some of its main components and claims have dealt with what learners need in order to be successful in learning. These needs, described below, are 1) to access L2 input that is meaningful and comprehensible in its message, and modified to draw attention to its form; 2) to be given feedback on the comprehensibility and accuracy of their messages, and 3) to modify their production of output toward greater comprehensibility, complexity, and accuracy.

Learners' Input Needs

The first component of the language learning process, often overlooked or taken for granted, has to do with giving learners sufficient access to a language to serve as input for their structural, lexical, and phonological development. The learners' need for such input data is fundamental to almost any theory of language learning, although theories differ dramatically with respect to how much is needed and whether and how it needs to be organized to facilitate learning. As such, theories that are nativist in orientation view input as a triggering device for setting and resetting innate mental structures with which the learner is genetically endowed (cf. Cook, 1988; White, 1988, 1991). Other theories view input within the context of the active learner who uses input to test hypotheses about the form-meaning relationships in the L2 under study (Faerch & Kasper, 1987) or to sort cues and weigh evidence (MacWhinney, 1987).

The second and perhaps most widely acknowledged theoretical need in language learning is for *comprehensible* input. Comprehensible input is believed to assist learning in two ways. One way is by freeing learners' attention to focus on language form. In the view of Krashen (1980, 1983, 1985) if learners can understand the meaning encoded in L2 input, they can induce those forms in the input that are slightly beyond their current level of language development. Another way in which comprehensible input is believed to assist learning is by drawing the learner's attention to the forms which have to be manipulated in order to make the input comprehensible, a reverse sequence to the one proposed by Krashen. Learners first segment and sort out the forms that encode the input, then work on comprehending its meaning. There is now a fair amount of evidence to support the view that negotiation assists comprehension, both indirectly (Chaudron, 1983, 1985; Kelch, 1985; Long, 1985) on speech modification and comprehension, and directly (Pica, 1991; Pica, Doughty & Young, 1986; Pica, Young & Doughty, 1987). There is also evidence for the role of the process of comprehension itself in English L2 language learning (Doughty, 1988, 1992) and Japanese as a foreign language (FL) (Loschky, 1989, 1994).

Research has shown that learners are best aided in their access to, and comprehension of language by what Sharwood Smith (1991) has called enhanced input. This construct consists of samples of the L2 or FL modified to make the linguistic forms and features more salient and easier for learners to process and to engage them in the focus on form. Such experiences are now believed to be critical to important learning processes (cf. Rutherford & Sharwood Smith, 1985; Schmidt & Frota 1986; Schmidt, 1990; Long, 1990).

Enhanced input helps learners with forms that are difficult to recognize because they are unstressed in the stream of speech, or because of similarity to forms in the first language, are easily misgeneralized. White (1991), for example, investigating the learning of adverb placement rules in English and French, found that despite the overlaps among these rules, there were a few differences which, unless pointed out, were difficult for learners to notice.

Given what theory and research has indicated, how might negotiation provide learners with the kinds of input they need? Excerpt (3) above is illustrative. Here, the learner asked about *rectangular* and *rectangle* as well as *square except*. In response to all three of these signals, the NS described the features of a rectangle, attending to its meaning. In addition, when responding to the signal *square except*, the NS took what the learner apparently perceived as a single word and segmented this into two forms. In effect, the NS took back his initial input and then pulled it apart, analyzing it for the learner. This was not done in the way a linguist or classroom teacher might, but in a way which appeared to invite attention to its form and meaning, and to help the learner understand it.

The scope of quality and enhanced input that negotiation can provide is seen in (6) and (7):

	English NS	English L2 learner	
(6)	is the rest of the tree pointed?	*tree?*	
	is it pointed on top? the tree?.		(Pica, 1992a)
(7)	the door has hinges	*hinges? I don't know what that means.*	
	like hinges hold it together	uhuh	(Pica, 1993, p. 440)

In (6), the learner asked about *tree*. *Tree* then was used in a new form—right dislocation—in the NS response. The NS also gave information about the meaning of *pointed*. It had to do with the top of the tree. In (7), the analysis seems to be mainly on meaning: The NS added *hold it together* in response to the learner's query about *hinges*. But in doing this, the NS also segmented *hinges* and moved it from its original position as object of *has* to the subject position in the phrase *hinges hold it together*. Negotiation gave the learner information about the meaning of *hinges* as well as its structural possibilities.

	English NS	English L2 learner
(8)	do you all have a chance to give your complaints to school? do	

you know what feedback is?	*feedback is?*
do you know feedback?	
you know the word?	*no*
you can talk about the program not being very good you can talk about that	
	yeah we have to do an evaluation? do an evaluation and write a report to school (Chen, 1992)

In (8), the learner asked about *feedback is* as though it was a specific lexical item, unknown to her. Through negotiation, however, she discovered that *feedback is* contained in a noun phrase whose meanings she already knew.

Learners themselves also supply each other with input that is enhanced for meaning and form. Although this input is not always target-like, what we are finding in current research on learner-to-learner interaction is that negotiation results in learners' analysis of this L2 input and its breakdown into short phrases rather than lengthy, complex sentences (Pica, Lincoln-Porter, Paninos & Linnell, 1995, 1996). This procedure makes learner input a good deal more accurate than might be expected, and can be seen above in (5) where the learner was able to modify *three floor* to *three floors*, as well as in (9) below:

(9)	English L2 Learner	English L2 learner	
	some guy . . . one guy . . . some guy ent– opened the door and		
	uh he make a greet	*greet?*	
	greet . . . hi	*ah greeting*	
	that is all	OK	(Pica, 1992a)

In (9), negotiation helped the learner understand the meaning of *make a greet*, as it brought him to segment *greet* from this initial verb phrase and incorporate it into the more target-like *greeting*. On balance, the responses of negotiation have been found to give learners a good deal of enhanced input for meaning of words about which they inquire and structures of utterances they can not process, both separately and in conjunction with each other.

Learners' Need for Feedback

Another type of input and an important theoretical contributor to language learning comes in the form of feedback, which is sometimes referred to as negative input. Negative input is considered important for language learning because it provides metalinguistic information on the clarity, accuracy, and/or comprehensibility of the learners' own production and helps them notice forms in their interlanguage that are not consistent with standard varieties of the L2, but are difficult to detect during the even flow of social communication (cf. Schachter, 1983, 1984, 1986, 1991).

Empirically, the valuable contributions of negative input have been revealed (cf. Lightbown & Spada, 1990; White, Spada, Lightbown & Ranta, 1992). Examples of negotiation providing negative input were shown in earlier excerpts, particularly by the NSs in (4) and (6), and by the learners themselves in (5) and (9) as they signaled about the clarity and comprehensibility of learners' messages and repronounced, restated, and rephrased them. In (10) as the NS signal offered the learner an L2 version of his original utterance.

(10)	**English L2 Learner**	**English NS**
	and tree with stick	*you mean the trees have branches?*
	yes	(Pica, 1994, p. 515)

The NS version of the learner's utterance focused on differences in both form and meaning by segmenting *tree* from the learner's utterance, making it the subject of his sentence, modifying it with the plural *-s* morpheme, and substituting *branches* for *sticks*. Further examples are seen in (11) and (12) as the NS repronounced *bik* and supplied another form of *draw* for the learner:

(11)	English NS	English L2 Learner
		this country like bik
	big?	yeah (Pica, 1993, p. 440; 1994, p. 514)
(12)		I be easy to do on a piece of paper but I didn't know how drew so we are very confused
	to draw?	yeah

(Pica, Holliday, Lewis & Morgenthaler, 1989, p. 89; Pica, 1994, p. 514)

On the other hand, negotiation led to the NS instruction on pronunciation of *flower* in the more lengthy exchange shown in (13).

(13)	**English NS**	**English L2 Learner**
		and left tree is a [flo:wer]
	is what?	[flo:wer]

a what?	a [flo:wer] [o]
yeah get the book	[flow er]
oh a flaUer	flaUer oh pronunciation is very difficult flaUer
flaU:	*eh? flower*
um *what's [f]?*	
[f...o...]	[aU]

(Pica, 1993, pp. 449-450; 1996, p. 13)

When input is modified to draw attention to structure and meaning, to assist comprehensibility and provide feedback, it appears to provide good data for language learning. As the above excerpts indicate, negotiation makes a considerable contribution toward meeting these many input needs.

Learners' Need to Modify Output

One additional theoretical condition relates to learners' output needs. According to Swain's (1985) comprehensible output hypothesis, learners need opportunities to produce the language, but not in the usual form of the practice associated with production in the language classroom. Learners' modification of output is viewed as a vehicle for them to manipulate their interlanguage grammar in creative and complex ways that are often more consistent with standard varieties of the L2, through modeling their interlocutor, or better yet, by trying to rephrase initially unclear messages. Examples of each during negotiation were shown in (5), where one learner was able to produce an appropriate plural construction while engaged in negotiation with another learner, and in (4), where the NS requested clarification of *crozed* by repeating most of the initial message, but inserting *what* where he couldn't understand it. The learner was also given *crossed* to compare with *closed*. The learner responded by modifying his output, segmenting *windows* from the initial utterance as he incorporated the repronounced version of *closed*. This modified message was one the NS understood.

Similar episodes can be seen in (14), in which one learner signaled a problem about the use of *discuss* by modifying it as *discussion*, then incorporated *discussion* into the other learner's response, and (15), in which the learner modified his pronunciation in response to a NS signal.

(14)	**English L2 Learner**	**English L2 Learner**
	No discuss	*what? discuss? discussion?*
	hmmn we don't have xxx	*we don't have to what?*
	the last discussion activity	

(Pica, 1992a)

(15)

English NS	English L2 Learner
	around the house we have glass
you have what?	**uh grass, plants and grass**

(Pica et al., 1996, p. 62)

Finally, in (16), taken from another conversation between two learners, one modified her initially unclear output by supplying a descriptor:

(16)

English L2 Learner	English L2 Learner
do you go to dinner tomorrow?	I'm not sure
you go, you should go with me	you go?
I want I think it's free	*free?*
because there is nothing they	
don't tell the cost	uhuh
so maybe it's free I think	

(Chang, 1992)

Summary: Meeting Learners' Needs through Negotiation

What are the contributions of negotiation to learner needs? The input that comes via negotiation can be enhanced to help learners focus on phonological, lexical, and syntactic forms and features, to comprehend the messages that these forms encode, and to gain feedback on the form and comprehensibility of their own attempts at production. Negotiation also provides opportunities for learners to produce output. Such output is not the usual rote repetition of traditional language lessons or even the fluent, unmonitored communication of the communicative classroom. Instead, negotiation stimulates learners to produce output in which they can respond to feedback on their comprehensibility and to analyze and break apart the language of their message into meaningful segments, and thereby to attempt to produce forms and structures that may be a little beyond the complexity or accuracy of those used initially.

Negotiation and the Communicative Classroom: Concerns, Reservations, and Possibilities

What must be acknowledged is that despite the many potential contributions of negotiation to the communicative classroom, what occurs during negotiation has been documented and described predominantly, but not exclusively, in work on L2, rather than FL learning, and in quasi-experimental studies designed to address classroom variables, but implemented outside the spontaneity of classroom life.

Of course, there has been some excellent work on both L2 and FL classrooms as exemplified in the thorough review of Chaudron (1988) and highlighted among chapters of Day (1986) and van Patten and Lee (1990). However, I believe that the reason so much of what we know about negotiation and language learning has come from research on L2 learners in studies implemented outside the classroom is because negotiation has been found to be a rare commodity in classrooms, even those with an emphasis on communicative language teaching (cf. Long & Sato, 1983; Pica & Long, 1986).

It is not easy to make negotiation an integral component of classroom life. It should also be noted that despite these many contributions of negotiation to the communicative classroom it only plays one role. It is not a panacea, nor should it be perceived as another bandwagon. Language learning remains a complex, somewhat baffling process; as such, it can never be assisted or explained by any one learning experience, even one as helpful as negotiation.

Aside from this general caveat, there are three additional areas to take into consideration to bring negotiation to the communicative classroom: applicability, feasibility, and desirability.

Applicability of Negotiation to the Communicative Classroom

Negotiation works differently, being more effective in some aspects of language learning and communication than others. The kind of negotiation that best meets learner needs appears to depend on the learner's L2 developmental level. Results of research to date suggest that negotiation might be most helpful in the intermediate stages of learning. Although beginning learners do enter into negotiation, they appear more likely to do so as input consumers than output providers. As illustrated in (17), this is probably due to lack of linguistic resources for output modification.

What typically happens when the beginning learner produces an unclear utterance is that the NS signals by repeating or reformulating the utterance. The beginner needed to respond only with a form of *yes*.

(17) English NS	English L2 Learner	
	I think on the front is a small stone	
on the front?	yeah oh doors	
in the front of the door?	yeah	
there is a small step, yes?	oh yes	(Pica, 1996, p. 11)

Advanced learners, on the other hand, often make self-repairs of what they perceive to be a lack of clarity. When negotiation does occur, it is less about clarity and comprehensibility and more about opinion and interpretation.

Further, negotiation seems to work most readily on lexical items and larger syntactic units, such as sentence constituents. Although learners' negotiation over choice of grammatical structure or inflection has been observed, there is seldom an impressive amount over such elements on the various communication tasks studied. Even when asked to tell stories or sequence events and explain procedures, learners and interlocutors do not negotiate much over time and aspect marking, giving more attention to the people in their pictures and stories—what they looked like, their shapes, sizes, and so forth—than to what these individuals were doing. This leads them to segment and move larger units of syntax, sentence constituents, for example, but little else by way of these linguistic elements. This does not mean that learners and interlocutors *cannot* negotiate over time and aspect, but that in or out of classrooms, communities, or research contexts, many of the communication activities in which learners participate require little conscious attention to these areas of grammar.

A third issue of applicability has to do with the focus of negotiation on the comprehensibility of message form rather than on the accuracy of form in the message during communication. Learners and their interlocutors often find strategies for communicating messages through negotiation, but not necessarily in ways that are consistent with a standard version of the L2. This has been shown quite clearly in research by Sato (1986), which provides numerous examples of two young learners relying on their NS interlocutor to best articulate their message—through confirmation questions and reformulations. She also found that when the learners took the lead in the negotiation, they used little morphosyntax to express time and location, and communicated these notions instead through lexical paraphrase, adverbs, and formulas. Thus a statement such as, *Last year I played basketball at my school* might be uttered as *Last year I play basketball my school.* Although such a strategy allowed these learners to interact successfully, it brought them little advancement in their grammatical development during the 10 months of the study.

Further, features of language used in communication are often imperceptible, impossible for learners to negotiate over or attend to at all. This is why, as noted earlier, researchers have had success in helping learners acquire another language by actually giving them enhanced input directly, highlighting relatively imperceptible linguistic units, complex rules, or features that are difficult to differentiate from those in their first language (White, Spada, Lightbown & Ranta 1990).

Finally, we have found in our research that negotiation seldom assists all language learning conditions at the same time. For example, negotiation signals that are simple, open questions such as *What?* or *huh?* or statements such as *I don't understand* provide an excellent opportunity for learners to modify their output. However, these signals carry no explicit information on the L2 that can serve as data for learning. On the other hand, signals which re-code a learner's utterance into more target-like forms provide useful data and even feedback, but limit opportunities for learners themselves to modify their output (cf. Pica, 1992a, 1992b; Pica et al., 1989; Pica, Lewis & Holliday, 1990; Pica, Holliday, Lewis, Berducci, & Newman, 1991). For example, in (11) above, the NS provided a more target-like pronunciation of the learner's *bik*, while in (18), the NS modified the learner's *dog is um right hand of girl* by inserting definite articles.

(18)	**English NS**	**English L2 Learner**
		dog is um right hand of girl
	the dog is at the right hand of the girl?	yes

(Pica, 1992a)

Both of these signal types offered potential data for L2 learning. But rather than repeat or modify their original utterances, the learners simply acknowledged the signal as encoding the meaning intended. Thus, signals given to learners during negotiation are useful to different degrees, and there is considerable variation in the learning opportunities that negotiation can offer.

To add one encouraging note, however, we are finding that these limits on the signal-response pattern may be more common when learners communicate with NS speakers than with other learners. In recent research (Pica et al., 1995, 1996), we identified a different pattern when learners communicate with other learners, as seen in (19), in which one learner's response of *dark* and *entrance is two steps* were characterized respectively by lexical and syntactic modifications of his own initial output rather than affirmations of the other learner's model. Thus learners are engaged in mutual modification of lexis and syntax, and not simply in saying *yes* to the other's modification.

(19)	**English L2 Learner**	**English L2 Learner**
	roof is very black	*black?*
	dark	dark yeah hmmn
	two stone steps	*yeah steps is a entrance?*
	entrance is two steps	yeah yeah two steps

(Pica, 1993, p. 452)

Feasibility of Negotiation to the Communicative Classroom

A second caveat for negotiation in the communicative classroom has to do with its feasibility in the classroom or almost any public context. Negotiation is often an optional aspect of communication. No matter how carefully we structure a class with negotiation-rich activities, we cannot count on negotiation to happen even under the most communicative of circumstances. It *doesn't* occur when topics and referents are so mutually familiar that learners and interlocutors are confronted with few impasses in their communication over which they can negotiate, or topics and referents are so *unfamiliar* that there is little communication at all (Long, 1980, 1981, 1983; Pica, 1987a).

When familiarity with a topic is unevenly distributed, the interlocutor who is unfamiliar may feel reluctant to initiate negotiation for fear of creating further social distance. This is not uncommon in a classroom context, as shown in (20), where, despite the teacher's many comprehension checks, the students are relatively uncooperative.

(20)	Teacher	Students
	do you understand all that?	silence
	you wrote sneezes right?	yes
	ok the rest of the words are pretty easy if if a person happened to sneeze—you know—do you know what happened means?	silence
	something happened it occurs it takes place so if a person if it happened that a person sneezed? do you understand this?	silence
	nobody's saying anything	yes
	hmn you understood it and you got it right. Ok read the next one.	

(Pica, 1993, p. 450)

Further limiting the amount of negotiation that can occur during communication is the possibility that when learners interact with NSs familiar with the features of the learner's interlanguage, the NSs have little need to ask for clarification. This deprives the learners of negotiation that can provide feedback on their interlanguage or opportunities for them to modify their production toward comprehensibility. The element of familiarity can make classrooms particularly unfavorable contexts for negotiation, and those of us who have taught in comparable educational settings in the same country for years are especially vulnerable.

Desirability of Negotiation in the Communicative Classroom

Finally, there are caveats about negotiation with respect to its desirability for communication in that negotiation can be so prevalent that it gets in the way of communication. As Aston (1986) and others have shown, a steady stream of clarification questions, when asked by either interlocutor, can be a source of frustration in attempts to move a conversation forward. Such moves can also lead learners to feigned or misguided comprehension (Hawkins, 1985). Further, Porter (1986) has shown that L2 learners often use negotiation moves that are too explicit, direct, and generally sociolinguistically inappropriate in form for the contexts in which they are seeking clarity of input.

These studies suggest that negotiation is not harmful to language learning, but that both the quantity and quality of negotiation require fine-tuning. It is in the communicative classroom that I believe we are in a position to fine-tune negotiation so that it can work effectively to assist our students. All things considered, negotiation is too relevant to the L2 learning process to be deemed undesirable. What may be unacceptable in everyday social interaction seems perfectly suitable if we think of the classroom as a place for learning language through negotiation rather than a place for practicing communication in an L2.

Toward Negotiation in the Communicative Classroom

How can we provide conditions for negotiation in the classroom? This question can best be answered in light of what research has revealed about the conditions under which negotiation can best occur. First, research has shown that negotiation becomes part of the discourse when interlocutors have mutual recognition and concern for each other's objectives. Both participants must be aware of the objectives of the interaction, and must be willing to work toward mutual attainment (Doughty & Pica, 1986; Gass & Varonis, 1984, 1985, 1989; Varonis & Gass, 1982, 1985a, 1985b; Pica, Kanagy & Falodun, 1993). Even simple assignments such as explaining a picture for a partner to replicate, pooling clues to solve a mystery, or sharing details in order to assemble a picture have been shown to be effective because they require that learners and interlocutors take each other's needs into account at the outset of the communication and to respond to these as they arise.

In contrast, more reflective tasks involving debates, decisions, and problem-solving can, and often do, inspire little negotiation. What typically happens is that one learner dominates the debate, makes the decision, or solves the problem while the other, less assertive learners listen. This can be seen in the modest plant-the-garden task of (21) and (22) and the more serious adoption and heart transplant tasks of (1) and (2). As (21) reveals, even when the teacher participates in a negotiation-oriented task, others in the class have opportunities to participate in learning processes.

(21)

English L2 Learner	Other Classroom Participants
the flower is a bowl is uh left side on the bottom and has blue color eh dark blue color and the middle of this dark blue color you can see light blue color	triangles?
	triangles?
light blue color	triangles?
triangle	triangle
and what else do you want to know?	which position? vertical
	is on the left? normal position?
is the normal position up on the left on bottom . . . of the board	
	left is in- in the middle... in the top? in the middle down left at the bottom?
no at the bottom	*bottom or top? up or down? where is it please?*
top	top top (Pica, 1993, p. 456)

(22)

Learner 1	Learner 2	Learner 3	Learner 4
the stem is yellow and it has two			
two leaves?			
one dark green the other blue and it is on the top			
	uhuh		
right side mmm position? vertical			
corner? *corner?*		*normal vertical?*	
ahha normal position the other			

one is I don't know like uh this how you call this	*squir?*	
square? square? just off the corner?		yeah quadratic
yes square just on the corner yes ok		

(Pica, 1993, pp. 455-457)

This last point here seem especially important to bear in mind as we structure our classes toward communication. Even the most provocative content cannot promote negotiation if learners do not share a stake in the objectives of the task assigned. Further, even beginning learners can be involved in negotiation if they can be given simple content to work with and still be drawn toward negotiation to complete a task.

Another way in which negotiation is promoted or impeded is through the kinds of questions asked. What studies have shown is that negotiation is promoted by questions which signal a lack of understanding on the part of the question poser. The classroom staple of evaluation questions whereby teachers ask learners to display what teachers know already needs to be replaced by signaling questions which seek clarification of what has been said.

In addition, there need to be opportunities for both teachers and students to ask such questions. When asked by teachers, these signaling questions provide feedback to learners on their production and provide them with opportunities to modify output. When asked by learners, these questions provide them with access toward input they need to understand.

Finally, research has shown that the affective environment conducive to negotiation is one in which face-threatening moves are kept to a minimum (cf. Bailey & Oshner, 1983). These studies imply that negotiation occurs in an environment in which displays of incomprehension do not reveal the weaknesses of learners, but rather reveal their strength as workers completing a task in which they play a pivotal role. Learners must be able to feel they need to seek help because it is the task which is difficult not because it is *they* who are weak.

An important aspect of the communicative classroom, therefore, is that whatever activities take place therein must help learners feel like learners. One way to accomplish this is through providing learners with the opportunity to negotiate—to ask questions, to seek assistance, and to seek help when others cannot be understood. This requires an environment which is guided by projects and tasks whose completion depends on all participants. Developing such a social context poses many challenges. Yet, the more we strive toward communication with collaboration, the more possibilities will arise for teachers and learners to work together, and to nurture and sustain the language learning process.

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インターアクション場面の変化と社会ストラテジー：日豪での縦断的調査研究から (注1)

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学習者のインターアクション場面（接触場面）が多様化すると、学習者自身が、習得過程を管理し、問題を処理する能力（学習者ストラテジー）の使用も変化する。新しい日本語教育を考える場合、こうした認識はますます重要になってくるであろう。本研究は、国際接触場面の変化に伴う学習者ストラテジーの使用の変化を社会ストラテジーを中心に、日豪2か国で調査した一年間の縦断的研究である。分析の結果、社会ストラテジーの使用は、必ずしも日本での滞在期間に比例せず、むしろ減少することがわかった。これは、インターアクションのタイプの固定化と関係があるのではないかと推察できる。また帰国後は、ほとんどの学習者に、日本で使われていた社会ストラテジーが確認されず、維持に問題があることがわかった。

The interactive contact situations experienced by Japanese language learners tend to become more intercultural as their learning proceeds. It can be hypothesized that social strategies (Oxford, 1990) play an important role in order to make the most of real life interactions in intercultural contexts. Few attempts, however, have been made to empirically explore what types of social strategies are used when learners are immersed in such situations. This paper reports on a longitudinal study of the changes in the use of social strategies by nine Australian university students during and after stays in Japan, and aims to examine previously unidentified issues of acquisition and maintenance of language learning social strategies.

The research was conducted over a one-year period in Japan and Australia. The data included a questionnaire administered prior to the students' stays in Japan, learning diaries maintained by students during and after their stays, and four follow-up interviews on the contents of the diaries, conducted every two months in Japan and six months after the students returned to Australia. The data were analyzed following Oxford's (1990) list of six types of social strategies: asking for clarification or verification, asking for correction, cooperating with peers, cooperating with proficient users of the L2, developing cultural understanding, and becoming aware of others' thoughts and feelings.

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The data revealed that learners consciously applied and acquired social strategies while in Japan, confirming the assumption that learning in Japan helps JSL learners' use of social strategies. The length of stay and the use of strategies, however, seem to negatively correlate. For example, one learner remarked during a follow-up interview that she tended to talk to the same people. It is suspected that Japanese NS become accustomed to the language used by JSL learners they frequently contact, and that in such cases learners do not require use of social strategies for success in communication. It was also discovered that learners were not necessarily involved in a wider variety of activities to maintain their Japanese upon their return to Australia than they had been prior to visiting Japan. Most students reported that this was because they were busy preparing their dissertation and did not have many opportunities to use Japanese, which they said resulted in a loss of confidence and subsequent hesitation to interact with Japanese speakers in the local community. This suggests there is no guarantee social strategies learned in an L2 situation will be maintained when learners return to a FL environment.

The number of subjects in this study is limited. As such, the findings are preliminary. However, we would like to suggest the following four items warrant further investigation: 1) Empirical research is needed to develop a more comprehensive list of social strategies; 2) The hypothesis of fossilization (Schumann, 1978) might be applied to the acquisition and maintenance of social strategies; 3) Interaction with host families may not always be a model for target language production, especially after the initial settling-in period; and 4) As language learning strategy training is thought to enhance autonomous learning, study of how this can be done effectively with learners prior to their going to the L2 environment is needed.

日本語の学習段階が進むにつれて、学習者の目標言語との接触場面はどのように変化するのであろうか。彼らは「実際使用」（ネウストプニー，1995）場面でのインターアクション能力の習得のために、接触場面を多様化させていくのではないかと考えられる。オーディオ・リンガル・アプローチ以降の新しい日本語教育の目標が、接触場面で起きるさまざまなインターアクション上の問題への対策を提供すること（尾崎・ネウストプニー，1986）であるならば、習得が進むにつれ、接触場面がどう変わるか、それにともなって起きる問題にはどんなものがあるかなどを検証し、それに対応できるコースデザインを検討する必要があるだろう。

習得場面でのインターアクションの問題を調べる場合、学習者の習得過程を誰が管理するのかを考える必要がある。今までは、主に教師による管理（教師ストラテジー）に注目していたが、学習者自身によるストラテジー（学習者ストラテジー）も、体系的に調べる必要がある。Oxford（1990）は、このストラテジーを、直接ことばに働きかける直接ストラテジーと、習得のための条件を設定する間接ストラテジーに分類している。間接ストラテジーには、学習者自身が習得過程をモニターし評価するメタ認知ストラテジー、情意面のコントロールに関する情意ストラテジー、習得過程で起きた問題をネーティブ・スピーカーや、他の学習者とのインターアクションを

通して調整、または訂正していく社会ストラテジーが含まれる。これらの学習者ストラテジーの中でも、社会ストラテジーは、インターアクション能力の習得に大きな影響を与えるストラテジーであると見られている（ネウストプニー, 1995）。Oxford（1990）は、この社会ストラテジーを以下のように3つに分け、それをさらに下位分類している。

1. 質問をする。
1-1. 明確化あるいは確認を求める。
1-2. 訂正してもらう。
2. 他の人と協力する。
2-1. 学習者同士が協力する。
2-2. 外国語に堪能な人と協力する。
3. 他の人々へ感情移入をする。
3-1. 文化を理解する力を高める。
3-2. 他の人々の考え方や感情を知る。

本稿は、日本語を学ぶオーストラリアの大学生を対象にして、1993年に実施した日豪での縦断的調査（第1回目）の結果から、オーストラリアから日本へ習得場面を変えた後の、学習ストラテジーの使用の変化、および帰国後の日本語の維持活動などを、社会ストラテジーの使用を中心に考察した基礎的研究である。

調査方法

1993年、モナシュ大学のオナーズ・プログラム（注2）及び修士課程に在籍し、6か月間日本に滞在した20代の学生9名（女性8名、男性1名）を被験者として選んだ。日本語学習歴は3年から8年（平均4.8年）で、一人を除き平均6.6か月の在日経験があった（表1）。まず、来日前に、この9 名が教室外で、日本語によるどのようなインターアクション行動をしているかを把握するために、アンケート調査を行った。さらに、在日中及び帰国後の社会ストラテジーの使用の実態を調べるため、東京とメルボルンで、被験者が書いてきた学習ダイアリー（付録）をもとに、在日中約2か月間隔で3回と、帰国6か月後に1回（注3）、約1年間にわたって計4回のインタビュー調査を行った。この調査は、(1) インタビュー前日のインターアクション行動の中で起きた問題とその処理、(2)その日に成功したインターアクションの評価、(3) インタビュー前の一週

表1 被験者一覧

	性別	日本語教育機関での学習経験		在日歴
		Secondary	Tertiary	
FS1	女	4年	2年	12ケ月
FS2	女	−	3年	9ケ月
FS3	女	−	3年	10ケ月
FS4	女	5年	3年	6ケ月
FS5	男	−	4年	なし
FS6	女	5年	3年	2週間
FS7	女	−	3年	9ケ月
FS8	女	2年	3年	11ケ月
FS9	女	−	3年	6ケ月

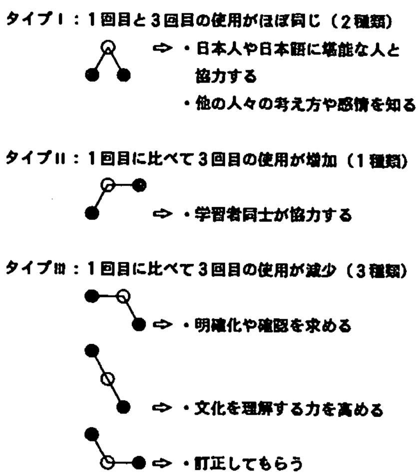
間の自己学習評価、(4)これから予想されるインターアクション場面での問題処理方法の3つの項目から構成されている。項目ごとに学習ダイアリーシートに記入させ、そこで報告された内容をフォローアップするために、20~30分程度のインタビューを行った。録音されたインタビューの内容は、学習行動を中心にまとめられ、その中で具体的に確認された社会ストラテジーを、Oxford(1990)の6つの分類項目に従って分類し、分析を行った。

来日前、在日中の調査結果及び分析

来日前のアンケート調査の結果(表2)から、ほとんどの被験者が、教室外でもネーティブ・スピーカーとの接触があったことがわかる。しかしながら、接触の頻度は、それほど高くなく、また、Aのタイプ(教室外での日本人とのインターアクション)の活動に加えて、その他(B~E)のタイプの活動を行っている者は、少なかった。図1は、在日中の社会ストラテジーの使用の変化をタイプ別に表したものである。ここから分かるように、6つのカテゴリー全てが確認され、使用変化には、タイプI(1回目と3回目で、ほとんど変化がみられないタイプ2種類)、タイプII(1回目より3回目のほうが増加しているタイプ1種類)、タイプIII(1回目より3回目のほうが減少しているタイプ3種類)の3タイプに分けられることがわかった。タイプIIIに分類されるストラテジーが最も多いということは、社会ストラテジーの使用が、必ずしも滞在期間に比例するものではないことを示している。

さらに、在日中のインタビューごとに、個人別に、使用している社会ストラテジーの種類の変化を(表3)見ても、使用する社会ストラテジーの多様性が滞在期間に比例するわけではないことがわかる。来日から2か月後の1回目のインタビューでは、

図1　インタビューで確認された社会ストラテジーの変化のタイプ



平均して3. 56種類の社会ストラテジーが使用されたが、2回目が2. 78種類、3回目が1. 78種類と、むしろ減少している。在日中の社会ストラテジーの使用を、さらに詳しく見てみると、「日本人や日本語に堪能な人と協力したり」、「他の人々の考え方や感情を知る」ストラテジーは、3 回のインタビューを通して使用が確認された。また、「学習者同士が協力する」ストラテジーの使用は、滞在期間に比例することがわかった。しかし、「質問をして、明確化あるいは確認を求めたり」、他から「訂正（調整）してもらう」ことによって自分のインターアクション問題を解決するストラテジーの使用は滞在期間に比例せず、減少する傾向が見られた。また、「文化を理解する力を高めようとする」ストラテジーにも、同じような傾向がみられた。

表 2 来日前の日本語の維持活動

	維持活動		維持活動		維持活動
FS1	—	FS4	A, B, D, E	FS7	D
FS2	A	FS5	A	FS8	A, C, E
FS3	A	FS6	A, B	FS9	A

A＊：教室外での日本人とのインターアクション
B＊：日本にいる日本人と手紙によるインターアクション
C ：日本の映画、ビデオを見る
D ：アルバイトで日本語を使う
E ：日本の漫画を読む
（＊英語でインターアクションする場合もあると報告された）

こうした結果は、被験者の次のような報告によって裏付けられる。「日本に滞在した後半は、論文のための調査や資料収集が中心になり、なかなか日本語の勉強に集中できなかった」（FS6、FS8、FS9）という報告があり、また、「いつも同じ人と話しがちになる」（FS6）ため、そのインターアクションが習慣化し、相手の日本人の発話の特徴がわかってくると、聞き返す（質問する）ことによって、確認を求めたり、訂正してもらう行動が少なくなるのではないかと考えられる。さらに、一人の学習者は「日本人は、自分の間違いをもっと直してほしい」（FS7）と述べており、被験者が接触したネーティブ・スピーカーは、学習者が期待するほどには、訂正行動をしていないのかもしれないと疑える。

これと関連して、被験者の滞在先をみると（表4）、全員が2～6か月間、ホーム・ステイをしていることがわかる。本稿の基礎になっている調査では、ホスト・ファミリーとのインターアクションについては、十分なデータを採集していないが、在日中のインターアクション問題の解決のための確認や訂正要求のストラテジーの使用率が、必ずしも滞在期間に比例しないという結果と、ホスト・ファミリーとのインターアクションが、どのように関係しあっているかを、インタビューの分析から考察してみると、次のような仮説が立てられる。「ホストファミリーとの接触場面では、他の日本人の場合と比べ、同じようなタイプのインターアクション（決まったメンバーによる、同じトピックの会話など）が繰り返される可能性が高い。学習者が、彼らとのインター

表 3 在日中に確認された
社会ストラテジーの種類

	FS1	FS2	FS3	FS4	FS5	FS6	FS7	FS8	FS9	平均
1回目	3	3	5	4	3	4	4	2	4	3.56
2回目	4	2	2	4	2	2	3	3	3	2.78
3回目	1	3	2	2	2	2	1	2	1	1.78

アクションの中で、いつも決まったコミュニケーションの問題（表現や発音の間違い）を起こす場合、ホスト・ファミリーは、学習者の中間言語に慣れ、訂正のためのコミュニケーション交渉（Long, 1983）を行わず、訂正を回避する傾向がある。」しかしながら、ホーム・ステイに関するケース・スタディとして、Hashimoto (1993) は、交換留学で1 年間日本に滞在したオーストラリア人の女子高校生とそのホスト・ファミリーとの6 つのインターアクション場面を分析し、ホスト・ファミリーとのインターアクションが、コミュニケーション能力の習得のための有効なリソースであると結論づけている。インターアクションのネットワーク、頻度および内容の固定化の問題は、学習者が接触場面でインターアクションを創出するストラテジー（場のネットワーキング）（春原, 1992）とあわせ、これからさらに検証していく必要があるであろう。

表4 在日中の滞在

	ホストファミリー	その他（アパートなど）
FS1	②2ケ月	①1週間 ③3ケ月
FS2	6ケ月	−
FS3	6ケ月	−
FS4	①2ケ月 ②2ケ月	③2ケ月
FS5	①3ケ月 ②3ケ月	−
FS6	①3週間 ②2ケ月 ③3ケ月	−
FS7	①2ケ月 ②4ケ月	−
FS6	6ケ月	−
FS9	①2ケ月 ②4ケ月	−

（①②③：移り住んだ順番を示す）

帰国後の推持

最後に、帰国後行ったインタビュー調査で、どのような日本語の維持活動をしているかを調べた（表5）。表2（来日前）と比較すると、社会ストラテジーを含んだ教室外活動の種類は、増加したのが3 人、変化なしが3 人、減少したのが3 人で、平均すると来日前と比べ、ほとんど変化がなかった。また、滞在歴が長い学習者（FS1、FS3、FS8）でも、維持活動のバリエーションはかなり少ないことがわかった。理由は、オナーズの論文などで、日本人とインターアクションをもつ機会が十分になかった（FS4、FS6、FS8、FS9）ことなどが挙げられた。また、そうした機会があっても、日本語の使用について徐々に自信をなくしたために、消極的になった（FS1、FS2、FS3、FS4、FS6、FS7、FS9）とほぼ全員が報告している。その対策として交換レッスン（FS1、FS2、FS3、FS4）などを計画したが、日本人は英語を使いたがるので、十分な効果が期待できなかった（FS1、FS6、FS8）という報告もされた。日本に滞在中も、社会ストラテジーの減少傾向

表5 帰国後の日本語の維持活動

	維持活動		維持活動		維持活動
FS1	A, B	FS4	A, B	FS7	A
FS2	A	FS5	A, B	FS8	B, C
FS3	A, C	FS6	−	FS9	A

A：教室外での日本人とのインターアクション
（交換レッスンも含まれる）
B：日本にいる日本人と手紙によるインターアクション
C：日本人関係協会（豪日協会など）の
アクティビティーに参加

が確認されたが、ストラテジーの維持は、帰国後もかなり難しいものと推察できる。

結論

多くの日本語学習者にとって、インターアクション能力の習得は、日本国外の限られた接触場面で行われる。インターアクション場面で起きる問題をどう処理するのか、そのためにどのようなストラテジーが必要かは、海外ではとくに意識化する必要があるだろう。また、日本においても、教室以外の場面での習得の意義を認めるならば、学習者ストラテジーへの配慮の必要性は否定できないだろう。しかし、学習者ストラテジーの研究は、日本語教育においては比較的新しい研究分野であり、検証すべき事柄も多い。今回の研究は、来日前、在日中及び帰国後の社会ストラテジーの使用の変化、日本語能力と使用ストラテジーの関係について十分な検証がなされていないため、以下の4点を今後の研究課題として記しておく。

（1）学習者が、社会ストラテジーを用いて対処すべき事柄の範囲は、おそらくOxfordのリストよりかなり広いと予想できる。例えば、ネイティブ・スピーカーとのネットワークを作るストラテジーなどは、社会ストラテジーの中に含まれるべきものであろう。逆に、明確化あるいは確認を求めたり、訂正してもらうなどのストラテジーは、コミュニケーション・ストラテジー、または、直接ストラテジーの中の補償ストラテジーとして分類するのが適当であろう。こうした不備を改善するためには、より詳細な社会ストラテジーの分類項目を作り、その検証を急ぐ必要がある。

（2）Schumman（1978）は、中間言語の化石化（Selinker, 1972）が起きる条件として、学習者が目標言語が話されている社会から隔離された場合と、目標言語の使用機能が限定された場合の２つをあげている。上で指摘したインターアクションのネットワーク、頻度および内容の固定化の問題は、化石化現象と関わりをもつかもしれないことが考えられる。社会ストラテジーの使用の変化と化石化現象にどのような関係があるのかを検証する必要がある。

（3）ホームスティ場面でのインターアクションを、習得およびネットワークなどの固定化の両面から再検討する。こうした場面での訂正交渉が、実際の習得に役立つかどうかも、さらに検証する必要がある。

（4）帰国した学習者に、どのようなインターアクション能力の向上が見られたかを調査したものには、交換留学生などを対象にした研究が代表的である（Marriott, 1993）。しかし、在日中および帰国後に社会ストラテジーの使用が減少する傾向にあることを考えると、来日前にどのような学習者トレーニング（O'malley, 1987）を行うべきかを検討する必要があると考えられる。

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注

(注1) 本稿は、1994年度日本語教育学会秋季大会での発表（宮崎・ピロッタ丸山）をもとに、加筆修正されたものである。データ収集にあたっては、長田紀子氏に多くのご協力を願った。ここに感謝の意を表する。

(注2) オーストラリアの大学の文学部では、3年でpass degreeを取得して卒業する学生と、4年に進級しhonours degreeを取得する学生に分かれる。

(注3) 4回目のインタビューでは、FS2とPS4がメルボルンにいなかったために、記述報告をしてもらった。

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(195年10月15日、1996年5月11日受)

付録 学習ダイアリー

1. Learning Diary

I used my Japanese yesterday			
Where?	With whom?	What for?	Any problems

2. Successful Interaction

One thing I did well in Japanese yesterday was:			
Where?	With whom?	What for?	Because

3. Weekly Self-evaluation

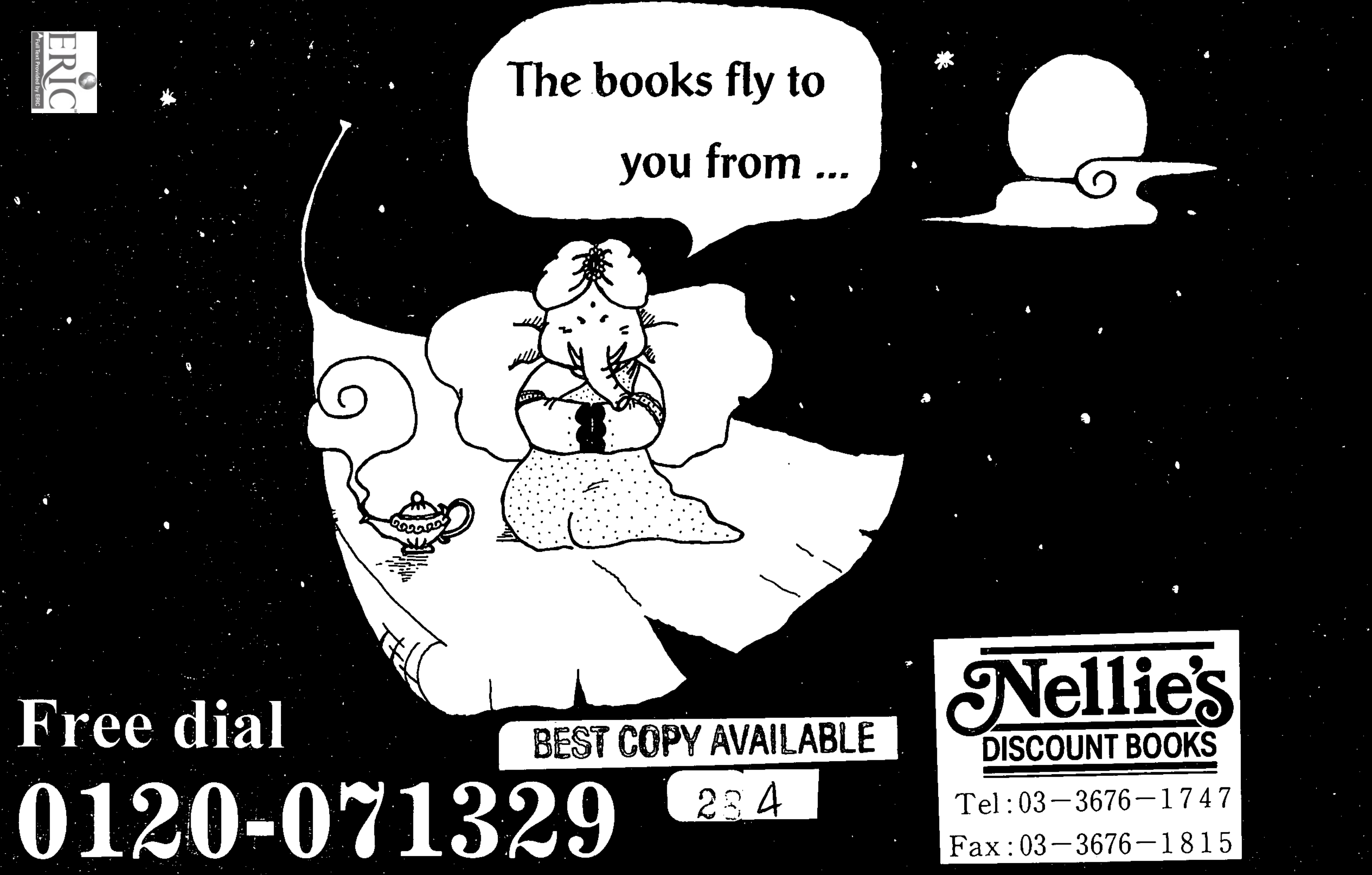
How do you feel about: (Circle the most appropriate)	very good	quite good	not very good	terrible
How do you feel about your progress last week?				
If you circle 'very good' or 'quite good', please list the 5 activities YOU found most helpful last week:				

4. How to Cope with a Coming Event

Do you feel you need to practise for the coming interaction with a Japanese? (e.g review of keigo, particle, pronunciation, non-verbal behaviour and so forth)

Give details of the situation you will encounter with a Japanese in the near future and jot down some items (grammatical, communicative and cultural) you need to practise.

I will contact with a Japanese in the near future and I would like to practise first for the interaction. Details will be as follows.			
Where?	With whom?	What for?	I need to practise:



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Research Forum

But I Don't Want to be Rude: On Learning How to Express Anger in the L2

Mitsuyo Toya
University of the Rukyus

Mary Kodis
Valley High School

This research investigates pragmatic use of rudeness, focusing on use of rude expressions as a result of anger, and contrasting native and non-native expression of anger. Ten native speakers of English and 10 native speakers of Japanese with advanced English proficiency were presented with five situations in which anger was expected. During interviews, subjects were asked 1) how they would feel in each situation, 2) how they would or would not express their emotions verbally and/or non-verbally, and 3) why they would or would not express themselves in those ways. In general, NSs were more expressive, however, the difference in reactions was smaller than expected. Results confirm that sources for learning rudeness are limited for NNSs and that the learners have little confidence in its use.

この研究は、怒りの結果としての無礼な表現の使い方に焦点をあて、母語話者と非母語話者の怒りの表現を比較しながら、無礼さの語用論的用法を探究するものである。英語母語話者と上級英語学習者である日本語母語話者それぞれ10人に、怒りを感ずるであろう5つの場面を提示し、インタビューにより、1）そのような状況ではどんな感情をもつか、2）その感情を言語的に、また非言語的にどのように表現するか、どのような表現はしないか、3）それらの表現をなぜする、あるいはしないのかを聞いた。一般的にいって、母語話者はより表現が豊かであるが、非母語話者との相違は予想より小さかった。調査の結果、非母語話者が無礼さの表現を学習するリソースは限られており、学習者はその使用にほとんど自信がないということがわかった。

Just as pragmatic competence using politeness is a critical aspect for L2 acquisition, rudeness is another important target language aspect. Although it is not an area which has been much discussed or researched, Lakoff (1989), in her analysis of courtroom discourse, mentions intentional, systematic rudeness in her analysis of courtroom discourse in contrast to polite behavior and non-polite behavior. This definition of rudeness, the failure to convey politeness where expected, is further explained by Kasper (1990) as "being constituted by deviation from whatever counts as politic in a given context," and "confrontational and disruptive to social equilibrium" (p. 19). Kasper proposes further the distinction between "motivated" and "unmotivated" rudeness (1990, pp. 19-20). Unmotivated rudeness is mere lack of politeness where it is expected. Kasper claims that L2 learners, having different pragmatic norms in their L1 culture, would learn to minimize this kind of rudeness as they become more competent in the target language (TL). L2 learners would become familiar with the forms and eventually use them, just as L1 children do when they become competent adults. Motivated rudeness falls into three categories: a lack of affect control, strategic rudeness, and ironic rudeness (Kasper, 1990, p.20). The first is very distinctive from the others in that it is not goal-oriented. The rudeness as a result of affect control is strongly associated with apparently rude speech acts, such as cursing and insults, often considered marks of anger. In contrast, strategic and ironic rudeness are employed with an expectation of certain outcomes.

Of the three categories used by Kasper, we focus on the category of rudeness resulting from a lack of control, or anger, to determine whether L2 learners can master two different norms of expressing emotions, especially Western and Oriental norms. First, there is the question of why people become angry and how the situations in which people feel angry differ. Stipek, Weiner, and Lei (1989, in Markus & Kitayama, 1991) report that Chinese showed a tendency to get angry at people who did something wrong to others, while Americans reported being angry more when they themselves were mistreated. Similarly, Japanese are less likely than Americans to experience anger when there is a close relationship (Matsumoto, Kudoh, Scherer & Wallbott, 1988; Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Although we should not over-generalize the situations which can be the stimuli for anger, the psychology of anger, which is culturally bound, would be difficult to change even when the L2 is spoken, for learning an L2 does not necessarily mean that one feels angry in situations different from those of the L1 culture.

Second, literature indicates that the expression of emotions has different values in Oriental and Western cultures. Tavris (1984) refers to the Japanese practice of emotional constraint, claiming that "a Japanese who shows anger the Western way is admitting that he has lost control, therefore lost face," whereas in Western culture, the opposite is true; "a man may lose face if he does *not* show anger when it is appropriate and *manly* to do so" (p. 67). In Western society, "showing anger may simply mark the beginning of an exchange, perhaps to show that negotiator is serious" (Tavris, 1984, p. 67). In Japanese society, the overt expression of anger and verbal attack is interpreted as evidence of immaturity and childishness. Rude language is more commonly utilized by young children and teenagers as they are generally excused from adult norms, however, this kind of language would be employed less by the time adulthood is reached (Hoshino, 1989).

Research findings on cultural views of "self" may explain the different viewpoints regarding the expression of anger. Markus and Kitayama (1991) claim that the Western view of self, the "*independent* self," seems to encourage a person to express anger, frustration, and pride more often than the Oriental view of "*interdependent* self," reasoning that those negative emotions are "ego-focused" rather than "other-focused" (pp. 235-239). They also point out that many interdependent cultures seem to have developed strategies by which people avoid expressing negative emotions (Markus & Kitayama, 1991).

These values begin to be instilled during childhood. Miyake, Campos, Kagan, and Bradshaw (1986) found that American mothers tend to have more verbal communication regarding emotions, whereas Japanese mothers use physical expressions rather than deal verbally with their children's emotions. They also reported that Japanese mothers infrequently show anger to their children. Japanese mothers are illustrated as "empathy trainers" in child-rearing, often interpreting the emotions of a third person, as well as their own, by saying things like: "Ms. Brown would be pleased with your nice behavior," or "I will get angry if you do such a thing" (Clancy, 1986, pp. 232-235), in effect training them to guess the feelings of others in certain contexts. This attitude differs from American mothers who might immediately say "No!" showing anger and/or frustration, in order to stop undesirable behavior. This may imply that competent Japanese adults would feel they should not express emotions overtly as others can guess these suppressed emotions and behave accordingly. In contrast, American society expects people to express their emotions outwardly, viewing this as an important and effective communication strategy (cf. Markus & Kitayama, 1991).

Regarding *how* L2 learners can express anger, direct translation of swear words or insults is almost impossible. Hoshino (1989) points out that the

Japanese language does not have a large vocabulary of swear words. His list of rude expressions in Japanese (1989, pp. 114-115) shows that those which *do* exist differ from English swear words in that they seldom are related to Christianity or sexual connotations. Additionally, swear words often sound humorous when directly translated and lose much of their affective load (Cross, 1979). It is worth noting that the Japanese express rudeness by discarding the respectful form and by employing male speech patterns, especially when the speaker is female (Hoshino, 1989).

The Study

Contrastive studies of Western (American) versus Oriental (Japanese) psychology illustrate the gap between these cultures' expression of emotion, clearly indicating expressing anger serves different functions. Based on Kasper's rudeness taxonomy (1990), we sought to determine whether the notion of rudeness could be explained as a lack of affect control, focusing on the expression of anger, to clarify the perceptive use of anger by English native speakers and Japanese learners of English, and to investigate the pragmalinguistic awareness of such rudeness.

Method

Subjects

Subjects, 10 native speakers (NS) of English (5 males and 5 females) and 10 Japanese learners (NNS) of English (5 males and 5 females), were graduate students at an American university at the time of data-collection, majoring in ESL, East-Asian Studies, or Public Health. Ages ranged from 24 to 51, with 75% of the participants falling between the age of 25 and 33.

The NNSs length of stay in English speaking countries varied from 3 months to approximately 10 years. TOEFL scores before admission to the graduate (master's level) programs for seven NNS ranged from 565 to 630, with a mean of 607.3. Scores for three subjects were unavailable as they had been exempted from TOEFL requirements prior to enrollment.

Materials

Based on literature (Madow, 1972; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Tavris, 1984) and the researchers' observations, five situations were prepared in order to elicit different degrees of anger (see Appendix). In Situation 1, the target of anger is an inanimate object, a vending machine, whereas in the other situations it is a person. Situation 2, an encounter with a friend, was selected based on the idea that the intimacy of the relationship would lead to different outcomes in expressing anger between NSs and NNSs of English. It was hypothesized that different patterns would be obtained in this context since Japanese seem to show more emotional control because of interdependence. Situation 3, an interaction with a stranger in a restaurant, supplied contrast with Situation 2. While Situations 1 to 3 might or might not have caused anger in respondents, Situation 4, a negative encounter between a cyclist and a driver, provided a context in which a person would feel intense shock and danger, and therefore would be more likely to express anger. While traffic anger, reported both in Madow (1972) and Tavris (1984), occurs in encounters between two cars or a car and a pedestrian, a car and a cyclist was used as this was a common experience for subjects and included a second part which we hoped would increase the sense of mistreatment. Situation 5 was different from the others in that the stimulus of anger was not mistreatment of self but mistreatment of a stranger. Based on the findings of Stipek, Weiner, and Lei (1989, in Markus and Kitayama, 1991), it was hypothesized that NNS informants would show more anger than NSs in such a context.

Procedures

The subjects were individually interviewed by one of the researchers, a near NS of English and NS of Japanese. Subjects were shown each situation, written in English on index cards, and asked to tell how they would feel and how they would express these feelings. English was used as the primary language of communication. All interviews were audio recorded.

An introspective interview followed for the NNS subjects. They were asked in Japanese about whether: 1) there was anything more to add, looking at all the situations; 2) they had had much exposure to NSs using swear words; and 3) whether they would use those words themselves and why or why not. In addition, they were asked to give Japanese equivalents of English swear words they used. The recorded responses were transcribed and the Japanese sections translated into English. Responses were then coded onto flow charts for analysis.

Results and Discussion

Part 1: Control of negative emotions

Tables 1-6 show the coding of responses for each situation. Since interviews were open-ended, subjects could give more than one response. With Situation 1, NSs tended to be more physically expressive. Of the seven respondents who said they would kick or punch the vending machine, five were NSs. Little difference was observed between male and female physical reactions. Physical expression was always accompanied by verbal expression. NSs also tended to be more verbal in their expression of anger. Six out of the nine respondents who would explicitly express anger using a curse word were NSs. Four male respondents (one NS, three NNSs) reported that they would experience no anger because getting angry would not achieve anything, while two NS respondents (one male, one female) felt no anger because the problem with the vending machine was so common in their daily lives that they no longer reacted to it.

Table 1: Response Results [Situation 1: Vending machine]

Reactions	NS (M, F)	NNS (M, F)	Total (M, F)
kick, punch, or shake the machine	5 (2, 3)	2 (1, 1)	7 (3 ,4)
explicitly expressing anger, saying something	6 (3, 3)	3 (1, 2)	9 (4, 5)
"God damn!"	1 (1, 0)	0 (0, 0)	1 (1, 0)
"Shit!"	4 (2, 2)	1 (1, 0)	5 (3, 2)
"Shoot!"	0 (0, 0)	1 (0, 1)	1 (0, 1)
"Stupid machine!"	1 (0, 1)	1 (0, 1)	2 (0, 2)
not angry because no use	1 (1, 0)	3 (3, 0)	4 (4, 0)
not angry because common problem	1 (0, 1)	1 (1, 0)	2 (1, 1)

[NS: n=10 (5M, 5F); NNS: n=10 (5M, 5F); Total: n=20 (10M, 10F)]

Situation 2, the birthday dinner fiasco, evoked the widest range of emotions of any of the situations and also the highest rate of subjects, 17, feeling some anger. Three reported they would not feel angry but would feel disappointed. There was a hierarchy of negative emotions: "upset" < "irritated" < "angry" < "furious"/"pissed off." These were sometimes qualified by "very" and "extremely." Other emotions such as disappointment, hurt, anxiety, and sadness were stages subjects passed through before or after getting angry or concomitant to the anger. Not all subjects had these feelings, however, and there was no indication that having them in any way increased the degree of anger felt. Two NS females opted for remaining silent and wait for an explanation while 17 responded that they would ask for an explanation, with 10 implicitly expressing anger by requesting testily "What happened?" Little difference between NSs and NNSs was observed. The responses indicated that the more intimate the relationship (e.g. "I would be more hurt if this were someone special.") or more habitual the behavior (e.g. "How could you do this again on my birthday?"), the more anger was felt. It was originally hypothesized that Japanese subjects would try to control their emotions to preserve an intimate relationship. This was not validated by the data as NSs and NNSs reacted similarly.

Table 2: Response Results [Situation 2: Birthday]

Reactions	NS (M, F)	NNS (M, F)	Total (M, F)
feel angry	9 (5, 4)	8 (5, 3)	17 (10, 7)
feel disappointed	1 (0, 1)	2 (0, 2)	3 (0, 3)
ask for explanation	7 (5, 2)	10 (5, 5)	17 (10, 7)
ask for the reason, showing their anger:	5 (3, 2)	5 (3, 2)	10 (6, 4)
"What happened?" "What's wrong?" "What's going on!?"			
"Why the *hell* didn't you call?"	1 (1, 0)	0	1 (1, 0)
accuse "You didn't call!"	1 (0, 1)	2 (1, 1)	3 (1, 2)
show the distrust (if forgotten) "I can't believe this!"	2 (1, 1)	0	1 (1, 1)
use sarcasm: "We missed a *nice* birthday." "*You* decided not to call me!"	2 (0, 2)	0	2 (0, 2)
hide the true feeling and ask laughingly: "What's wrong with you?"	0	1 (0, 1)	1 (0, 1)
remain silent for an explanation	2 (0, 2)	0	2 (0, 2)
expect a word of apology	0	1 (1, 0)	1 (1, 0)
anger subsided	1 (0, 1)	0	1 (0, 1)
disappointed but forgive	0	1 (0, 1)	1 (0, 1)

[NS: *n*=10 (5M, 5F); NNS: *n*=10 (5M, 5F); Total: *n*=20 (10M, 10F)]

Situation 3, waiting in a restaurant for 30 minutes, gave some of the most unusual data in that NNS females were the most likely to express anger explicitly and NS females the most likely to feel no anger at all. Eight subjects, five NNSs (1 male, 4 female), would be verbally explicit about their anger. In contrast, four female NSs reported no anger. NNS male respondents generally reacted calmly; asking to check the name list (one) or asking the reason politely (two). Other males reacted with impatience. Five males (2 NS and 3 NNS) said they would not wait 30 minutes and would either approach the waiter after 15 minutes or just leave. Only one female, a NNS, mentioned that she would not wait. Although they did not report they would feel and/or show much frustration, NSs seemed less hesitant than NNS counterparts in making contact with the waiter. Half of the NSs (3 males and 2 females) said they would mention the length of wait, compared to two NNS females. Three NSs reported that they would peremptorily request to be seated.

Table 3: Response Results [Situation 3: Restaurant]

Reactions	NS (M, F)	NNS (M, F)	Total (M, F)
explicitly express anger, frustration	3 (2, 1)	5 (1, 4)	8 (3, 5)
feel no anger	4 (0, 4)	1 (1, 0)	5 (1, 4)
be firm, assertive	3 (2, 1)	3 (1, 2)	6 (3, 3)
mention the waiting time directly to the waiter	5 (3, 2)	2 (0, 2)	7 (3, 4)
request to be seated	3 (2, 1)	0	3 (2, 1)
ask why not seated	1 (0, 1)	2 (1, 1)	3 (1, 2)
ask to check the list	0 (0, 0)	2 (1, 1)	2 (1, 1)
ask how much longer the wait would be	2 (1, 1)	1 (1, 0)	3 (2, 1)
complain among themselves	0 (0, 0)	1 (1, 0)	1 (1, 0)
ask politely	2 (0, 2)	2 (2, 0)	4 (2, 2)
wait less than 30 minutes	2 (2, 0)	3 (2, 1)	5 (4, 1)
just leave	2 (0, 2)	0	2 (0, 2)
not waiter's fault	1 (0, 1)	1 (0, 1)	2 (0, 2)
waiter's fault	0	2 (0, 2)	2 (0, 2)

[NS: n=10 (5M, 5F); NNS: n=10 (5M, 5F); Total: n=20 (10M, 10F)]

A trend emerges for situation 3, highlighting differences between NS and NNS females. The NNSs were more likely to feel angry and to express themselves. A possible explanation for this is the different expectations in Japanese and American contexts. One NS female respondent mentioned that it was not the waiter's fault in spite of her frustration at having to wait. Two NSs said that they might just leave. In contrast, two NNS females justified their anger, mentioning that it was the waiter's fault. One said that the waiter's attitude sounded "unprofessional." The Japanese respondents, except for one, seemed comfortable expressing anger because of the status difference between customers and waiters in Japan.

During the interviews, situation 4 produced the highest usage of curses. For the first part of the situation, four of the five subjects who would say something outloud were NSs. Yet only a male NNS in this category chose to express his anger by using strong curses. The NSs varied in their verbal expressions, as shown in Table 4. Seven respondents (4 NSs, 3 NNSs) fell into the category of feeling extremely angry but controlling it by swearing under their breath or silently. Six subjects said they would ignore the car because either they would not want trouble (1 NS-M, 1 NNS-M) or they would be too scared (1 NS-F, 3 NNS-F). One female NS said she would empathize with the driver because of her past experience as a driver.

Table 4: Response Results [Situation 4: Car and Bicycle (1)]

Reactions	NS (M, F)	NNS (M, F)	Total (M, F)
say something out loud (curse, yell, scream, shout)	4 (2, 2)	1 (1, 0)	5 (3, 2)
"Fuck you!"	0	1 (1, 0)	1 (1, 0)
"Son of a bitch!"	1 (0, 1)	0	1 (0, 1)
"You idiot! You jerk!"	1 (0, 1)	0	1 (0, 1)
"What's your problem!?"	1 (1, 0)	0	1 (1, 0)
"Hey! You should drive better (more carefully)!"	1 (1, 0)	0	1 (1, 0)
physical reactions: chase the car, shake a fist, remember the license number	1 (1, 0)	1 (1, 0)	2 (2, 0)
extremely angry but do not swear out loud	4 (2, 2)	3 (2, 1)	7 (4, 3)
"Shit!"	1 (1, 0)	1 (1, 0)	2 (2, 0)
"(You) idiot!"	2 (1, 1)	1 (0, 1)	3 (2, 1)
"Shoot!"	0	1 (1, 0)	1 (1, 0)
"Shucks!"	0	1 (0, 1)	1 (0, 1)
no mentioning on words to use	2 (1, 1)	0	2 (1, 1)
ignore (feel fear/dangerous)	2 (1, 1)	4 (1, 3)	6 (2, 4)
feel empathy	1 (0, 1)	0	1 (0, 1)
no reaction because no use	0	3 (2, 1)	3 (2, 1)

[NS: n=10 (5M, 5F); NNS: n=10 (5M, 5F); Total: n=20 (10M, 10F)]

All subjects' reactions changed for the second part of the situation, where the car driver cursed the cyclist before driving away. Generally, feelings escalated. Respondents who before did not express anger now became expressive. NS males tended to be explicit and use strong curse words. Four NNSs (2 males, 2 females) did not use swear words but opted for yelling expressions such as "Be careful!" "Are you crazy?" or "Watch out!" One subject said she would sarcastically yell, "Thank you!" For those who were already expressive, they continued in the same vein and perhaps added a physical reaction such as shaking their fist or said they would take action and report the license plate number to the police. Three male subjects (2 NSs, 1 NNS) were expressive at first, but when confronted with overt anger said that they would now say nothing because it was too dangerous. The three female subjects who said they would not react because of fear in the first part kept the same response. This situation elicited an interesting contrast between the degree of anger felt and the reason given for why anger was controlled.

Table 5: Response Results [Situation 4: Car and Bicycle (2)]

Reactions	NS (M, F)	NNS (M, F)	Total (M, F)
say something outloudly (curse, yell, scream, shout)	4 (3, 1)	4 (2, 2)	8 (5, 3)
curse: "God damn!" "Ass-hole!" "Shit!" "Fuck you" curse back: "Hell!" "Fuck you!"	3 (3, 0)	0	3 (3, 0)
yell: "Be careful!" "Are you crazy?" "Who do you think you are?" "Watch around!" "Drive more carefully!"	0 (0, 0)	3 (2, 1)	3 (2, 1)
sarcastically yell: "Thank you!"	0	1 (0, 1)	1 (0, 1)
shake fist, chase the car	1 (1, 0)	0	1 (1, 0)
report to the police	1 (0, 1)	1 (1, 0)	2 (1, 1)
shake fist after the danger is gone	1 (0, 1)	0	1 (0, 1)
become less expressive because of fear/danger	2 (2, 0)	1 (1, 0)	3 (3, 0)
remain inexpressive	1 (0, 1)	2 (0, 2)	3 (0, 3)
no reaction because no use	0	1 (1, 0)	1 (1, 0)
try to forget it	1 (1, 0)	0	1 (1, 0)

[NS: n=10 (5M, 5F); NNS: n=10 (5M, 5F); Total: n=20 (10M, 10F)]

Of all of the situations, Situation 5 provoked the least anger, with subjects more likely to feel uncomfortable. There was a tendency to respond that they would not say anything to the man on the bus. NS females were the most likely to express themselves when two criteria were fulfilled: physical proximity and age. That is, they had to be in close proximity to the man and he had to be considerably younger before they would say anything. In addition, they said the lady who did not have a seat also had to be extremely old or having problems standing. Seven subjects would tell the man to give up his seat if these conditions were met (4 NS-F, 2 NNS-M, 1 NS-M). The NNS females all reported they would say nothing. Two NNSs felt it was inappropriate to say anything because that would have been imposing their moral standards. Two NSs (1 male, 1 female) chose to express themselves physically by giving the man a dirty look or glancing at him meaningfully.

There were common factors in all of the situations that the subjects felt influenced anger control which had to do with the circumstances

Table 6: Response Results [Situation 5: Bus]

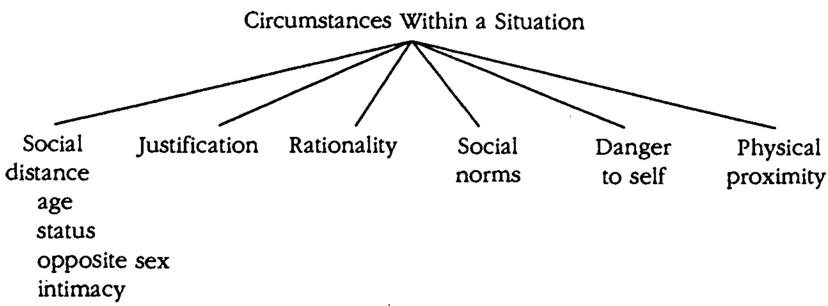
Reactions	NS (M, F)	NNS (M, F)	Total (M, F)
have negative feelings	5 (2, 3)	6 (2, 4)	11 (4, 7)
feel upset/angry	2 (1, 1)	2 (1, 1)	4 (2, 2)
feel frustrated	0	1 (0, 1)	1 (0, 1)
feel irritated	1 (0, 1)	0	1 (0, 1)
feel uncomfortable/bad	0	3 (0, 3)	3 (0, 3)
feel disturbed	1 (1, 0)	0	1 (1, 0)
feel sad	0	1 (0, 1)	1 (0, 1)
think the guy is rude	3 (0, 3)	3 (2, 1)	6 (2, 4)
think the guy is not well brought up	0	1 (1, 0)	1 (1, 0)
physical expression (glaring)	2 (1, 1)	0	2 (1, 1)
say nothing to the man	10 (5, 5)	10 (5, 5)	20 (10, 10)
because no reason to impose one's moral to others	0	2 (1, 1)	2 (1, 1)
because it's common	2 (2, 0)	1 (0, 1)	3 (2, 1)
tell the man to give up his seat when the physical proximity and age are fulfilled	5 (1, 4)	2 (2, 0)	7 (3, 4)
wish if one had courage	0	1 (0, 1)	1 (0, 1)

[NS: n=10 (5M, 5F); NNS: n=10 (5M, 5F); Total: n=20 (10M, 10F)]

inherent in the situation: social distance, justification, rationality, social norms, danger to self, and physical proximity. Social distance includes: age, status, sex, and degree of intimacy (Figure 1).

For instance, in the birthday situation, subjects mentioned that they would be angrier if this were a close friend or somebody they were dating, while a few male subjects said they would feel no anger if it were a male friend who had stood them up. Age made a difference in the bus situation; subjects felt more comfortable telling someone younger than themselves to give up his seat. Physical proximity was also important, as the closer spatially the subjects were to the man, the more likely they were to express anger and the more justified they felt. Justification also explains the difference between NS and NNS responses in the restaurant. The Japanese felt more justified in expressing their anger and reported that they would take action. In Situation 2, if the excuse was reasonable (e.g. "There was a car accident." or "The car broke down."), anger abated. Yet, with excuses such as "I forgot" or "I missed the bus," the anger escalated and overt expression of anger was considered justified. In the bus situation, when subjects felt supported by social norms, i.e., signs in the bus that mark seats for the elderly, they were more likely to tell the man to give up his seat. However, if subjects felt that in American society people just do not respect the elderly, they were more likely to say nothing. In the restaurant situation, the effect of the lack of social support was evident when one subject said that he would never complain in such a situation even if he had to wait two hours because that was just not done in a local restaurant. The factors of rationality and danger to self tended to discourage expression of anger. Some subjects said it was useless getting angry at a machine or to yell at a car that was

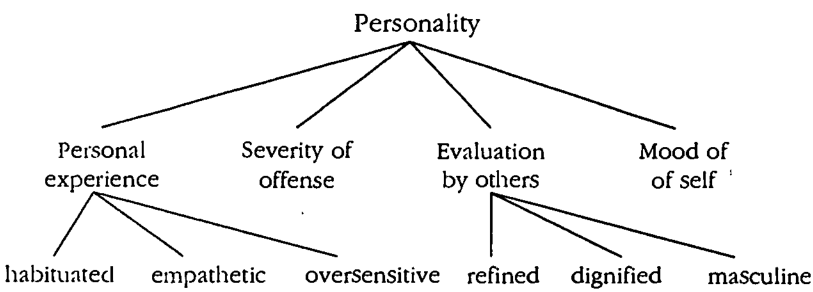
Figure 1: Factors Common to All Situations



driving away, and thus justified having no reaction. Anger, for these subjects, was not seen so much as a venting process but as a way to communicate. If danger to themselves was perceived in expressing anger, subjects opted to remain silent. As four male subjects (2 NSs, 2 NNSs) put it, "I would see how big the guy in the car was."

Personality factors also played a role in how expressive subjects were. By personality factors we mean the subjects' personal experience, severity of the offense, perceived evaluation by others, and mood (Figure 2). Personal experience had three effects. First, the subject may have become habituated to the situation so that less anger was felt. Additionally, personal experience could make the subject more empathetic. Those who recalled having been offenders in similar situations put themselves in the place of the waiter, the driver, or the man on the bus and were less likely to feel anger justified. The third effect

Figure 2: Factors Common to All Situations



occurred if subjects had experienced being similarly offended, subjects then were overtly sensitive and more likely to feel angry, reacting with instant anger on recognizing the situation.

Another factor was the severity of offense. Some subjects said that they did not care that much about celebrating their birthday, so they would not be too upset if someone was late. Perceived evaluation by others, i.e., how much subjects cared about how they appeared to the world, could prompt them to control or express anger. One woman said she would curse at the vending machine only if no one was around and one man said that he thought cursing undignified and would never do it. Yet, other men felt their masculinity was questioned when the driver of the car cursed at them, so they felt they had to retaliate with curses.

Mood also made a difference as to whether subjects would express anger. One subject specifically stated that if she had had a good day she would be more likely to say something to the man on the bus.

Part 2: Pragmatic awareness of swear words

The introspective portion of the interview revealed important considerations for L2 learners in using swear words. Most NNSs reported that they were knowledgeable about English swear words. Those having longer stays in English speaking countries mentioned more exposure to NSs' use of rude language, while those who had stays of less than 1.5 years claimed their input regarding swear words was limited to movies and TV programs. Some of the subjects referred to the fact that L2 learners, at least Japanese learners, do not get instructions in formal settings on the use of rude language. This validates the claims in Hoshino (1989) and Rintell (1984) that there has not been much instruction on expression of emotions, swear words, or insults in L2 classrooms. Three mentioned that they had picked up the words from exposure to their use in natural settings. Logically, people avoid being rude, thus this will result in little input of this kind. Moreover, the responses of one subject, who had had the shortest stay, revealed that without prior knowledge of swear words L2 learners did not even recognize them as "bad" words.

Second, there was a great tendency to avoid using swear words among the NNSs. Although a rationale such as "I do not want to be looked [at] as uneducated" may be also true for NSs, most of the psychological rationales for not employing swear words seemed unique to L2 learners. There appeared to be considerable gap between knowledge of the definition of swear words and the emotional load of such words. As some respondents put it, it is hard for them to feel the affective value of such words as they do not have emotional meaning for them (cf. Cross, 1979). Subjects reported that they knew the swear words were "dirty" but they had little idea regarding the degree or typical use. Female subjects expressed concern over what swear words were appropriate for women because Japanese rudeness heavily corresponds to male/female language (cf. Hoshino, 1989).

The lack of confidence in the appropriate use of swear words and fear of miscommunication resulted in infrequent use of rude language for NNSs. One female subject mentioned a personal experience of having shocked and consequently being corrected by a NS friend when she carelessly employed the phrase, "Jesus Christ." NNSs reported that it is difficult to master the use of L2 swear words and are aware that it is risky to practice them because, if they do, they are more likely to have trouble. Use may give NSs the wrong impression, though a NNS may feel nothing emotional towards the word employed. It should be noted that these findings may not be applicable to all learners. One female subject claimed that she would have little hesitation in employing English swear words and that she was interested in learning them.

An interesting phenomenon was discovered during interviews. Four subjects answered that they would use English words such as "shoot" or "shucks" in order to show frustration or anger. Interestingly, four informants claimed that in situations where swear words would be used, English words come out more easily than Japanese. Subjects having longer stays, and consequently more exposure to input, seem to use swear words in English rather than Japanese. Three subjects claimed that they would not use swear words in Japanese and could not think of equivalent examples for the English swear words they knew. One male subject said that Japanese swear words were not as strong as those in English.

Conclusion

In spite of the small number of the subjects, the study highlighted some interesting trends between NSs and NNSs regarding expression of anger. Since this is still a little investigated area, our findings may be beneficial for Japanese learners of English and their teachers. English NSs tended to be more expressive physically (Situation 1) and opted for using verbally stronger expressions (Situations 1, 2, and 4). In a tense situation (Situation 4) NSs reported that they would curse while NNSs tended to make less aggressive statements. Also, when social norms justify the anger (Situation 3), NNS females, who we had expected to be least expressive, had little hesitation in showing frustration. The bus situation, which we hoped would appeal more to Japanese subjects than to English NSs, revealed that the NS females would be most likely to take action.

Important factors which affected the choice of responses were also clarified. The introspective interviews revealed that, in general, L2 learners avoid swear words and were having difficulty acquiring them. The acquisition of rude language appeared to be an extremely sensitive issue because of the possible danger and misunderstanding involved in using such expressions, of which NNSs were well aware.

Several directions are suggested for further research. First, in order to statistically validate these findings regarding NS-NNS differences, a controlled, large scale research project is needed and reaction by less proficient learners needs to be investigated. Meanwhile, terms such as "swear words" and "bad words" must be more carefully defined because, even among NSs, what people regard as swear words and/or bad words varies. In addition, an examination of the sources from which NNSs learn rude expressions warrants investigation. The current study validated that rude language generally was not taught in L2 classrooms, with movies appearing to be the richest source. Therefore, a better understanding of L2 learners' rude language use may be obtained by investigating situations in movies using emotional, rude verbal expressions.

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Appendix: Situations Used in Study

Situation 1: Vending machine (Accumulated anger toward an inanimate object)

It's lunch time and you're very hungry. Your schedule is tight today and your next class will start in ten minutes. You try to get sandwiches from the vending machine but it doesn't accept your dollar bill. You try again, and now, the machine has "eaten" your money! The machine simply doesn't work nor give back your money. You don't have small change nor any more dollar bills.

Situation 2: Birthday (Accumulated anger to a close person)

You're expecting a phone-call from someone very close to you (friend, someone you're dating, etc.). You two planned to go to see a movie and have dinner together since it's your birthday today. It's 5:30 p.m. and the movie is supposed to start at 6:00 p.m. No phone-call. It's 6:30 now. You try to catch him/her calling his/her office. No luck. You finally receive a call from this person after 8:00 p.m.

Situation 3: Restaurant (Accumulated anger to a stranger)

You and your friends are waiting to be seated in a popular (pretty casual) restaurant. It's dinner time and the place is very crowded. There are other people waiting beside your group. You've already signed your name on the waiting list. Before you signed, you asked a waiter how long it would take to get seats. He replied no longer than 5 minutes because he saw some people finishing their dishes. However, you realized that you've been waiting for more than 30 minutes now. You see the waiter coming closer to you but obviously, it's not for the seating.

Situation 4: Car and Bicycle (Sudden shock and anger to a stranger)

You're riding a bicycle on the road. You had to stop at the traffic lights and were waiting for the light to turn green. Then a car came from behind you. It also tried to stop, the car made a stop so close to you that it nearly hit you. You lost your balance and almost fell off the bike. When you recover your balance back, you see the car going off because the light has turned already.

The driver was so rude that he cursed you as he drove off.

Situation 5: Bus (Anger toward the mistreatment of a stranger)

You're standing on the bus. The bus stopped at a bus stop and an old lady got on. You see her standing in front of a guy sitting and listening to music. It is obvious that he can see her standing, yet the guy remains seated. Unfortunately, people around the guy are old too, and there seems to be no way that anyone other than this guy will give a seat to the old woman. However, the guy still does not give up his seat until he finally gets off. The old lady does not get the seat, for she got off earlier than the guy.

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The Role of Teachers and Students in Academic Writing Tutorials: A Classroom Based Study

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This paper presents a process for evaluating the role of teachers and students in academic writing conferences, or tutorials, in an English for Academic Purposes (EAP) program. The process drew on information from two instruments: flowcharts of the writing process, highlighting the use of tutorials; and a questionnaire which elicited the students' view of tutorials in their first term and their view of the "ideal" tutorial. Implications in the areas of communicative interaction and affective factors, based on an analysis of the two instruments, are discussed. The paper concludes with an evaluation of changes incorporated subsequent to this study, as well as specific recommendations for all writing teachers to consider in the design and implementation of tutorials.

本論は、学術的目的のための英語（ＥＡＰ）プログラム内でのアカデミック・ライティングのテュートリアルにおける教師と学生の役割を評価するプロセスを紹介する。テュートリアルの使い方を説明するためのライティングのプロセスを示したフローχャートと、一学期のテュートリアルに対する学生の意見、また理想的なテュートリアルとは何かに関する学生の意見を知るためのアンケートという二つの道具を使って集めた情報をもとに、評価のプロセスが組み立てられた。二つの道具の分析をもとに、コミュニカティブな相互作用と情意的要素における示唆が論じられる。最後に、この研究成果をもとに行われた変更の評価、テュートリアルを計画し実施する、すべてのライティングの教師への具体的アドバイスが述べられる。

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The term "writing conference" is subject to a variety of interpretations about its purpose, when and where it takes place, who is involved, and who is responsible for directing what occurs. However, there is strong support for the idea that writing conferences, however they are defined, have certain advantages over written feedback. Carnicelli states that "they [conferences] are a more effective means of feedback than are written comments because conferences allow students to express their opinions and needs" (cited in Goldstein & Conrad, 1990, p. 444). Zamel (1985) supports this and says that writing conferences provide an opportunity for both reader and writer to "discover the underlying meaning and logic of what may appear to be an incoherent text" (p. 97).

Furthermore, writing conferences provide interactive and communicative opportunities and challenges for students and teachers, as illustrated by Zamel's (1985) statement that "we [teachers] should respond not so much to student writ*ing* but to student writ*ers*" (p. 97). Harris and Silva (1993) perhaps express the totality of the tutorial process:

> We should recognize that along with different linguistic backgrounds, ESL students have a diversity of concerns that can only be dealt with in the one-to-one setting where the focus of attention is on that particular student and his or her questions, concerns, cultural presuppositions, writing processes, language learning experiences, and conceptions of what writing in English is all about. (p. 525)

Individual writing conferences must fit into the scheme of a writing course and balance the maximum advantage to the student with the realities of course requirements, scheduling, and time constraints. In the English Language Program (ELP) at International Christian University (ICU), Academic Writing comprises one of the three components of the Freshman Curriculum, the others being Content and Communicative Strategies. All students are placed into one of three instructional levels according to ability: Program A (intermediate), Program B (high intermediate), and Program C (advanced). Each program's Academic Writing course is designed to "develop students' writing and thinking abilities in English for university level work" (*ELP Staff Handbook*, 1995, p. 25). An integral tool to develop these abilities is the writing "tutorial," as writing conferences at ICU are called. The value the ELP places on this is reflected in the fact that all students have regularly scheduled tutorial periods.

In the ELP, there is no single "curriculum" for how tutorials are conducted. Teachers have the flexibility, within the parameters of the course, to structure them as they choose. Both authors taught writing, one in Program A and the other in Program B. Informal writing-related discussions between the authors revealed significant differences in their concept of the goal of tutorials, as well as their approach. This lead the authors to survey writing literature with a view toward tutorial, which revealed that little attention has been paid to ESL/EFL writing conferences. Therefore, a study of the ICU tutorial represented an opportunity to clarify and reconsider both teachers' and students' approaches to tutorials.

To address the teachers' view, the authors independently prepared a flowchart of the steps utilized in the writing process, beginning with the assignment of an essay, in order to clarify, whenever possible, their perception of students' and teachers' roles in tutorials and to explain *why* they did what they did in the writing process (Appendix 1). To address the students' view, an eight question Student Questionnaire Regarding Tutorials was prepared (Appendix 2).

The Study

Tutorials as Viewed by the Authors

Content and Academic Writing in the ELP: The ELP Freshman Curriculum consists of three components: Content, Academic Writing, and Communicative Strategies. The Content and Academic Writing components are closely coordinated. In the spring term the first topic students encounter is "Educational Values," which teaches the Western concept of critical thinking. A content-related activity is Presentation and Discussion (P&D), required of all students at least once a term. This 15-minute activity consists of a five-minute presentation and a 10-minute discussion. Students present their ideas about a topic related to the current content topic and then lead a discussion about their topic based on questions they prepared. Teachers often use P&D to generate ideas which students may include in their essay (Horowitz & Stein, 1990).

Students who enter the ELP typically have had little experience writing academic essays in English. The development of written "logical" thought and expression represents a major challenge because of a lack of practice and familiarity with English rhetorical styles. Thus, the writing program, which represents an amalgamation of four current writing paradigms, is totally new. The four paradigms are reflected in the fact that the writing curriculum is "content-based," students generate writing assignments based on the content they read; "process oriented," revision is emphasized; "form-based," organization of ideas is stressed; and "reader-based," students consider their audience and purpose (*ELP Staff Handbook*, 1995, pp. 25-26).

Writing assignments, generated from the content topics, are often persuasive in structure. Students take a "position," or attitude toward their subject and, in a prescribed academic structure, support that position through discussion and presentation of examples. Thus, although there are common elements throughout the writing curriculum such as the basic academic essay structure and the teaching and acquisition of paraphrasing and summarizing skills, writing teachers have the flexibility to tailor their teaching to fit student needs. The flowcharts of the writing process and the utilization of tutorials reflect the diversity of teaching approaches.

Comments on Flowcharts: The flowcharts clearly indicate a "process approach" on the part of both teachers, as seen in the multiple (a minimum of three) drafts students wrote. Both teachers utilized:

1. Brainstorming, a pre-writing activity to generate ideas in small groups or as a class.
2. P&D at some point, as an additional means of generating ideas.
3. Positive feedback.
4. Peer read-arounds during class, where pairs or small groups of students read another student's essay, giving feedback on a specific element or elements.
5. A focus on content and organization in the early-to-mid stages, only addressing grammar in the final stage.

There are also significant differences between the two teachers regarding:

1. Their approach to pre-writing. Teacher A devoted considerable time to it whereas Teacher B's utilized it only at the beginning of the process.
2. The timing of tutorials within the writing process. Teacher A held tutorials soon after students submitted their first drafts. Teacher B held tutorials only after students had first done in-class peer editing and revised the first draft.
3. Their roles in tutorials. Teacher A provided immediate written feedback before tutorials. The purpose of tutorials was to explain that feedback and guide students towards an improved second draft. Much time in tutorials was spent by teacher and student discovering and discussing the strengths and weaknesses of the essay's organization, thesis, and support. Teacher B's role was to answer questions which students had prepared in evaluating their essay. Tutorial time was spent clarifying those questions and empowering students to change those areas they saw as problematic.

4. Their approach to feedback, particularly in the early stage. Teacher A read students' first drafts, utilizing a checklist to provide feedback and give students a basis for seeing improvement. Teacher B required students to complete an Organization Plan, which forced students to focus on the basic structure of an essay prior to writing it. Students received feedback through discussion of the Organization Plan with Teacher B.

Tutorials as Viewed by Students

Student Questionnaire

Subjects: The subjects were 36 ELP freshmen in the authors' writing classes comprising one section each in Programs A/Intermediate (n=17) and B/High Intermediate (n=19).

Design: Subjects were given about twenty minutes in writing class, near the conclusion of the first term (Spring, 1994), to complete the questionnaire with open-ended responses. To encourage honest and critical responses, subjects were asked *not* to include their names.

The first two of the eight questions focused on the actual tutorials students had experienced their first term. The next six questions focused on students' concept of the "ideal" tutorial as it related to their and the teacher's role before, during, and after tutorials. Since the first content topic presented the concept of critical thinking, questions which would stimulate students' critical thinking about the tutorial process were asked. (See Tables 1 to 8 for questions asked.)

Analysis: In the first phase:

1. A spreadsheet of the responses from the 36 questionnaires was compiled.
2. The data were examined separately by the authors and each question was considered independently.
3. The responses were grouped for similarities. In situations where students mentioned more than one idea in answer to a single question, these were separated into two or more categories.
4. The authors met to integrate their analyses, negotiating when interpretations differed.
5. For the responses to the questions, where three or more responses fell in to the same category, labels to identify those responses and tables were constructed.

6. Illustrative quotes were selected to clarify categories in some tables. Where one- or two-of-a-kind responses (not noted in tables) were seen as meaningful, illustrative quotes were chosen.

In the second phase:

7. Following discussion, the authors noted the reoccurrence of communicative and affective concerns in subjects' responses.
8. Responses related to communicative concerns and those related to affective concerns were identified separately by the authors.
9. Authors met to integrate their analyses and negotiated when interpretations of differed, When agreement was not reached, the response was not included in the data. Where two or more responses fell in to the same category, labels for the responses and tables were constructed.

Results and Discussion

The following abbreviations are used throughout discussion of the results: *A* and *B* indicate the subject's program in the ELP, e.g. "B12" refers to subject 12 of Program B students who responded; T = teacher; S = student; Q = question, and tut = tutorial. Sample responses are presented as received.

Most responses to Q1 addressed two areas: progress with the draft writing process and learning to write academic English "correctly." Many Program A students mentioned teacher advice, examples and ideas, assistance with the thinking process, and help in overcoming writing difficulties and writing blocks. Program B students mentioned such factors

Table 1: Responses to Question 1:
"What was helpful in your tutorials this term?"

Response	Program A	Program B
T gave good advice	6	4
T gave good example/ideas	4	2
T explained mistakes, helped correct	4	2
T helped S overcome writing difficulties, writing blocks	6	3
T in general, helped S write improved next draft	3	1
S's essay was compared to the required essay form	0	7
Tut helped develop L2 oral/aural skills	1	2
no response (blank)	0	0

as help with content, thesis statements, the relationship between thesis and ideas, the form of an "ideal" academic essay, and differences between Japanese and English essays.

Two areas of response to Q1 were found to repeatedly occur in other questions. First, subjects voiced concern with the development of their L2 listening and conversational skills. Second, their comments reflected awareness of affective factors such as encouragement and praise, and their perception that tutorials provide an opportunity to receive more personalized attention. Because of the importance students placed on these two areas, each will be addressed separately below.

Apart from Program B student responses concerning grammar, vocabulary, and punctuation, which may reflect a difference in teacher and student priorities, comments on Q2 focused on areas unrelated to writing. In particular, Program A and B students again saw their L2 ability as impeding the helpfulness of tutorials.

Table 2: Responses to Question 2:
What was *not* helpful in your tutorials this term?"

Response	Program A	Program B
did not adequately address grammar, vocabulary, punctuation	1	4
S difficulty understanding English	2	3
S difficulty speaking in English	2	2
Tut time is too short	1	4
scheduled time is inconvenient	1	2
were helpful/nothing not helpful	4	2
no response (blank)	4	3

Table 3: Responses to Question 3:
"In an *ideal* tutorial, what should the *teacher's role* be *before* a tutorial?"

Response	Program A	Program B
read/reread essay	7	5
prepare feedback	4	2
indicate weak points/mistakes	3	0
no response (blank)	4	4

Most responses to Q3 addressed students' desire for teachers to read and reread essays and prepare feedback to discuss with students. In contrast, responses to Q4 fell into three categories: teacher assistance with the essay, teacher facilitating communication with the student, and teacher setting a comfortable tone during tutorial. As might be expected, students in both programs appeared to expect the teacher to play the role of corrector and "giver" of advice. It is interesting to note that two students (whose responses are not included in Table 4) put *themselves* in the principal role and viewed the teacher as assisting them:

A4: "Student often shapes his idea by talking with teacher. So please help shape the idea."

B4: "Teacher's let the student's make clear what is not sufficient and make clear why."

Q5 responses were difficult to categorize, and the fact that one-third of the responses were left blank may indicate that the question was also

Table 4: Responses to Question 4:
"In an *ideal* tutorial, what should the *teacher's role* be *during* a tutorial?"

Response	Program A	Program B
give advice/show examples, ideas	3	5
tell weak points of essay	3	2
answer S questions	0	3
speak slowly/simply/clearly	4	3
try to understand student; listen	3	1
be friendly/talk about non-class matters	4	1
no response (blank)	3	3

Table 5: Responses to Question 5:
"In an *ideal* tutorial, what should the *teacher's role* be *after* a tutorial?"

Response	Program A	Program B
various suggestions	4	8
responses include the word "nothing"	5	1
no response (blank)	5	8

difficult to interpret. Responses given included a variety of specific suggestions for the teacher. 1) Teachers should note the suggestions they made during the tutorial. 2) Teachers should check if the tutorial improved the paper. 3) Teachers should check if students understood the tutorial. 4) Teachers should check if students accepted the advice and/or found it useful. In addition, six students wrote either that they did not know or that the teacher should do "nothing" after the tutorial. However, the "nothing" response can be interpreted in at least two ways: as an absence of teacher responsibility, or as a call for the teacher to desist from further feedback. For example, A15 wrote, "Nothing, even if student change his or her idea extremely."

Students' perception of their role, Q6, fell into two main areas: preparing for the communicative interaction with the teacher, and working through the various aspects of the writing process on their own.

A1: "To think clearly and prepare to explain as much as possible. Or to prepare to ask teachers."

B3: "Write essay completely as possible as I can. Think about it seriously and ask friends to read it and discuss about it with them. Make clearly what is my problems."

Table 6: Responses to Question 6:
"In an *ideal* tutorial, what should the *student's role* be *before* a tutorial?"

Response	Program A	Program B
prepare questions	9	12
prepare to speak with T	4	2
self correct	2	2
think/rethink/analyze	3	0
reread/review essay	3	1
rewrite/finish essay	0	6
no response (blank)	2	0

Although many students saw their role during tutorial as listening to the teacher (Q7), a significant number made it clear that it was their responsibility to participate actively by asking questions. They also saw it as *their* responsibility to actively talk with teachers.

A16: "We should be more agressive in tutorial. For example we should speak and question if we use a wrong structure or word."

B15: "Student's need consentration on the tutorial and to say their opinion and ideas as well as listen to teacher's advice."

Answers to Q8 indicated that many students saw their role after as one of reviewing the tutorial advice and comments in order to work on their next draft.

A5: "According to the teacher's advice and our thought about it, we try to make essay better."

Table 7: Responses to Question 7:
"In an *ideal* tutorial, what should the *student's role* be *during* a tutorial?"

Response	Program A	Program B
ask questions	6	6
actively talk to T	6	6
listen	3	7
communicate well in L2	5	2
no response (blank)	3	3

Table 8: Responses to Question 8:
"In an *ideal* tutorial, what should the *student's role* be *after* a tutorial?"

Response	Program A	Program B
think about, review Tut	3	7
work on next draft	9	8
listen to tape	0	6
no response (blank)	4	4

Students clearly felt that tutorials were helpful and important, and showed a desire to receive advice, assistance, and correction, as well as a recognition that they should participate actively and do their "best" writing both before and after the tutorial. Questions about students' *actual* tutorial experience resulted in writing process-related responses. The questions about the *ideal* tutorial showed that students were both aware of and concerned with teacher-student communicative interaction, as well as affective factors related to tutorials.

Student Concern with Communicative Interaction

From comments throughout, it is obvious that students viewed the tutorial as a dialogue between teacher and student, with all of the advantages and difficulties that one-to-one conversation present. Students appeared aware of the helpful aspects of being able to talk through personal writing difficulties. Although both teachers asked students to prepare questions, many students saw *themselves* in the principal role explainer and/or defender of their writing and ideas.

There was, of course, the experience of conversing with a NS teacher, one many first semester EFL university students find challenging. Although no response specifically mentioned the tutorial not being conducted in L1, some students clearly indicated more enthusiasm for the L2 interaction practice opportunity than others. Of the 36 subjects, 11 for Program A and 10 for Program B referred to L2 communication, with responses categorized into four areas: teacher listening (A-3, B-0), teacher speech (A-3, B3), student listening (A-7, B-6), and student speech (A-6, B-3). Students showed a concern with the speed of the teacher's speech and a desire for teachers to "try harder" to understand students.

A5 (Q4) wrote: "They [teachers] should speak slowly and easily to understand and they should guess what we want to say carefully."

Even more than the need for teachers to speak more clearly or to listen intently, students commented on their own inadequacies in listening and speaking in the L2.

B8 (Q2): "I can't hear English well yet, so sometimes I couldn't understand what teacher said...."

A15 (Q2): "I couldn't send my idea to teacher perfectly. It is difficult and bored for me to do in English, even difficult in Japanese."

Some students, however, noted their need to be more active speakers and listeners in tutorials.

A3 (Q7): "We shouldn't be shy and talk to a teacher a lot of things."

B1 (Q7): "Should listen to teacher's remarks carefully and think about these remarks fully and necessarily declare opinions."

Beyond miscommunication, one student's comment indicates a more serious effect of communication difficulty, which crosses into the affective realm:

B19 (Q 3): "I cannot express my opinion or what I want to say properly, so I'm strained during tutorials and sometimes I don't want go to it for this. That is my problem but maybe that is also true of many people."

Student Concern with Affective Factors

The term "affective" is used here to refer to the atmosphere of the tutorial interchange and feelings engendered in that atmosphere. A number of students saw the teacher as taking the lead role in setting a non-threatening and supportive atmosphere and tone, including the tone of feedback, before, during, and after the tutorial (Table 9).

Table 9:
Number of Students Expressing Concern with Affective Matters

Response	Program A	Program B
T should be friendly	2	1
T should praise/encourage Ss	0	2
T should note/respect S personalities	2	0

Conclusion and Recommendations

Based on the number of students who voiced concern in the areas of communicative interaction and affective factors, it would seem that the more intimate experience of meeting a teacher one-to-one, or student pairs, that the tutorial offers sets in motion a whole set of expectations on the part of students, expectations which are *not necessarily connected to revising the draft at hand.* This conflict of expectations was perhaps the most revealing element of this project. In the authors' flowcharts, writing skills and the writing process are prominent. Students' tutorial hierarchy, on the other hand, shows communicative, interactive, and affective factors are closely intertwined with a desire to improve writing skills. Therefore, teachers who wish to address *all* of a student's needs should acknowledge these expectations by carefully considering their own tutorial process and tailoring it to reflect their awareness of students' expectations and concerns.

As a result of this study, both authors re-evaluated and adjusted their approach to tutorials, (see Appendix 3) making changes that generally increase student responsibility and give them careful "checklists" to follow in essay preparation. Other changes include: student preparation of essay plans or outlines, followed by tutorials on these; adding a "get to know each other" tutorial with small groups of student; pre-teaching students what to expect in tutotrials through both "teaching" what to expect and demonstrating a tutorial through a role play; teachers becoming more active readers, approaching a hard-to-understand passages in several ways *before* saying an idea is incomprehensible; and, preparing notes to follow-up during class writing time.

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Appendix 1: Flowcharts of Writing and Tutorial Process

Steps related to tutorials are in italics; Teacher A = intermediate level teacher, Teacher B = high intermediate teacher; Tut = tutorial, T = teacher, S = student, P&D = Presentation and Discussion activity, OP = organizational plan.

Teacher A

1. Pre-writing (ways to generate ideas to write about): two to four class periods are spent on:
   a. freewriting (in which Ss write random thoughts related to topic)
   b. brainstorming c. small group discussion d. making rough outlines
2. T collects topics, thesis statements (main idea statement which reflects Ss position about topic), rough outlines.
3. Possibly more in-class pre-writing activities.
4. Ss submit first drafts.
5. T returns first drafts with a T-designed checklist which includes a section on "strengths" and one called "advice." Papers are marked in margins with specified correction symbols. "Stars," which denote good points of the essay, are plentiful. The feedback focus is on thesis, topic sentences, supporting details, unity, and organization.
6. In-class read-around of essays (Ss names are hidden to encourage objectivity).
7. *Pairs of 's are scheduled into twenty minute blocks with 5 to 10 minutes in between because Tuts always run over. The two Ss come with first draft and checklist and outline and ask questions regarding T's written feedback in order to prepare for writing the second draft The most frequent Tut activity is discussing an outline of the essay with the S, especially in terms of the relationship of thesis (main idea statement which reflects Ss position about topic) to supporting ideas.*
8. P&D: Ss give P&D on main points of their first draft to generate ideas for the second draft. Ss bring to class (and T collects) a tape with the talk they practiced, and index cards with an outline of their talk and the discussion questions they prepared.
9. Ss submit second drafts.
10. T returns second drafts with a second checklist so Ss can compare with first checklist to see how number of strengths increased. Essay contains a greater number of margin notes on word usage, spelling and grammar to guide Ss in "polishing" the writing of the third (final) pre-draft.
11. Ss submit third (final) essay.
12. T returns final draft with a final checklist indicating strengths, and also points to watch for in the future.
13. In-class read-around of final essays.

Teacher B

1. At the beginning of a new content topic, T explains assignment and its requirements and suggests Ss keep upcoming assignment in mind as they

read content article. When Ss have finished reading article, or just before, class brainstorms (generates ideas) for content-related topics. For homework, Ss individually choose three possible topics and decide which one they are most interested in.

2. In the next class, using the blackboard, Ss share their chosen topic with class. This is particularly helpful for those Ss having difficulty choosing a topic.
3. For homework, Ss review content reading and, from the reading and/or their own knowledge, brainstorm for two to three ideas they might discuss in their essay and examples to support them. They organize these ideas to prepare a P&D.
4. P&D: Ss give P&D on their chosen topic in order to get feedback and input from peers to use in their essay. At the conclusion of the same class T reviews differences between oral presentations and written academic essays to help Ss *write* what they just said. Ss bring to class (and T collects): a tape with the talk they practiced and index cards with an outline of their talk and the discussion questions they prepared.
5. For homework, Ss begin work on their Organization Plan (OP). The purpose of the OP is to encourage Ss to focus only on the basic framework of their essay: the thesis (main idea statement which reflects Ss position about topic), key words (important words first seen in the thesis which should reappear in some form in topic sentences), topic sentences for each supporting point, and two possible examples to illustrate each supporting point.
6. *Group Tuts are held during writing class with groups of six to eight Ss. T gives feedback on OP and must approve OP* before *Ss begin writing first draft. Ss write first draft for homework.*
7. First drafts are peer-edited in class for content and organization. Ss incorporate those comments into the second draft. During class T circulates and offers suggestions and comments. *Tut appointments are assigned.*
8. *One-on-one 10 minute Tuts are held on second drafts (introduction and body or support section only). Prior to Tuts, Ss highlight thesis and circle key words in thesis and topic sentences. Ss must write a minimum of two content or organization-related questions to ask T. T skims essay for thesis, use of key words, overall organization, and support. T looks first for points to compliment, as well as obvious problems, and answers questions Ss prepared. Tuts are tape recorded. Ss are required to write a summary of taped comments but they make the final decision whether or not to incorporate comments. Ss write third draft (including conclusion).*
9. In-class peer edit of draft three for mechanics (grammar, spelling, and punctuation) and any remaining content and/or organization problems. T acts as resource person during peer edit and scans individual essays for problems of any type. Ss write draft four.
10. In-class peer read-around of fourth (final) drafts. Readers mark minor (mechanical) problems in pencil which writers can correct toward end of class. Each S writes one positive comment on back of essay so that writer has three to four complimentary remarks to read, in addition to T's.

11. Ss submit fourth (final) draft. T makes brief written comments, including one or more positive comments, and returns essays (in class or in mailboxes) with grade. Any S receiving a "D" grade is required to rewrite and resubmit, following an additional Tut with T. If there is available class time, T may hold mini-workshop on common errors Ss made in their essays.

Appendix 2: Student Questionnaire and Sample Answers

1. What was helpful in your tutorials this term?
   Student from Program A: "When I was confused by annoy of thinking details, she gived hints It's very helpful. Tutorials help my listening progress, too."
   Student from Program B: "My idea of my essay was made firm by tutorials. Tutorials supplied information that I didn't find out I think recording tutorials to tapes is very useful."
2. What was *not* helpful in your tutorials this term?
   A: "Time is too short."
   B: "Organization Form bothered me a little."
3. In an *ideal* tutorial, what should the *teacher's role* be *before* a tutorial?
   A: "Teacher should know what students question are."
   B: "Organize what they say to make tutorials efficiently."
4. In an *ideal* tutorial, what should the *teacher's role* be *during* a tutorial?
   A: "Teacher should speak more slowly and use more writing paper that they explain on."
   B: "Advise to students in clear way. (Students are easy to understand.)"
5. In an *ideal* tutorial, what should the *teacher's role* be *after* a tutorial?
   A: "Teacher's role is doing tutorial again."
   B: "Remember their saying to students."
6. In an *ideal* tutorial, what should the *student's role* be *before* a tutorial?
   A: "We should think our questions and write our questions."
   B: "Preparing questions. Planning order of questions."
7. In an *ideal* tutorial, what should the *student's role* be *during* a tutorial?
   A: "Speak and question to teachers more active."
   B: "Having positive attitude that student's want to listen."
8. In an *ideal* tutorial, what should the *student's role* be *after* a tutorial?
   A: "We must review. We must write another essay at once."
   B: "Organize teacher's advice efficiently in student's brains."

Appendix 3: Recommendations for Tutorials

Before tutorials

1. Define tutorial. *Who* will be involved? *What* is it? If there is flexibility in scheduling it, *when* can it be scheduled most advantageously—for teacher and students? *Where* will it take place? *What is its purpose*? Create a flow-chart of your own writing and tutorial process.
2. Teachers' perceptions of their role affects the tone of comments as well as the atmosphere during the tutorial. Is this role one of a collaborator, an expert, or some other role? Are comments "suggestions" or "requirements"?
3. Clarify the role of students.
4. *Teach* students what they will experience during the tutorial through writing, discussion, or a role play between the teacher and a "volunteer tutorial" student. Be explicit in clarifying and presenting expectations of students' role.

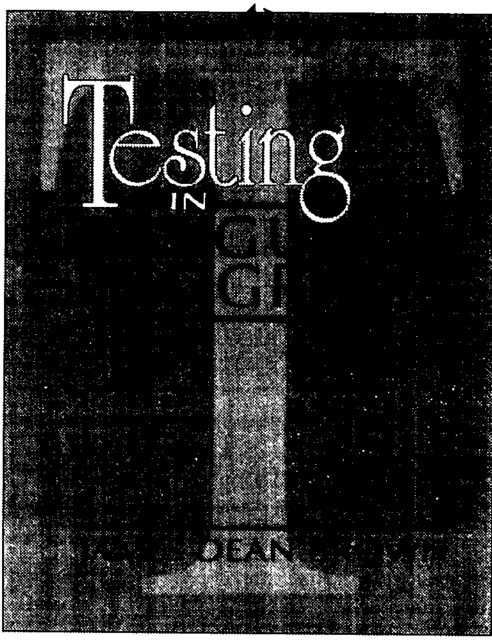
During tutorials

5. Encourage students, verbally and non-verbally. Find points of strength, as well as areas needing improvement, in their writing.
6. Make a strong effort to understand what a student says during a tutorial, in addition to what the student writes.
7. Adjust vocabulary and speaking speed to the students' level of ability.
8. Be flexible in the pacing of the tutorial. In some cases students may need or want to set the pace, whereas in other cases the teacher may need to.
9. Experiment with tape recording the tutorial to allow students the opportunity of listening to it again, outside the tutorial setting.
10. Make notes for future reference of points discussed.

After tutorials

11. Follow-up, in some way, on one or more of the points raised during the tutorial.

TESTING?
GOT SOME QUESTIONS?



J.D. BROWN'S GOT THE ANSWERS!

- HOW TO ADOPT, DEVELOP, OR ADAPT LANGUAGE TESTS
- HOW TO DESCRIBE TEST RESULTS
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Perspectives

Teaching Suprasegmentals to Japanese Learners of English Through Electronic Visual Feedback

Janet Anderson-Hsieh
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After discussing the importance of suprasegmentals (stress, rhythm, and intonation) in communication and the effectiveness of electronic visual feedback (EVF) for their instruction, this paper explains the specific ways that EVF can be used to teach suprasegmentals to Japanese learners of English. Contrasts between English and Japanese suprasegmentals are described and the difficulties that Japanese learners demonstrate with English stress and intonation resulting from these contrasts are discussed. Procedures and exercises for teaching stress and intonation are explained, and examples of EVF graphs are presented. Finally, the advantages and disadvantages of using EVF in Japan are identified, and it is concluded that EVF is a powerful tool for raising Japanese learners' awareness of the important role of suprasegmentals in communication.

本論は、コミュニケーションにおける超文節的単位（ストレス、リズム、イントネーション）の重要性と、これらの項目の指導時のコンピュータを使った視覚的フィードバックの有効性を論じた後、日本人英語学習者に英語の超文節的単位を教える際の、コンピュータを使った視覚的フィードバックの具体的な使用法を解説する。英語と日本語の超文節的単位の違いが記述され、それらの相違が原因となる、日本人学習者が英語のストレスとイントネーションを習得する際の困難点が論じられる。ストレスとイントネーションを教える手順と練習方法が解説され、日本においてコンピュータを使った視覚的フィードバックを使用することの利点と欠点が指摘される。結論として、コミュニケーションにおける超文節的単位の重要性を日本人学習者に気づかせるためには、コンピュータを使った視覚的フィードバックは強力な手段であるという主張がなされる。

Suprasegmentals (stress, rhythm, and intonation) are critical in communication because they provide the framework for utterances. They highlight the information the speaker regards as important, and they convey the speaker's intentions and emotional states (Bolinger, 1986; Cruttenden, 1986; Kenworthy, 1987). It has therefore been argued

(Dalton & Seidlhofer, 1994; Dickerson, 1989; Gilbert, 1984; Kenworthy, 1987; Wong, 1987) that ESL learners need to pay particular attention to suprasegmentals, perhaps even more than to segmentals. However, when listening to spoken discourse, learners so often focus on individual lexical items that they tend to ignore the overriding melody and rhythm of utterances, and because they do not readily perceive these suprasegmentals, they tend to have difficulty producing them.

Electronic equipment exists which addresses this problem by providing visual feedback on suprasegmentals in real time. As a student speaks into a microphone connected to the equipment, pitch and intensity—the physical correlates of suprasegmentals—are extracted from the speech signal and displayed on a video screen while the student is speaking. A dual display presents the student's pitch and intensity contours on one half of the screen and those of a native speaker model on the other half, allowing comparisons to be made in timing, intonation, and stress. Several types of computer software and hardware with electronic visual feedback (EVF) capabilities for displaying suprasegmentals are now on the market. Among the most frequently used are the Visi-Pitch (1987) and the IBM Speech Viewer (Undated).

Research has shown that EVF is an effective tool for teaching intonation to ESL learners, and in the last decade, EVF has been used in ESL programs throughout the United States for teaching various aspects of suprasegmentals (Anderson-Hsieh, 1992; 1994; Chun, 1989; Lane, Mitchell, Molholt, Pennington, Perdreau, Cessaris & Fischer, 1987; Molholt, 1988; Pennington, 1989). The purpose of this paper is to describe how EVF can be used to address the problems that Japanese learners of English have with English stress and intonation. First, suprasegmental differences between Japanese and English will be discussed. Then an approach to teaching word-level stress using EVF will be described. This will be followed by a description of how to use EVF to teach sentence stress and intonation. Finally, some general guidelines will be presented, and recommendations will be made for using EVF in Japan.

Suprasegmental Differences Between Japanese and English

Important differences exist between English and Japanese in the way stress is realized in speech. In English, stressed syllables are highly marked, generally showing greater pitch movement, higher intensity (loudness), and longer duration than unstressed syllables. Here, pitch and duration are the most important features in the perception of stress (Fry, 1957). In contrast, stress, or accent, in Japanese is less marked because only pitch is used. Duration is used in Japanese for lexical distinctions such as that between obasan, "aunt," and obaasan , "grandmother," but it is not a feature of stress, as it is in English (Vance, 1987).

Also, differences exist between Japanese and English in the way pitch is used to mark stress in words. In polysyllabic English words spoken in isolation using final falling intonation, stress is marked on a non-initial stressed syllable by a jump up in pitch from the unstressed to the stressed syllable followed immediately by a fall. This pattern is illustrated in the following polysyllabic English words:

(1) re · ception *(2) ther · mometer* *(3) re · ceive*

Stress, or accent, is realized quite differently in Japanese (Vance, 1987). Several patterns of non-initial stress in Japanese words are presented below. The letter "L" above the syllable represents a low pitch or tone, and the letter "H" a high pitch or tone.

(4) L H H	(5) L H H L	(6) L H H H	(7) L H L
/taka ra/	/kaga ribi/	/kamiso ri/	/ko koro/
"treasure"	"bonfire"	"razor"	"heart"

(Vance, 1987, p.. 79-80)

The first observation which can be made from these examples is that while a stressed syllable is always made with a high tone, unstressed syllables can be realized as either high or low tones, except for initial unstressed syllables and unstressed syllables occurring after the stressed syllable. In these two cases, stress is always realized as a low tone. Furthermore, if the last syllable of the word is stressed—assuming that the word is utterance-final—there is no fall from a high tone to a low tone because there is no following unstressed syllable to which the pitch can step down or fall. Only in the pattern (7) above is a stressed syllable (a high tone), immediately preceded and followed by an unstressed syllable (both realized as low tones). It is also important to note that in Japanese, some words such as *sakana* for "fish" are not stressed at all. Thus, it can be seen that some very important differences exist in the way stress is realized through pitch in English and Japanese.

The differences between English and Japanese in duration and pitch discussed above are at least in part responsible for some of the difficulties that Japanese speakers have in pronouncing stressed syllables correctly in English. The beginning or intermediate Japanese learner tends not to sufficiently lengthen stressed syllables and may not always show a sufficient rise in pitch on the stressed syllable followed by a sufficient fall. The stressed syllables will therefore tend not to stand out as much as they will for a native speaker of English, and this can adversely affect intelligibility.

Teaching Word Level Stress

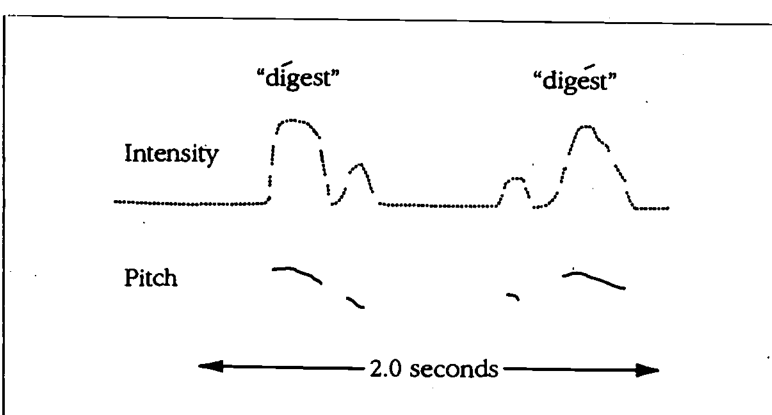
When correcting for stress problems at the word level, the teacher can first work with pairs of words which are identical except for their stress patterns. Such pairs can be found in noun and verb forms such as those in the following list:

Noun	*Verb*
digest	digest
project	project
record	record
subject	subject

Using the EVF, the teacher speaks into the microphone, pronouncing one pair of words at a time. The dual display is used, with the teacher's pitch and intensity contours appearing in the upper half of the display and the student's appearing later in the lower half.

To demonstrate the features of English stress on the EVF visual display, the noun and verb forms of "digest" as spoken by a native speaker of English are presented in the EVF graph in Figure 1. The equipment that was used was the Visi-Pitch. The intensity (loudness) contour appears in the upper half of the graph and the pitch contour appears in the lower half. The time, which is represented on the horizontal axis, is

Figure 1.



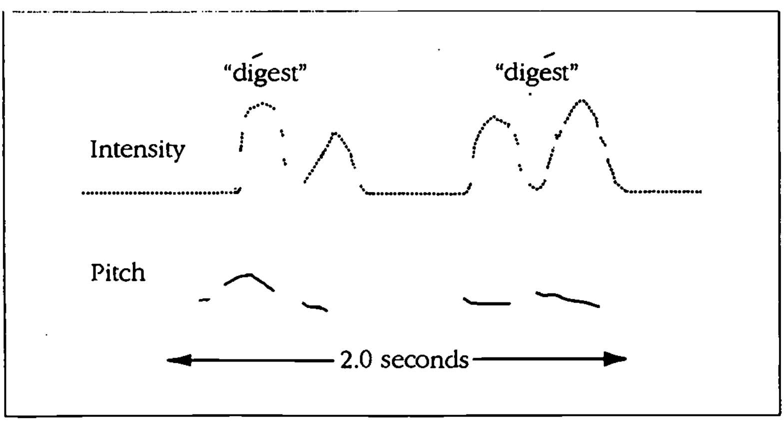
2.0 seconds. When comparing the same syllable in stressed and unstressed position, it can be seen that the syllable in the stressed position is more intense, longer in duration, and higher in pitch than in the unstressed position. This is consistent with what was described in the discussion of English stress given above.

After explaining these features of stressed syllables in English using the visual display as an example, the teacher then asks the student to speak the same two words into the microphone. The student's pitch and intensity contours appear on the screen just below the native speaker model. The teacher then asks the student to comment on any differences s/he sees between the native speaker model and the display of the student's own speech.

The EVF graph of a Japanese speaker (TOEFL 397) pronouncing the noun and verb forms of "digest" appears in Figure 2. When comparing this graph to the native speaker graph in Figure 1, it can be seen that, unlike the native speaker's forms, the student's forms show little difference in loudness and duration between the stressed and unstressed forms of the same syllable. Also, although the pitch pattern for the noun is acceptable, the pitch pattern for the verb shows a failure to jump up sufficiently on the stressed syllable.

After discussing the visual display with the student, the teacher then encourages the student to repeat the words again, striving for greater differentiation in length between stressed and unstressed syllables and higher pitch on the stressed syllables. It is important for the teacher to explain that an exact replication is not necessary, for even a native

Figure 2.



speaker's speech can vary somewhat from one repetition to the next. In fact, the teacher might even demonstrate this variation on the visual display and perhaps use other models of English to show that variation also exists among native speakers from different regions.

What is important, however, are the relative differences between the student's pronunciation and the teacher's. Thus, the student must strive for longer stressed syllables, shorter unstressed ones, and a higher pitch on the stressed syllables, although the pitch need not show exactly the same degree of height as the teacher's. The student's goal should be to consistently show patterns that are closer to the native speaker model on several successive attempts before moving on to the other forms on the list. In the beginning, the teacher will have to make the decision as to whether the student has come close enough and should guide the student accordingly.

Teaching Sentence-Level Stress and Intonation

After the student shows some progress in using pitch, duration, and intensity correctly to mark stress in isolated words, the teacher can then move on to teaching stress and intonation at the thought-group level. A thought group is a phrase, a clause, or a sentence bordered by pauses on both sides. In thought groups, one stressed syllable stands out "heads and shoulders" above all the other stressed syllables in the sentence. This syllable, which is said to carry the main sentence stress (or accent), is marked by a more pronounced movement in pitch than is found on the other stressed syllables in the thought group.

In unmarked or neutral English sentences, the main sentence stress falls on the stressed syllable of the last content word in the sentence. This is illustrated in the sentence below in which the word receiving main stress is presented in upper case letters.

John said he would LEAVE.

In marked sentences, however, the accent can fall just about anywhere else, and the shift in stress is usually due to contrast, contradiction, or a shift in focus. In the marked sentence presented below, the sentence stress has shifted to the first word, and the sentence can be interpreted as contradiction.

JOHN [not Bill] said he would leave.

In teaching sentence-level stress, the teacher should present sentence pairs, such as the above, for practice and the procedures and suggestions for modeling and practice described under "word-level stress" should be used.

The EVF graph in Figure 3, in which a 4.5 second time display is used, shows how the previous two sentences, as spoken by a native speaker of English, differ in their pitch, intensity, and duration patterns. The unmarked first sentence appears on the left-hand side and the marked second sentence appears on the right-hand side. When comparing the two sentences, especially notable in the graph is the higher pitch and much longer duration of "John" in the marked sentence and "leave" in the unmarked sentence. The final intonation pattern for both sentences is falling intonation, typically found in statements and information questions.

The Japanese learner's versions of the same two sentences are presented in Figure 4. When comparing the two sentences, it can be seen that their pitch and intensity patterns show little difference, even though the student reported that he thought he had succeeded in producing them differently. The variation in syllable duration so noticeable in the native speaker's utterances in Figure 3 is much less noticeable in the Japanese learner's syllable duration in Figure 4. Also, there is a failure to jump up sufficiently in pitch for the stressed word "leave" in the first sentence. Such "syllable-timed" rhythm and failure to highlight stressed syllables sufficiently using pitch can render the student's speech more difficult to understand. No doubt the intended message of the second sentence, contradiction or correction, would have been lost on the listener. The student must obviously learn to both lengthen sufficiently the syllable receiving the main stress and jump up in pitch sufficiently at the same time.

After the student identifies these problems and can clearly see the difference between the native speaker model and his or her own speech,

Figure 3.

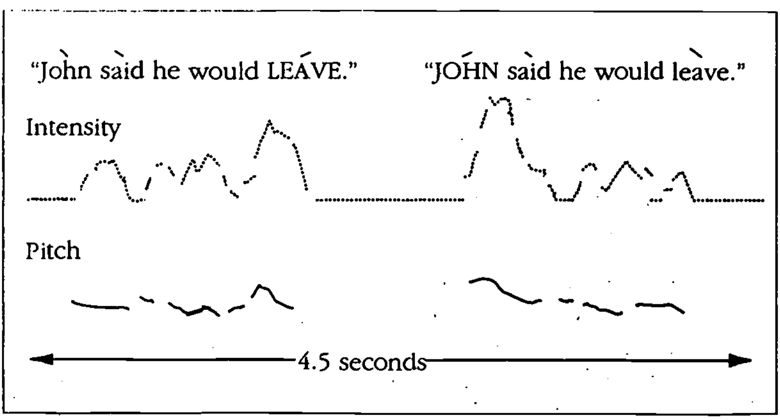
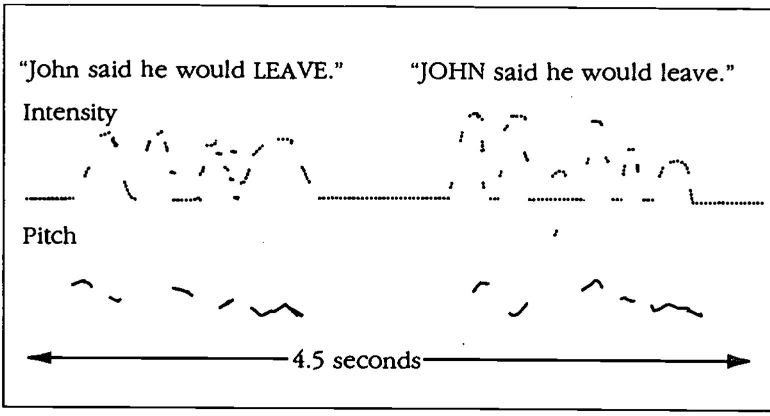


Figure 4.



s/he should then begin repeating the sentences using EVF until more native-like patterns begin to appear. Then sets of sentences such as the following can be used, in which the syllable receiving the main stress occurs in several different positions instead of in only two.

John bought a new CAR	(neutral sentence stress)
John bought a NEW car	(not a used one)
John BOUGHT a new car	(he didn't rent one)
JOHN bought a new car	(not Harry)

Dialogues such as the following, which clearly demonstrate the important link between meaning and intonation in English, can also be used quite effectively with EVF for practicing intonation.

A: I want some shoes.
B: What kind of shoes?
A: The beautiful kind.
B. Black or brown?
A. Neither. I'm tired of black and brown.
B. I want red shoes. Shiny red shoes. (Gilbert, 1993, p. 88)

In all of the above sentences, the basic intonation patterns are the same—they all show final falling intonation. Other intonation patterns, such as final rising intonation for expressing uncertainty and asking questions and the fall-short rise pattern for non-final intonation should also be introduced fairly early using both "canned dialogues" and excerpts from prerecorded samples of spontaneous speech.

Another type of problem which can be addressed through EVF is the Japanese learner's tendency to insert extra vowels in consonant clusters and after final consonants. This is due to the "katakana effect," the insertion of vowels in such environments in foreign borrowings. Although extra vowels did not appear in the speech of the intermediate Japanese learner which was illustrated in Figures 2 and 4 above, such tendencies are well known and have been documented in Anderson-Hsieh, Riney and Koehler (1994). In that study, it was shown that vowel epenthesis (insertion) occurred 12.7% of the time in predicted phonetic environments during a reading task for intermediate Japanese learners of English and only 2.8% of the time for advanced learners. Such extra vowels are very easy to identify on the EVF display, where they appear as additional peaks on the intensity display. To correct this tendency, the student practices suppressing the extra vowel until the visual display no longer shows extra peaks of intensity.

Some General Guidelines for Using EVF

When using EVF, the teacher can work with students individually or in very small groups in which the students take turns using the equipment and observe and learn from others in the group while waiting their turn. It is very important to teach students to read the display quite early so that they can take responsibility for their own learning, discovering for themselves the differences between the representations of their own speech and those of the native speaker model. If a printer is available, hard copies can be made of some of the EVF graphs, and the students can take them home as reminders of what they have worked on with EVF.

In addition, the teacher must realize the limitations of EVF—that it is basically a tool for repetitive practice (Morley, 1994)—and that for students to learn really well, they must also practice outside of class and begin to transfer what they are learning to communicative situations in their lives. Homework assignments should be given that require the students to monitor their speech and use the patterns they are working on with EVF communicatively.

Furthermore, in Japan and other EFL situations where native-speaker teachers may not always be available, the teacher can use tape-recorded speech of English speakers with EVF if necessary. Most types of EVF equipment should allow input from a tape recorder or other external source.

Conclusions

This report has presented some suggestions for using EVF effectively with Japanese learners of English to improve their stress and intonation patterns. Learners who have used EVF often report that they find it helpful for improving suprasegmentals, an element of speech production which they did not fully understand until they used EVF. They often say that they did not know how their stress and intonation patterns differed from native speech until they saw their utterances displayed on a screen and were able to compare them with those of a native speaker model in real time. Other advantages of EVF are an increase in student motivation and the convenience of EVF for explaining students' errors. The major disadvantage of EVF is that it may be too costly for some schools to afford and it is not convenient for use in large classes except perhaps for demonstration. However, that EVF is a powerful tool for raising Japanese language learners' awareness of suprasegmentals is indisputable.

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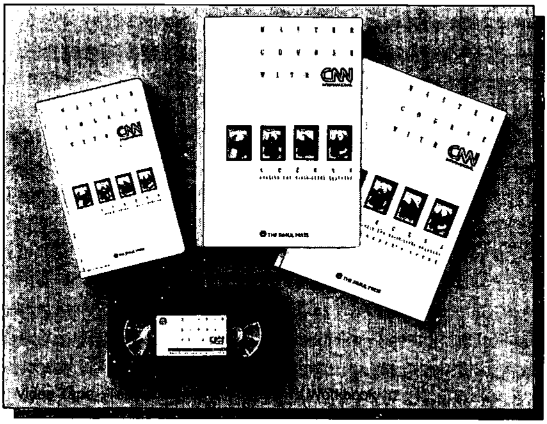

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Teaching Sociolinguistic Knowledge in Japanese High Schools

Kiwamu Izumi
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This paper presents a preliminary report on teaching sociolinguistic knowledge in an EFL class at a Japanese high school. The teaching approach is based on Ellis' (1991) consideration that creating awareness of rules should be an important goal in helping Japanese students acquire sociolinguistic competence. In teaching sociolinguistic knowledge, many non-native speaker (NNS) high school teachers face problems such as their own lack of knowledge, the existing curriculum requirements, the various teaching goals, student motivation, and evaluation procedures. However, this report suggests that such problems can be overcome and that students strongly benefit from the active teaching of sociolinguistic knowledge.

本論は日本の高校で社会言語学的知識を教える試みの報告である。Ellis (1991)の論に従い、日本人の生徒の社会言語学的能力の習得を助けるには、規則への気づきを育てることが重要な目標であるはずだという方針で指導法を考えた。非母語話者の高校教師の多くは、自分自身が充分な社会言語学的知識をもたない、現行のカリキュラムに制約がある、教育目標が多様である、学生の動機づけ、評価方法などの問題に直面する。しかしながら、この報告が示唆するように、これらの問題は克服できるし、社会言語学的知識を積極的に教えることで学生の得られる利益は大きい。

The concept of communicative competence, first introduced by Hymes (1971) and further developed by Canale and Swain (1980), has contributed to a fundamental shift in the aims and content of second language (L2) pedagogy away from an emphasis on mastering the formal properties of a language to an emphasis on learning how a language is used to realize meaning (Ellis, 1991). The importance of such communicative competence as one goal of English language instruction in Japanese high schools was made explicit through the establishment of three Oral Communication (OC) courses in April, 1994 under the direction of the Japanese Ministry of Education, Science and Culture (*Monbusho*, 1989).

Three years before OC started, Ellis (1991) suggested the need to teach communicative competence in Japanese EFL classrooms. He noted that communicative competence consists of two aspects: linguistic knowledge and functional ability. Linguistic competence includes knowledge of formulas and rules, while functional competence entails sociolinguistic, discourse, and strategic knowledge (p.108). Citing Beebe's research (Beebe & Takahashi, 1989; Beebe, Takahashi & Uliss-Weltz, 1990) on the type of sociolinguistic problems which many Japanese learners of English face, such as miscommunication caused by indirectness when responding or by unspecified excuses when refusing, Ellis recommended that EFL teachers must promote the development of sociolinguistic knowledge—how to use English in socially appropriate ways. Beebe (1995) has also argued that the social rules of speaking are part of the basics of second language acquisition and need to be taught from the very beginning.

Responding to these considerations, the following paper discusses some problems associated with implementing the teaching of sociolinguistic aspects of English communication in Japanese high schools. It also presents a preliminary report on teaching lessons designed to raise Japanese high school students' sociolingustic awareness and examines student reactions to the lessons. Several suggestions for teaching sociolinguistic competence in Japanese high schools are also presented.

Problems in Teaching Sociolinguistics

Curriculum

Unfortunately the sociolinguistic aspects of English language communication are not addressed by the present OC curriculum. The *Monbusho*'s guidelines (1989) do not mention that OC should include the teaching of cultural knowledge necessary for communication.

At present the OC courses consist of three different subjects: Oral communication A, B, and C (OC-A, OC-B, OC-C). OC-A basically focuses on speaking in daily life situations. According to the official guidelines, the objective of OC-A is: "To develop students' abilities to understand a speaker's intentions and express their own ideas in spoken English in everyday situations, and to foster a positive attitude toward communication in English (*Monbusho*, 1989, p. 32)[1]. Fllowing this objective, the guidelines (*Monbusho*, 1989) say that teachers should base their lessons around everyday situations in school, home and society (p. 36). However, they do not indicate whether these situations are overseas or in a Japanese school, at home, or in society. Goold, Carter and Madeley (1993a) question the validity of this situational approach of OC-A, asking:

> How relevant are the everyday situations of Japanese high school students to the everyday situations they might encounter in English speaking countries? Do the guidelines consider these foreign situations? Are they intended to? (p. 5)

Basically, OC-A textbooks present model dialogues on daily life topics without any specific cultural context. However, it is difficult to understand the speaker's intentions without some knowledge of the cultural and situation setting.

The second course, OC -B, deals with listening. This course, too, has the same kind of objective: "To develop students' abilities to understand a speaker's intentions, and to foster a positive attitude toward communicating in English." (*Monbusho*, 1989, p. 38)[2]. The OC-B textbooks give various types of listening exercises, but, again, no specific cultural knowledge is required to complete the tasks.

The third course, OC-C, deals with several different types of communication such as discussion, public speaking and debate. However, once again, consideration of cultural differences do not inform the treatment of discourse. Goold, Carter and Madeley (1993b) observe that such common and important English language speech acts as interruption or asserting one's opinions in discussion tend to be regarded negatively in Japan and are ignored by the OC-C guidelines (p.7). Obviously, the teaching of sociolinguistic competence has not been considered in the newly revised curriculum of teaching English for Japanese high schools.

Teaching goals: In considering how communicative competence can be best taught in Japanese high schools, Ellis (1991, pp. 110-111) poses three questions:

1. What aspects of communication should a language programme address: linguistic, functional, or both?
2. To what extent do learners need to develop analyzed knowledge? How can this be best achieved?
3. To what extent is it necessary and possible to develop the learners' control of their knowledge in the classroom?

In addition to the distinction between linguistic and functional aspects of language, Ellis' concept of communicative competence also distinguishes between the development of knowledge and the control of this knowledge. A learner's knowledge of grammatical or sociolinguistic rules does not necessarily assure the ability to control the rules in actual language use. Thus, to answer the questions above, Ellis suggests that the minimal goal of language teaching in Japan should be to give learners *knowledge*, rather than *control*, of both linguistic forms and sociolinguistic rules of use.

This proposal takes into account the particular language learning situation of most EFL students. They have little or no opportunity to use English outside the classroom, and there are practical restraints on teaching conditions, such as the limited class hours and the large class size. Thus, to give learners analyzed linguistic and sociolinguistic knowledge (i.e., knowledge of which the holder has conscious awareness) is more feasible than trying to create an appropriate situation for meaning-based practice of speaking skills. It is in this context that Ellis recommends problem-solving activities designed to raise learners' consciousness, rather than practice for achieving control.

There seems to be little doubt that Ellis' (1991, 1992) comments regarding the development of control of sociolinguistic knowledge are appropriate for the Japanese high school situation. It is impossible for Japanese students to have an authentic learning situation in which to use and practice their sociolinguistic knowledge. Such aspects of communication involve many complex psychological factors such as feelings of ethnic identity, solidarity, topic expertise, and the relative status of participants (Beebe, 1988). Clearly, the homogeneous Japanese high school classroom is an almost impossible setting for simulating these factors to practice control.

Another important distinction is between content-teaching goals and language-teaching goals. Ellis (1991) suggests that, by using English as a medium for carrying out consciousness-raising tasks in learning sociolinguistic knowledge, students can be given opportunities for communicating in English (p. 125). However, as Sheen (1992) points out, it is difficult for high school students to do this because of their limited English ability and lack of exposure to meaning-focused input. Thus, if high school teachers are to teach content effectively, it is easier to use the students' first language (L1) as the medium of teaching. The students will also find it more comfortable. In this way, teachers can teach sociolinguistic knowledge about English without using the target language at all.

However, this report does not recommend that English language teachers should neglect the teaching of language for the sake of teaching content. Instead, it is essential to find a balance between language teaching goals and content teaching goals in teaching sociolinguistic knowledge.

The next sections examine different components of the teaching situation to determine how they might affect the teaching of sociolinguistic knowledge.

Motivation

Motivation is an essential factor for successful language learning (Littlewood, 1984, p. 53). How high school students perceive the learning of sociolinguistic knowledge is, therefore, one of the primary issues in the implementation of this subject. The field of motivation in language learning has been extensively investigated (Crookes & Schmidt, 1991; Dornyei, 1994a; Dornyei, 1994b; Gardner & Tremblay, 1994a; Gardner & Tremblay, 1994b; Oxford & Shearin, 1994; Oxford, 1994;). It has been determined that motivation consists of various components (Dornyei, 1994a), such as a course-specific motivational component. This refers to motivational factors which are related to the syllabus, the teaching materials, the teaching method, and the learning task. A key consideration here is the students' perception of the practicality of the lesson. Keller (1983) called this motivational factor "relevance," referring to how much students feel that the lesson is linked to important personal needs (Crookes & Schmidt, 1991). However, little research exists regarding Japanese high school students' motivation for learning sociolinguistic knowledge.

Teacher competence

If language teachers are to teach sociolinguistic knowledge, ideally they should be trained in both linguistic and sociolinguistic fields. However, lack of training can be compensated for by reading teacher-training books on teaching culture (Damen, 1987), such as Seelye (1984) or Valdes (1986).

Evaluation: Damen (1987) points out that testing cultural learning may be more difficult than testing language learning. Consequently, in examination-oriented Japanese classrooms, difficulties in testing sociolinguistic knowledge may make language teachers hesitate to even considering teaching the subject.

A Preliminary Report on Teaching Sociolinguistic Knowledge

This exploratory study addresses two research questions: 1) How do Japanese high school students perceive the learning of sociolinguistic knowledge? 2) What pedagogical suggestions can be made for the future implementation of the subject, in terms of teaching goals, teacher competence, evaluation, and curriculum requirements?

Subjects

Kiryu Girls' Senior High School is a Japanese public senior high school. An intact class of 45 second year English course students[3] were randomly divided into two groups of 22 and 23 students respectively to reduce the treatment group size during administration of the sociolinguistic lessons. While one group of students received the sociolinguistic lesson, the other group received a regular oral communication (OC) lesson in a separate classroom with a second teacher. During the next class period, the two groups were switched. All sociolinguistic lessons were given by the author, who had also taught the students during the previous academic year.

The average English level of the students was from Pre-Second Grade to Second Grade according to their STEP Test (*Eiken*)[4] scores. The students had never received formal lessons in sociolinguistics, and the teacher had no formal teacher-training in sociolinguistics.

Five sociolinguistic lessons were administered to the students throughout the Japanese school year, from April, 1992 to March, 1993. Each lesson took five periods, giving a total instruction time of 25 50-minute periods, or nearly 21 hours.

Data Collection and Analysis

Data on the students' perceptions of the sociolinguistic lessons was collected through administration of a short, anonymous questionnaire. The questionnaire was given at the end of the school year, after all five lessons were completed. The questionnaire consisted of two English Likert scale items and a Japanese open-ended item. The first Likert scale item asked students to rate each lesson on a six-point scale in terms of how well they liked the lesson, and the second asked the students to state how useful they felt each lesson was. These two items, which were completed for each sociolinguistic lesson, are given below:

Item 1. How did you like the lesson?

1. I loved it.	2. I liked it.	3. I quite liked it.
4. I didn't really like it.	5. I didn't like it.	6. I hated it.

Item 2. How useful did you think the lesson was?

1. Extremely useful	2. Very useful	3. Quite useful
4. Not really useful	5. Not useful	6. Meaningless

Item 1 was intended to determine the students' general feelings about the lesson procedure and content. Item 2 was to determine the students perception of the usefulness of the lessons. Ratings 1, 2, and 3 were considered positive, while 4, 5, and 6 were considered negative. Besides these two structured items, the students were given an open-ended item in Japanese which asked them to freely write comments about the lessons, also in Japanese.

Forty students returned their questionnaires; the other five were absent when the questionnaire was given. Among the forty, thirty-three students wrote additional comments. The collected data was first analyzed according to the percentages of student response to Items 1 & 2. Then, the additional comments were coded into five categories determined by the author, according to the nature of their content. The categories were as follows: 1. The lessons were useful; 2. The lessons were interesting; 3. I wonder if I can use the knowledge in actual communication; 4. I was not so interested; 5. Others.

To estimate the reliability of this evaluation instrument, Cronbach alpha procedures were used. The present study yielded an internal consistency of .86.

The lesson plan

Curriculum

The subject in which the sociolinguistic lessons were taught was "Foreign Affairs," which is a special subject for inclusion in the English course, as determined by the *Monbusho* (1989). However, the content is defined ambiguously in the *Monbusho*'s guidelines (1989), and the exact methods and materials are completely left to the teachers (Izumi, 1995). There is no textbook published for the subject, so this allows teachers to bring in a wide range of relevant material (Goto, 1993).

Teaching material

The textbook selected for the sociolinguistic lessons was *The Culture Puzzle* (Levine, Baxter & McNulty, 1987). The materials used in the lessons were samples of realistic interactions in which cross-cultural miscommunication occur. Although the materials and exercises mainly focused on the American style of communication, they also addressed general issues of cross-cultural communication.

Contents of the lessons

Each of the five lessons dealt with a separate topic. The topics discussed were cross-cultural differences in ways of addressing people (Lesson 1), complementing and responding (Lesson 2), verbal and nonverbal communication (Lesson 3), and conversation strategies (Lessons 4 & 5).

Procedures

As mentioned previously the lesson procedure was based on Ellis' proposal that teachers should give priority to developing sociolinguistic knowledge. The basic steps in the lessons were:

(1) Individual reading of an sample English dialogue which shows some form of miscommunication; then answering some ready-made comprehension questions about the dialogue provided in the text.

(2) Brainstorming on the reasons for the miscommunication in pairs in Japanese. The teacher wrote the students' ideas on the board in Japanese and then categorized them as "reasons guessed from a cross-cultural perspective" and "reasons guessed from a universal view of people as human beings," categories which were created by the teacher.

For example, one dialogue presented an interaction in which X refuses Y's compliments, and Y did not understand why. If the student's analysis was: "X is just being cynical, because X doesn't like Y," this was categorized as a universal view of people, while the analysis "In X's culture not accepting compliments is considered polite" was put into the cross cultural category. The teacher wrote all reasons which were suggested to encourage the students to think freely and be open to multiple possibilities in interpreting dialogues between people from different cultures. All feedback from the teacher was given in Japanese.

(3) Reading and filling in the blanks of an explanatory summary about the ineffective dialogue. The summary passage explained the reasons for the miscommunication and was taken from the textbook. However, in order to teach certain key vocabulary items, the teacher made the passage into a cloze test exercise.

(4) Individually reading the revised dialogue from the textbook showing how the communication problem was solved.

(5) Role-playing both dialogues. A pair was chosen to demonstrate the dialogues orally before the class. The pair was encouraged to give as authentic a performance as possible, with minimum dependence on the written dialogues. The listeners were expected to observe the oral demonstrations without looking at the written dialogues.

(6) Doing additional cross-cultural quizzes and exercises from the textbook.

The quizzes and exercises required the students to analyze and discuss the cultural information presented. Some of them stimulated students to be aware of their own cultural background.

Results

The following two tables show the percentage of the students' responses in each response category for the five socio-cultural lessons.

Table 1: Student Responses for Item 1 (Like: 1-3/Dislike: 4-6)

Reponse Category	1	2	3	4	5	6
Lesson 1	10.0%	27.5%	42.5%	17.5%	2.5%	0.0%
2	7.5%	35.0%	37.5%	20.0%	0.0%	0.0%
3	10.0%	40.0%	35.0%	15.0%	0.0%	0.0%
4	17.5%	47.5%	17.5%	15.0%	2.5%	0.0%
5	15.0%	42.5%	25.0%	12.5%	2.5%	2.5%
Total	12.0%	38.5%	31.5%	16.0%	1.5%	0.5%

n = 40

Table 2: Student Reponses for Item 2 (Useful: 1-3/Not Useful: 4-6)

Reponse Category	1	2	3	4	5	6
Lesson 1	25.0%	27.5%	37.5%	7.5%	2.5%	0.0%
2	30.0%	27.5%	35.0%	7.5%	0.0%	0.0%
3	32.5%	35.0%	22.5%	10.0%	0.0%	0.0%
4	60.0%	20.0%	15.0%	2.5%	2.5%	0.0%
5	52.5%	22.5%	22.5%	0.0%	0.0%	2.5%
Total	38.0%	26.5%	28.5%	5.5%	1.0%	0.5%

n = 40

Table 1 shows that a higher percentage of students gave positive ratings on Item 1, 82% for the total of 1-3; compared with only 18% in the total of 4-6. This suggests that the students liked the sociolinguistic lessons. While 50.5% of them answered that they loved or liked the lessons (the total of 1 & 2), only 2 % of them clearly expressed dislike (the total of 5 & 6). Among the 47.5% students who gave ratings between positive and negative (the total of 3 & 4), the positive response (31.5%) was about twice as much as the negative (16%).

Table 2 shows an even more marked tendency toward a positive view of the sociolinguistic lessons, with 93% of the students' ratings positive (the total of 1-3) and only 7% negative (the total of 4-6). A total of 64.5% of the students answered that they thought the lessons were useful (1 & 2), while 1.5% did not agree with the practical value of the lessons (5 & 6). Among the 34% of the students who gave ratings between positive and negative (3 & 4), the positive response (28.5%) was more than five times greater the negative response (5.5%).

Following analysis of the questionaire data, the students' comments about the lessons were translated into English by the author. Five types of responses were identified.

Type 1: *The lessons are useful.* Twenty-four (60%) students mentioned the usefulness of the lessons. Typical comments were: "It was very useful to learn practical knowledge about cross-cultural communication problems." "If I went overseas without having these lessons, I would be sure to suffer from culture shock." "Really useful. This kind of lesson should be given not only to English course students, but also to the students in other courses."

Type 2: *The lessons were interesting.* Seven (17.5%) students mentioned that the lessons were interesting or enjoyable.

Type 3: *I wonder if I can use the knowledge in actual communication.* Two (5%) students expressed concern about their ability to use the knowledge in actual situations. Some comments were: "I wanted to practice. Maybe the lessons were a little too theoretical, and I may not be able succeed in actual communication." "I think these kind of things can only be learned by being accustomed to them. However, what I learned in the lessons will be activated sometime in the future."

Type 4: *I was not so interested.* Two (5%) students wrote that they were not interested in the lessons.

Type 5: *Others.* Three (7.5%) students wrote other types of comments: "The content was suitable for Foreign Affairs class." "I think that if we had also learned about other cultures in addition to the American culture it would have been more interesting." "I couldn't understand some parts of the lesson, perhaps because of my lack of reading ability."

Discussion and Pedagogical Suggestions

The majority of the high school students (93%) gave the sociolinguistic lessons positive ratings in terms of their usefulness (Table 2). Even though the lessons were focused on developing knowledge of cultural issues rather than on practice, many students considered them to be extremely useful (38%) or very useful (26.5%). Furthermore, most of the comments (24 out of 33) written in response to the open-ended question referred to the usefulness of the sociolinguistic lessons. These results suggest that learning sociolinguistic knowledge is perceived as having practical value. As mentioned previously, this perception is an important factor in motivating students to learn the subject.

On the other hand, two students expressed their concern about the effectiveness of the lessons in terms of actual usage. This suggests that it is also necessary for the teacher to clearly explain the reason for putting priority on the development of knowledge rather than on control through practice.

Most students (82%) liked the lessons (Table 1). In addition, seven students mentioned that the lessons were interesting or enjoyable in the additional comments. Such interest, defined as the individual's inherent curiosity and desire to know more about the subject, is another important component of motivation (Crookes & Schmidt, 1991; Dornyei, 1994a). Being allowed to use Japanese in discussion, and the teacher's use of Japanese in his explanation may have also helped to create interest in the subject and make it easy to learn, thus enabling the students to enjoy the lessons.

Regarding balancing the use of the L1 and the L2, using English for the receptive tasks and Japanese for the productive tasks may be a reasonable compromise for achieving both language-teaching goals and content-teaching goals. The use of the learners' L1 by both the learners and the teacher at appropriate moments seems to be advisable in order to avoid ending up with only a superficial understanding of cultural problems, the content-teaching goal.

However, there are also indications that the students are not satisfied if they do not use English communicatively. The questionnaire results suggest that Lessons 4 and 5, which required student output, were more popular than the other lessons. These two lessons included conversation strategies in addition to cultural knowledge. Thus, it is suggested that teachers should not neglect language-teaching goals. Pursuing language teaching and content teaching goals together may result in increased benefits; the deepened knowledge of content will enhance the learning of language related to that content (Mohan, 1986).

As for teacher competence, it is recommended that high school teachers complete a basic course in sociolinguistics before teaching this subject. However, as this report indicates, carefully designed textbooks can compensate for the teacher's lack of knowledge. Teachers can tell the students, "Let's learn together from the textbook," while still asserting their authority in teaching the linguistic aspects of the text. Also, if various teaching materials such as video programs or audio tapes are developed to supplement the textbooks, the teachers' burden can be greatly lessened.

When grading students, I evaluated both their participation in classroom discussion and their performance on tests. The test questions included both sociolinguistic analysis of a sample dialogue and linguistic understanding of the text they had learned, focusing mainly on key vocabulary items. If the lessons are based on the teaching of knowledge, rather than control, it is relatively easy to make the type of objective test questions which are familiar to Japanese high school teachers. On the other hand, if teachers are to test students' control of knowledge, they must make reliable oral tests. Such a requirement may put too much pressure on teachers and discourage them from teaching the subject. Teaching knowledge rather than control, therefore, seems to be advantageous in terms of evaluation as well as instruction.

As a final consideration, it should be noted that the sociolinguistic lessons were taught within the relatively free curriculum of Foreign Affairs, a class which is open only to English course students. Before it is possible to teach sociolinguistic knowledge to all students participating in English language learning, it is necessary to wait for a more relevant and specific curriculum to be established through future revision of the *Monbusho*'s course of English study.

Conclusions

If English language education in Japanese high schools seriously aims at raising students' communicative ability and international understanding, as the *Monbusho* (1989) states, it is necessary to pay more attention to the teaching of the sociolinguistic aspects of communication. I suggest that the *Monbusho* set up a new course within the OC series in which students can learn cross-cultural problems in communication. As mentioned, there are a number of issues which must be addressed in introducing this new subject. Therefore, more action research must be conducted to facilitate the introduction of this important aspect of English fluency.

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Notes

1. The English translation is from *Monbusho*, 1994, p. 110. The Japanese original of this quotation is:
   身近な日常生活の場面で相手の意向などを聞き取り、自分の考えなどを英語で話す能力を養うとともに、積極的にコミュニケーションを図ろうとする態度を育てる。
2. The English translation is from *Monbusho*, 1994, p. 111. The Japanese original of this quotation is:
   話し手の意向などを聞き取る能力を養うとともに、積極的にコミュニケーションを図ろうとする態度を育てる。
3. The English course, a special course offered at public senior high schools, requires students take more credits in English than general course students, in addition to subjects such as Foreign Affairs and Language Laboratory.
4. The STEP (Society For Testing English Proficiency) Test is a standard, nationwide English proficiency test authorized by the *Monbusho*. By fall, 1992, 22 of the 45 subjects had passed the Second Grade exam. By spring, 1993, 31 had passed. Based on this, the author estimated the subjects English level at the time of the study.

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Reviews

From Proficiency to Competencies: A Collaborative Approach to Curriculum Innovation. Youle Bottomly, Jeanette Dalton, and Chris Corbel. Sydney: National Centre for English Language Teaching and Research, 1994, 116 pp.

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From Proficiency to Competency documents the process of curriculum change within Adult Migrant Education Services (AMES), a provider of English as a Second Language in Victoria, Australia. The volume, essentially a case study in which the authors were participant-observers, focuses a specific example of curriculum change and reports how it was experienced at all levels in a large language teaching organization. The authors regard the transition successful and wish to share the experience. The book has two major goals: 1) to document the approach used in introducing a competency-based curriculum, the Certificate in Spoken and Written English (CSWE), and 2) to document the experiences of teachers participating in this shift from a proficiency curriculum to the CSWE competency curriculum (p. 1).

The book has two sections, each comprising three chapters. The first outlines the background and motives for the change, the second describes the change process. An extensive appendix summarizes and categorizes staff interview data by the position of the interviewees.

Chapter 1 introduces and outlines the rationale of the project, its goals, and the roles of the researcher/authors. The basic curriculum change was a collaborative shift from an autonomous proficiency-based curriculum to a more sharply-focused, externally driven competency-based curriculum. For their purposes, Bottomly, Dalton, and Corbel define curriculum as "the range of experience that learners have under the auspices of an educational organization" (p. 2). They further outline their data collection methods, based on an ethnographic approach involving formal interviews of volunteers from all levels of AMES (managers, administrators, and teachers) and informal observation.

In Chapter 2, the authors describe and analyze the position of AMES within the context of educational organizations in the state of Victoria. AMES, the main provider of English training for adult migrants in the state, gets its major funding from state and commonwealth departments. Hence the organization's responsiveness to changing government policies. At the same time, the variety of roles, tasks, and personnel within AMES shaped the organization's curriculum change project. A process of devolved and collaborative networking fit the AMES organizational culture by encouraging those in the implementation process to retain ownership of the change, and thus enhance the chances of success (p. 11-12).

A second important background feature is the pre-innovation proficiency curriculum which used a twelve-unit scale to assess learners' overall language performance, to determine placement, and to determine exit levels. This scale, and the ways it shaped teaching, helped create the pre-innovation climate of proficiency-oriented language teaching at AMES.

In Chapter 3 the authors relate the decision to revise the curriculum to changes in the economy, the workplace, and society. In particular, a number of government reports on these changes made clear the need for competency-based language training. The authors discuss the ways these developments helped frame the shift to learning specific observable behaviors in language and literacy education and in the broader realm of post-secondary vocational training. National policy reinforced the linkage of language and literacy to employment, though without demonstrating the relationship or encompassing language theory. The subsequent policy and funding changes led to the curriculum changes. Teaching shifted from a needs-based, learner-centered, and essentially individually planned proficiency curriculum to the CSWE. AMES drew heavily on competency-based training and discourse methods to create the CSWE certificate (p. 21) and fill the need for nationally accredited competency-based curriculum without specifying learning processes.

The authors briefly discuss the strengths and weakness of these developments in terms of English for Specific Purposes. Some researchers in the project objected that narrowing the focus of language learning to specific observable outcomes failed to address the need for communicative competence, in the sense used by Widdowson. Further concerns were with focus on genre to the neglect of tasks. I felt that this discussion could have been developed more and a critically informed discussion of the role of the state in the language learning included.

Section 2 begins the discussion of the innovation process. In Chapter 4, the authors discuss the management and dissemination strategies of the first stage of the innovation and present the support systems. They briefly discuss change theory in this context and use excerpts from interview data as a running response to and commentary on the innovation process.

In Chapter 5, full implementation of the change is discussed. First, the authors consider two interacting factors in evaluating organizational change—the characteristics of the change as well as local characteristics—using their interview data. Responses varied based on the interviewee's position in AMES and degree of involvement in the development and implementation of the CSWE. In general, the higher the position and the greater the involvement, the greater the degree of ownership evidenced, particularly true when managers were compared to classroom teachers. A second set of questions focused on participants' understanding of the new curriculum and yielded similar results. A final set of questions, dealing with implementing and assessing the CSWE, revealed the greatest confusion and resistance. Teachers reported that overall their teaching methods remained unchanged, though some found creative responses to the new restraints. These results lead the authors to discuss practical considerations in implementing new curricula.

The final chapter assesses the success and impact of the implementation process. The instruments used to evaluate the interviews indicate a successful innovation (p. 64-65). The authors attribute the success to the emphasis on collaboration and attitudes during the implementation process, as opposed to a focus on developing new skills and knowledge, an outcome consistent with other work on innovation strategies (Brindley & Hood, 1990). The final issue they address is the likelihood of the continuation and institutionalization of the innovation. They conclude that it is likely, given the commitment of AMES to the change, though are aware of countering pressures outside the organization.

The book succeeds as a case study of the process of curriculum innovation. The discussion is coherent, and provides sufficient political and organizational background. The authors make good use of their interview data to illustrate and support specific ethnographic points.

My questions come in regard to what I consider as a premature description of the change as "successful." First, AMES may be committed to the competency-based curriculum and its instrument, the CSWE, but there is no evidence that institutionalization will take place. Second, the authors' reliance on the narrow measures of Hall and Hord's Concern Theory blurs the difference between success and acceptance. Third, negative comments made by interviewees, particularly those lower on the organizational scale, while reported, are given short shrift in the final assessment. And fourth, most relevant to practicing language teachers, the success of the competency-based curriculum and the CSWE goes unreported.

Organizational change is a constant and bears scrutiny. *From Proficiency to Competencies* has implications and lessons for all administrators and teachers facing such a change—in particular the importance of collaboration among participants at all levels. Bottomly, Dalton, and Corbel successfully impart this lesson in their case study of curriculum innovation.

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Text, Discourse and Context: Representation of Poverty in Britain. Ulrike H. Meinhof and Kay Richardson (Eds.). London: Longman, 1994, vii + 149 pp.

Reviewed by
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Text, Discourse and Context, an investigation into what language and images tell us about social reality, asks the question, "How do we represent social life and give that life substance?" within the specific context of a post-industrial society with seemingly intractable social problems.

Five contributors endeavor to answer this by taking a multidisciplinary approach from linguistic, anthropological, and sociological perspectives, concentrating on the discourse of poverty in Britain in the 1990s. The existence and character of poverty in Britain, as elsewhere in developed post-industrial societies, has become a politically-charged and controversial issue attracting intermittent but occasionally intense interest on the part of the mass media. Poverty and perceptions of poverty are encountered by citizens at first hand (the beggar, the woebegone young homeless sleeping in shop doorways) or through the verbal and/or visual representations of a media-rich society. The authors discuss how poverty is represented by the print and electronic media on the one hand and by "the poor" themselves on the other.

Further, they consider the language used by television viewers to discuss the issue of poverty, interpretations inescapably being shaped by, if not conditioned by, the combination of prior understanding and conceptualization and their exposure to verbal/visual textual forms. Significantly, the book is illustrated throughout with examples of naturally occurring discourse taken from a corpus of texts, primarily from mass media sources.

Text, Discourse and Context provides students of, and researchers into, language and linguistics with the opportunity to explore current social and sociopolitical issues, and illustrates a methodological framework permitting movement beyond the limitations of traditional and essentially rigid methods of research. Limitations of space preclude a review of all aspects of the text, hence the following emphasis on one contributor.

Brian Street, probably best known as the author of *Literacy in Theory and Practice* (1985), examines the international dimension of the representation of poverty in the U.K. and how it relates to the representation of poverty in the wider world of suffering in Rwanda, Somalia, Sudan and—closer to home—Bosnia. At a time when Romanian gypsy children are claimed to be successfully and lucratively begging in the carriages of the London Underground with placards and mutely proffered ill-written cards mendaciously identifying them as Bosnian refugees, this is a timely and appropriate contribution.

In "The international dimension," Street contrasts images of involuntary starvation in Africa and elsewhere with images of homelessness and poverty in Britain, supposedly a prosperous post-industrial country. Set against the sporadic representation of visible urban homelessness and poverty in the Britain of the 1990's, a ten-day period in April and May 1991 offered print and electronic media images of fleeing Kurds, a cyclone's aftermath in Bangladesh, and an Ethiopian famine juxtaposed with no sense of irony with a debate over "fabricated" accounts of poverty in Britain. At roughly the same time, a labor union representing local government employees and health service workers ran a £500,000 advertising campaign denouncing government policy; inevitably, a quartet of paid or volunteer models were used in the advertisements rather than genuine sufferers, a fact gleefully trumpeted and exploited by the reactionary tabloid press.

The debate was loud and acrimonious but ultimately sterile. In his essay, Street uses the debate to make the point that a juxtaposition of text and context of this kind brings to the reader or viewer the framing message that the agendas within which poverty in the U.K. is debated are relatively insignificant beside these major international "catastrophes." Such juxtapositions take the concepts of disaster, catastrophe, and famine, not as independent phenomena to arouse horror and sympathy, and link them with "poverty." This gives the terms a range and depth of reference seldom aroused within the parochial accounts of suffering and privation in Britain (and, arguably, within other post-industrial societies such as Japan, the U.S.A. and much of Western Europe.)

The repetition or overdetermination evident in television and newspaper images of poverty in the Third World can be interpreted as a sign not so much of the limited repertoire available to reporters as of a homogenizing conceptualization of the Third World itself. They briskly corral together different places, times, and specific causes of poverty and fuse them with a few simple messages and texts—an updated version of the heroic novels of Empire which Street considered in *The Savage in Literature* (1975) and discussed further in "Reading the Novels of Empire: Race and Ideology in the Classic 'Tale of Adventure'" (1985).

Also within this slim volume, Gunther Kress writes on "Text and Grammar as Explanation;" Ulrike Meinhof writes on television and the semiotics of poverty; Kay Richardson examines a particular television series "Breadline Britain," which focused on present-day poverty and deprivation in the United Kingdom.

The remaining contributor, Roger Hewitt is best known for *White Talk Black Talk: Inter-racial Friendship and Communication Amongst Adolescents* (1986). His essay in this volume, "The beggar's blanket: public skepticism and the representation of poverty," has no specific relationship to race relations. Instead it concentrates on how street beggars and the homeless are regarded by themselves as well as by their fellow citizens. As in George Orwell's account of being down-and-out six decades ago, the conspicuously poor have a variety of views. Not all their views are self-sympathetic : "... I know loads of people in London who beg, right. I know loads of them. They're all pulling eighty-ninety quid a day. It's ... I'm not joking. That's not poor" (p.129). Since this tape-recorded observation was made by an informant who had until recently been a very poor street person himself, there is a certain plausibility to the utterance. Rightly, however, Hewitt adds that this apparently adequate income is hardly comparable to the dependable earning of two thousand pounds a month with a stable life-style.

Those interested in language, linguistics, and semiotics will find this an absorbing, intriguing, and rewarding text of immense potential value to teachers of linguistics at upper-graduate levels.

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How To Be A More Successful Language Learner: Toward Learner Autonomy, 2nd edition. Joan Rubin and Irene Thompson. Boston: Heinle & Heinle, 1994, vii + 120 pp.

Reviewed by
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If you are "presently studying a foreign language or are planning to do so" (p. vi) and see the need to develop, "a much clearer understanding about yourself as a language learner, the language learning process, how to set realistic goals, and how to find an environment that will help you realize these goals" (p. 117) *How to be a More Successful Language Learner* is an excellent guide. Unfortunately, in keeping with its "how to" practicality, it lacks a theoretical context on second language acquisition.

The book has two parts. Part 1, "Before You Begin," is for the person thinking of studying a foreign language and emphasizes the role of the learner in the language learning process while introducing language acquisition and the nature of language and communication. The authors begin with a discussion of learner characteristics such as age, foreign language aptitude, attitude, personality, learning style, and past experiences with foreign languages, then move through a general description of the language learning process, including clarifying and setting objectives, planning language study, the communication process, and the nature of language, and finish with a discussion of types of language learning resources.

Part 2, "Once You Begin," concerns language learning in progress. It first argues for learners "taking charge" of their own learning, then discusses the sorts of knowledge the learner brings to the language learning task, and closes with guidance on assessing strategy use. The last four chapters discuss the nature of vocabulary and grammar, listening, reading, speaking, and writing skills, and present strategies for developing those skills.

Throughout, Rubin and Thompson emphasize learner responsibility for and personal involvement in the learning process, and encourage learner exploration and experimentation. At the end, two appendices list major publishers of foreign language learning materials and organizations concerned with foreign language learning.

The book succeeds in three ways. First, it promotes traits characteristic of "good language learners." Successful language learners "have insight into their own learning styles and preferences ... take an active approach to the learning task ... [and] are willing to take risks" (Omaggio, 1978, in Stevick, 1989, p. 19). In addition, learning behaviors of successful adult students in intensive language training have a "diversity of [target language] practice activities ... insight into and interest in one's own ways of taking and retaining information, and personal involvement in learning the language" (Wesche, 1979, in Wenden, 1991, p. 12). Based on studies into "personal and general learner factors" (Rubin, 1975; Naiman, Frohlich, Stern, & Todesco, 1978), Ellis observes that "[t]he good language learner will ... possess sufficient analytical skills to perceive, categorize, and store the linguistic features of the L2 ... [and] possess a strong reason for learning the L2" (1985, p. 122). Rubin and Thompson encourage all these traits.

Guidance, the second strong point, is crucial in a book on language learning addressed to learners. On the one hand, as noted in classroom-based schemes for autonomy, "[m]any programmes, and most ESL teachers, claim to believe in autonomy, yet many of the same teachers regularly subvert that goal by excluding learners from decisions about planning, pacing, and evaluating classroom tasks" (Cotterall, 1995, p. 220). On the other hand, exhortation without guidance can undermine goals and force learners to "discover" the obvious. Teachers need to strike a balance between the two extremes, giving learners a starting point while encouraging them to move beyond it. Rubin and Thompson achieve this balance by emphasizing at the outset learner responsibility for success, then providing guidance in the forms of background knowledge and practical tips.

Third, in providing this guidance for learner development, Rubin and Thompson never lose sight of the learner's immediate task: learning the language. If we draw a parallel to teacher development, the importance of this becomes clear. Allwright (1993) states that "[w]hat is surely (and sorely?) needed is a way, not of adding research to teachers' problems, but of fully integrating research into teachers' normal pedagogic practices" (p. 125). These concerns resonate with Ho's (1995) critique of time-consuming reflective practices and Hayes' (1995) recognition that teacher development needs to be classroom-centered. Coming back to the book's target audience, Rubin and Thompson's advice centers on language learning itself, in much the same way that Allwright (1992) centers research on teaching activity; it does not distract learners by involving them in copious diary keeping and self-categorization in terms of pre-determined learning styles, but focuses on what learners need to do to learn their target language.

The book strikingly omits one area: learner interaction with other learners. Only a small section (p. 103) deals with learner interaction with other learners as a means of dealing with overcoming the problem of few opportunities to speak the target language. As a great deal of language learning takes place in formal group settings, be they teacher-led classrooms or language clubs, and further, as modern communicative language teaching methods place great importance on group work, the absence of discussion on cooperative or collaborative learning, with suggestions on how learners might initiate it, leaves the volume incomplete.

This omission is understandable in light of the role accorded native users of the target language. While the authors do not usually draw the reader's attention to the idea of emulating a native model, in the chapter on speaking a number of the problems and strategies explicitly or implicitly assume communication with native users. This orientation is not a problem if the learning and target use situations are the same. Where they are different, however, the problems are also different, and have little to do with interaction between natives and non-natives and, as *JALT Journal* readers recognize, more to do with communication among non-natives coupled with the collaborative satisfaction of learning needs. This parallels the contrast Widdowson (1984) makes between teaching language *for* communication and teaching language *as* communication.

One point which may disappoint *JALT Journal* readers is the book's focus on a U.S. audience. This is particularly apparent in the book's appendices, which give no addresses of non-U.S. publishers or organizations involved in language education. Limiting the list to U.S. sources is, on the one hand, practical, as it sets clear limits on what is and is on included. On the other hand, at least one source in each of the countries where the book is being marketed would increase the book's value.

Another problem non-native readers of English may encounter is the level of language employed. The book is aimed at a U.S. native-English-speaking audience. Adapting it into other languages (e.g. Brown & Yoshida, 1990) or a rendering it in simpler English would deal with this limitation.

Two areas of classroom practice supplement the book's focus on the individual learner. The first, in Chapter One, "You, The Language Learner," asks readers to consider previous foreign language learning experience. At the tertiary level in Japan, for example, most students have had at least six years of formal instruction in English. The varying levels of proficiency university and college teachers invariably encounter when these learners arrive in their classrooms suggest that the students represent a wide variety of language learning experiences. Sharing these experiences and becoming more aware of them would be valuable educationally, to learners themselves as well as to their teachers. The literature on experiential learning (cf. Boud, Keough, & Walker, 1985; Boud, Cohen, & Walker, 1993) as well as books dealing more directly with teaching- and learning-to-learn (Gibbs, 1981) provide theoretical and practical foundations for work in this direction.

The second area of classroom work concerns the chapters dealing with learning strategies. Teaching the strategies directly from the book is possible. However, an equally valuable approach would extend the previous activity of examining one's own language learning history through evaluating past study strategies and techniques, hypothesizing what works best for oneself, and then testing those hypotheses.

In addition to the book's use to the individual learner and classroom practice, sections of the book could serve as bases for teacher training discussions of language, communication, and the language learning process. For this, the absence of references to theoretical work may be something of an unintended benefit. Exposing teachers to ideas with immediate surrender value before encountering the research and theory underlying them may provoke insights into why the ideas work the way they do. Such an introduction could help address the ubiquitous "theory vs. practice" rift. Further, the book's focus on learning rather than teaching could make the practice of learner-centered teaching more meaningful. Teaching, after all, exists for students to learn—putting language learning first on the language teacher training agenda places the emphasis in the right place.

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Normal Fairclough introduces *Critical Language Awareness* by explaining that "critical" language study "criticises mainstream language study for taking conventions and practices at face value, as objects to be described, in a way which obscures their political and ideological investment" (p.7). The essays included provide theoretical reasons and practical suggestions for challenging the language conventions and uses that most of us take for granted and for empowering students.

Critical language study (CLS), also known as critical linguistics and critical discourse analysis, "starts from the premise that systems and uses of language are not neutral" and so seeks "... to expose the political and ideological background" (Carter, 1995, p. 29). CLS can take as its object texts and discourse, spoken and written. It relies heavily on Halliday's (1985) "systemic grammar" approach to text analysis, as Fairclough (1992) makes clear in another discussion of critical linguistics. Critical language awareness (CLA) is the pedagogical aspect of the theoretically and critically engaged CLS.

Fairclough, an influential researcher and writer in this field, used his first major work (1989) to show educators the ways people use language to wield power in modern democratic societies. He stresses that political awareness goes hand in hand with language awareness, noting that, "CLA is, I believe, coming to be a prerequisite for effective democratic citizenship, and should therefore be seen as an entitlement for citizens, especially children towards citizenship in the educational system" (p.3).

CLA developed in Britain during a decade dominated politically and socially by Margaret Thatcher and a right wing Conservative government. The book reflects this background—both in its theoretical and pedagogical discussions, and in its research and case studies. If this background does not attract, do not let it put you off either.

Critical Language Awareness will particularly interest teachers working in multicultural environments, and those teaching reading and/or writing. Fairclough notes "CLS sees itself as a resource for developing the consciousness of particularly those people who are dominated in a linguistic way" (pp. 9-10), a group including students in educational institutions ranging from primary school to postgraduate university level, from Britain to Botswana.

Fairclough (p. 50, 1992) and other researchers (van Lier, 1995) freely acknowledge the influence of European social theorists such as Foucault and use these insights to discover the ways educational establishments and everyday classroom interaction tend to control students. Throughout *Critical Language Awareness* the writers encourage educators to empower students within the specific institution, in academic discourse, and in society at large. The writers seek to give people the awareness, confidence, and skills needed to challenge the ways they are dominated linguistically, as well as economically, socially, and politically.

Part I, "Language Awareness: Critical and Non-critical Approaches," consists of one essay by Fairclough, in which he develops the inadequacies of appropriateness models of language variation and discusses issues raised by recent British government sponsored reports on the teaching of standard English in the UK.

Part II, "Critical Language Awareness in Diverse Educational Contexts," opens with the essay "Critical Literacy Awareness in the EFL Classroom" by Catherine Wallace. As a prominent advocate of critical reading, she sees it as a social process in which "our interpretations of texts are socially determined" (p.67). Too often, she says, foreign language teachers use texts without placing them in social and historical context. Teachers or administrators choose texts, she argues, "as either vehicles for linguistic structure, as general interest material usually of a fairly safe, bland kind or as functional survival material for some groups of L2 learners" (pp. 61-62). This is not enough. An effective reader needs to be both an assertive reader in the way Widdowson (1984) proposed—that is challenging the propositional knowledge in texts—and by challenging the ideological assumptions underlying the chosen text. Take pre-reading tasks. Wallace suggests a critical pre-reading task in which students consider why the topic was selected. She goes on to give an account of an EFL reading class she taught in London using a critical approach. There is enough detail to test the principles on other texts—they may not always be applicable.

In Chapter 4 Pete Sayers takes CLA into the community at large and discusses his role helping workers for a black housing association learn to read critically in order to understand officialese. They then used their experience as readers to help them write clearer English. Chapters 5 and 6 focus on academic writing. Romy Clark, in Chapter 5, makes the case for putting the "I" in academic writing to force writers to take responsibility for their own ideas "instead of masking their position behind the pretense of objectivity with impersonal language" (p.136). A university teacher and a student are the joint authors of Chapter 6, "Who's

Who in Academic Writing." Their essay focuses on the academic relationship between teachers and students. Students can use CLA to perceive the link between academic reading and writing and extract from readings what is appropriate for them. This section should make us, as teachers, reflect on the way we set assignments.

In Chapter 7 Mary Talbot analyzes an article in a teenage magazine to discover "how language helps construct women as 'feminine'" (p.174). It is a model of how we can use Halliday's functional grammar to examine systematically the conventional ways language presupposes conditions and creates impressions. Talbot notes, "Looking at language critically is a way of 'denaturalising' it—questioning and 'making strange' conventions which usually seem perfectly natural to people who use them" (p.174).

Michael Stubbs starts Part III, "Critical Language Awareness in Schools," with an essay on information technology and CLA, which sounds more exciting than this reviewer found it. Though not in the vanguard of information technology, I found nothing revealing or new in it.

In Chapter 9, Malcolm McKenzie presents a CLA approach to "euphemism as idiom" in school reports. In lessons he taught in Botswana, he led his 16-year-olds, who had a mixture of L1s, to an understanding of what certain euphemisms meant. Students rewrote reports in a more direct way, their meanings becoming clearly, and often amusingly, revealed. Then the class discussed reasons why euphemisms were used, whereas they had initially thought them silly. The students "now had access to a form of discourse that was no longer strange and unfamiliar" (p.237).

The core of Chapter 10, by Clark and Smith, retells how even 7-year-olds learned, while engaged in a story making activity, "to reflect upon their work and make decisions about where they would go next with it, at different stages of the book production" (p.245). By being able to explain what they have done, not merely describe it, learners make "a significant step towards critical practice" (p.247). This supports the more general contention by McCarthy and Carter (1994) that teachers need to make use of their students' intellectual capabilities because a "more reflective language learner is a more effective language learner" (p.165). Clark and Smith's account of CLA work in primary schools is sandwiched between rather polemical statements of how things in education ought to be and of the need for teachers to "challenge the National Curriculum" (p.239).

Chapter 11, case study, reports on a language awareness course taught in an English secondary school. The essay includes a useful general background to 'language awareness' which could have come more helpfully earlier in the book.

Chapter 12 focuses on bilingual children from immigrant families living in Britain. The writers warn those developing language awareness programs not to erode the vital resource of minority community languages.

The book's final chapter, Part IV, "CLA: Perspectives for Emancipation," is a call for CLA "to be turned into action" and to develop "emancipatory discourse" (p.305). How should teachers incorporate this into the classroom? The authors, Roz Ivanic and Hilary Janks, offer this suggestion:

> We believe that CLA should underlie all language teaching and learning. It need not necessarily be the focus of all lessons but should regularly be foregrounded. In our view critical educators should help learners to identify situations in their own lives in which they currently feel dominated, and recognise the role language plays in this domination. Then they can discuss what might be done about it, and plan projects which can realistically contribute to change. This discussion can include the obstacles and constraints which deter people from emancipatory discourse, and the consequences of contestation. The learners' experience becomes the content of learning—a process which is itself empowering for the learners. (p.320)

All this necessarily presupposes an awareness of the socio-political controls in society.

A bold assumption runs through the core of this book centered on developing a reader's ability to recognise and challenge assumptions and presuppositions in texts, namely that "the main objective of schooling ought to be: developing a critical awareness of the world, and of the possibilities for changing it" (p.242). Fairclough, in the introduction, states it explicitly: "I assume that the development of a critical awareness of the world, and of the possibilities for changing it, ought to be the main objective of all education, including language education" (p.7). This is open to debate. Many educators, especially in Asia, might not agree with this. In Fairclough's favour is that he states his assumption explicitly, so you do not need the decoding skills of CLS to be able to work it out.

Reflecting on the book, it becomes clear that language is "loaded" and the ability to see through language is desirable. If critical language awareness can help students understand, for instance, the underlying difference between newspaper headlines such as "Nissan closes factory: Workers protest" and "Workers protest factory closure," then it will serve them well. *Critical Language Awareness* is both thought-provoking and a useful resource for teachers wishing to put CLA into practice.

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Multiple Intelligences in the Classroom. Thomas Armstrong. Alexandria, Virginia: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 1994. 185+ pages. $14.95.

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As teachers, we see diversity in the classroom. We note how one approach works with some students and not with others. We see the differences in motivation and styles each student brings. Thomas Armstrong's *Multiple Intelligences in the Classroom* takes these intellectual and academic insights into classroom practice.

In doing this, he builds on Gardner's (1983) work in multiple intelligences (MI), in which he advanced the theory of multiple intelligences and challenged the inadequacies of the general theory of intelligence. Working from this concept, some investigators have looked into students' perceptions of and beliefs in their abilities and needs in the motivational arena. Others emphasize the active role that effort has to play in language acquisition. Recognition of learners' differences and choices is a common theme. Students present complex attributes that cannot be pinned down to any one approach or methodology—people and their willingness as well as their capacity to learn are complex matters.

However, while the theorists are hard at work uncovering the shortcomings of current and past practice, classroom teachers need to know what they can do to benefit from this research. MI has seen a phenomenal growth in educational applications as well as research support. A remarkable characteristic is that MI provides for a coherent marriage of many methodologies now being practiced. In other words, teachers need not discard their current classroom activities, but may integrate these with others to construct a balanced approach to language education. Armstrong gives us a well delineated collection of illustrations, examples, models, figures, checklists, tables, inventories, and lists to accomplish this balance. Using this straightforward approach to MI, we can practice and refine the art of identifying and teaching to students' strengths and weaknesses while abandoning limited approaches that place teachers and students at a serious disadvantage, inside the classroom and out.

Chapter 1, on foundations and theory, provides a succinct introduction to traditional concepts and the historical development of MI theory. Here Armstrong delineates the seven intelligences propounded by Gardner (1983) from clinical observations. In Chapter 12, Armstrong further addresses the theoretical basis of the MI perspective of cognitive skills.

Chapters 2, 3, and 10 deal with personal development and assessment. Chapter 2 focuses on the teachers' attributes and contributions, providing an adult MI inventory to give teachers a personal perspective. By pointing out the teachers' intelligences, MI shows teachers how to adapt personal strengths to teaching. Chapter 3 describes students' intelligences and provides an extensive checklist to use in getting students involved in assessing their strengths and tendencies. There are guidelines for developing students' portfolios that can be used in assessment and method and syllabus design. In Chapter 10, Armstrong expands on assessment by providing a detailed list of alternative assessment methods, instruments and measures, including a practical guide to developing and compiling student portfolios.

Chapters 4, 5, 6, and 11 focus on the practice of a multi-modal approach by delineating materials for lessons, syllabus, and curriculum design. Drawing from students' social and physical environment, these four chapters provide a coherent framework of strategies and activities on which to build and from which to launch innovations. Appendix C expands this with example lessons for various levels and subjects. Chapter 11 specifically focuses on special education, describing how MI replaces the "deficit-oriented paradigm" in special education (p. ix).

Chapters 7 and 8 address classroom environment and management. Classroom issues are initially addressed with questions. We are then given a detailed description of activity centers. These serve the goal of making large classes manageable and incorporating the advantages of small classes. In the chapter on management, strategies for attention, transition, communicating rules, forming groups, and coping with behavioral problems are provided that extend the environment set forth earlier.

Chapters 9 and 13 address the school environment and compare MI to the traditional setting. In this way Armstrong illustrates how MI is providing a complete transition that can expand the existing programme and curriculum. Chapter 9 provides a description of the Key School, founded in Indianapolis, Indiana in 1984, which has been built completely around the MI concept. Chapter 13 specifically explores MI applications in computer technology, cultural diversity, and career counseling.

MI is not an alternative methodology or basis of evaluation. As a radical restructuring of educational philosophy, systems, methodology, and psychological precepts, it is a basic paradigm shift. Armstrong's approach to this is pragmatic. He highlights the "dysfunctional" program designs of formulaic teaching and one-size-fits-all assessment. By developing the case for the interaction of inherited capacity and environmental influence (1995a, p. 203), Gardner strongly reinforced the teachers' role in education. Armstrong succinctly provides an introduction to the theoretical basis of MI (p. 11) and illustrates the teachers' role with examples from contemporary and historical figures and modern teaching techniques. Since intelligence is considered to be the capacity to do something rather than the expression itself, social influences may encourage the development of some intelligences and curtail others. Imagine Bach without access to an organ or Gandhi securing a teaching job in Britain. The point being that times and opportunities have a profound effect on potential. If educators and administrators are not cognisant of the ramifications of the MI Theory and their social context, they may overlook students' strengths, force them into politically correct molds, and classify them by their weaknesses (p. 17).

MI has profound implications for language education in Japan. Feldman (1980) and postulated crystallising experiences that initiate or trigger an intelligence. Armstrong delineates its antithesis, the "paralysing experience" in which negative or aversive experiences lead to a disinclination to develop or use an intelligence. The resistance to learning that so many language teachers see in their classrooms may represent years of acquired aversion to a foreign language.

There are some problems with this book. In an MI environment, specialists, or brokers, serve to assess the students' needs and the schools' programming. Unfortunately, Armstrong describes these pivotal roles are only briefly in Chapter 9. Gardner, however, placed strong emphasis on the role of specialists who assess the students, and brokers who match students to curricula, styles, and learning opportunities in the community (1993, pp. 10-11). Armstrong treats this all too briefly, though he does implicitly describe the process of mastering these roles.

Nor does Armstrong address administrative logistics and scheduling limitations. Many language teachers in Japan, especially those engaged in part-time and temporary teaching, simply do not have enough time to gather material to build an MI syllabus, curriculum, or methodology. Such an approach also requires administrative support and a realistic workload. Adjunct teachers working at multiple work sites or on terminal contracts are seriously disadvantaged. Public school teachers working with prescribed materials and syllabi and committed to long and frequent committee meetings are locked out. In a small class or with manageable class loads this would hold more promise—otherwise the time required makes MI based approaches problematic.

Environmental restrictions aside, Armstrong balances emphasis on the teachers' potential and current practices with that of the students'. By providing a structured approach to enable teachers and students to begin their inquiries, this book serves as a practical reference for the classroom. Geared toward the lower grades, it is appropriate at this time in Japan when pilot programmes in foreign languages are being set up in elementary schools. It is also basic enough to be adapted for students in higher education. MI theory proposes a number of options by recognising the evidence for human diversity. Armstrong's work provides us with a greater number of practical, classroom options for attending to this diversity.

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Multilingualism. John Edwards. London: Routledge, 1994. 256 pp.

Reviewed by
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In considering a book called *Multilingualism*, the first question one must ask is just what such a book should be about. Taking into account that, at least according to one definition Edwards offers, "everyone is bilingual" (p. 55), one sees that there may be as many varieties of multilingualism as there are people. The scope of a book intended to encompass such a widespread and various phenomenon would be, to say the least, huge. The field is further broadened when one remembers that the causes and effects of multilingualism are not only individual, but also social and political.

Each section of each chapter of Edwards' relatively slim volume could be, and in fact has been, the subject of at least one book. Those with more than a passing interest in multilingualism will want to seek out those books. Fortunately, Edwards' ample references will allow them to do so. Interested non-specialists, however, will find *Multilingualism* to be a satisfying overview of this multidisciplinary field.

Edwards begins by making what should be an obvious point: "To be bilingual or multilingual is ... a normal and unremarkable necessity for the majority in the world today" (p. 1). It is seldom, however, a necessity for people whose first languages have political clout. Those with first languages such as English can easily forget that most of the world doesn't enjoy the luxury, or suffer the poverty, of monolingual living. Having established that it is monolingualism, not multilingualism, which is the aberration, Edwards goes on, in Chapter 2, to point out that "multilingualism is largely a practical affair, ... few people become or remain multilingual on a whim" (p. 34). Describing some of the circumstances under which multilingualism can be born, Edwards makes it clear that economics, politics, or a combination of the two are usually what drive people to add a language to their repertoire.

It is often, for example, for economic and political reasons that people leave their linguistic homelands for countries in which they will need an additional language to survive and succeed. Likewise, territorial expansion, particularly in its colonial or imperial varieties, is likely to make it incumbent upon the subject people to adopt the language of their rulers. In addition, the eccentric boundaries imposed on parts of the world by the colonialists have forced, in countries like Nigeria, diverse language groups into political, and therefore, linguistic contact. In countries such as Belgium, Canada, and Switzerland, federal arrangements exist which encourage the citizens of those nations to obtain some degree of competence in their fellow citizens' languages.

In Chapter 3 Edwards moves briefly from the social to the individual in order to discuss the cognitive consequences of bilingualism. In his thorough and critical review of several studies on both sides of the issue he finds no support for the notion that bilingual competence has either positive or negative effects on linguistic or mental ability.

How, then, to account for the contradictory findings of the studies he surveys? This question brings Edwards back to the social. He notes that "most positive findings come from studies of immersion children (where language attitudes are favorable), most negative ones from those 'submersed' in second-language education (leading to so-called subtractive bilingualism)" (pp. 70-71). Thus, both the social attitudes toward the learners, and of the learners, appear to be of paramount importance.

Paradoxically, the same language contact which is a necessary condition for multilingualism also breeds language conflict, and the result of this conflict is often the decline or even death of a language. Edwards, like virtually all linguists, accepts that no language is in itself superior or inferior to any other language. How, then, to explain that some languages thrive while others fall out of use? There is, as Edwards makes clear, no one cause for the decline of a language (p. 103), but the language conflicts he anatomizes such as those between English and Gaelic in Nova Scotia, and English and Irish in Ireland, affirm what common sense would suggest: languages with less political and economic strength and prestige never displace those with more.

The language decline or loss that sometimes results from language contact is typically followed by attempts at revival. As Edwards notes, though, "the very existence of a revival effort is an indication of some ultimate or penultimate stage in linguistic history" (p. 121). Citing Nahir (1984), Edwards indicates that perhaps this explains why revival movements have almost always failed to "turn a language with few or no surviving speakers back into a normal means of communication."

Edwards tempers this bleak view by pointing out that defining "revival" in a less idealistic fashion allows one to identify more successes. While Irish, for example is unlikely ever again to be the vernacular in much of Ireland, efforts to preserve it have resulted in increased access to Irish heritage as well as stimulating Irish literature and politics. Even as it has, in some sense, failed, then, the Irish movement has had its successes, and, as Edwards further consoles, "so long as some record of it exists, a language is not dead" (p. 118).

Language change—the decline and death of some languages, the ascent of others—is an obvious and ongoing linguistic fact. Languages don't die, though, unless there is a viable replacement, so why should the waning of a language be the source of such profound pain to its speakers? The answer is that language appears inextricably connected with ethnic and national pride, and as a cursory glance at history will bear out, this sort of pride, though perhaps irrational, is extremely powerful.

Edwards, who deplores the historical "disembodied nature of much work in social sciences" (p. 205), draws, in chapter 5, on examples from, among others, the ancient Greeks and Romans, to demonstrate that until quite recently rulers didn't much care what language their subjects spoke. The link between language and nation did not begin to be forged, at least in Europe, until the late 18th century and it was not firmly in place until a century after that. Once it was, though, it was easy for groups to see any diminution of their language as a threat to their identity.

One way that people seek to defend their languages is to shield them from perceived impurities. These impurities can come from within in the form of, for example, a loosening of formerly sacrosanct grammatical standards, or from without as borrowings from other languages. Prescriptivism, though long eschewed by professional linguists, is the shield most defenders of a language pick up when they perceive a threat of pollution. In the case of English, one need only witness that the columns of "language mavens" such as William Safire are a regular and popular feature in many newspapers. Though Edwards doesn't side with the mavens, he does take linguists to task for "refusing to acknowledge the power and appeal of prescriptivism" (p. 164). In doing so, linguists ignore the popular demand for some sort of linguistic standard and thus leave the field open.

Throughout *Multilingualism,* Edwards prefers to present the range of positions on a given issue rather than arguing for any one position. This is appropriate in a book which is intended as an overview, but still, one occasionally yearns for a bit more rhetorical fire. Those yearnings are satisfied in chapter 7, where Edwards takes up the relationship between multilingualism and multiculturalism, particularly as it relates to education. Education is a topic which rouses Edwards to passion.

He ridicules the sort of multicultural education programs which devote an hour or so a week to "ethnic show-and-tell" (p. 188) and is no less critical of those which emphasize "empowering" minority students to the exclusion of all else. It would be a mistake to think, though, that he is an opponent of multicultural education. Rather, as he argued in an earlier book (Edwards, 1985), "all education worthy of the name is multicultural." "Promoting multicultural awareness and tolerance must ... become an inextricable part of the whole educational enterprise" (in Edwards, 1994, p. 189).

Later in the same chapter, discussing language and gender, he asserts that "in Japanese where women say *ohiya*, *onaka*, and *taberu* for 'water', 'stomach' and 'eat' ... men say *mizu*, *hara*, and *kuu*" (p. 199). Given Edwards' general proposition, that there are differences between men's and women's Japanese, is true it seems petty to point out that the assertion he uses in support of it is not: some women, for example, do say *mizu*; some men do say *taberu*. It's worth noting, though, because this small lapse does plant a seed of doubt about the generalizations Edwards draws from languages such as Koasati, Chiquito, and Desano, with which few readers will be familiar.

The only other quibble one might raise with is that he ignores what Steiner has identified as the fundamental question concerning multilingualism: "Why," as Steiner asks, "should human beings speak thousands of different, mutually incomprehensible, tongues" (1992, p. 51)? Given that *Multilingualism* is intended as an overview, and not primarily as a work of philosophy, this is easy to overlook.

These small reservations are further eclipsed by the author's' command of the many disciplines which must inform any serious study of multilingualism. This, coupled with the jargon-free precision with which he writes, make *Multilingualism* an excellent overview of a complex field.

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Contrastive Rhetoric: Cross-cultural Aspects of Second Language Writing. Ulla Connor. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1996. 201 pp.

Reviewed by
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Ulla Connor's book is a must read as a definitive summary and introduction to the field of contrastive rhetoric. For students, researchers, and teachers of L2 writing, this text provides a necessary historical background, showing the various influences and practical needs which originally gave rise to contrastive rhetoric.

Part One of the text seeks to define contrastive rhetoric while showing how and where it intersects with various related areas of study. Connor gives a basic sketch of a number of the rhetorical studies that have been done on several languages since Kaplan's pioneering work in 1966 and places these studies in the overall scheme of where the field is headed in the nineties.

Part Two focuses on how contrastive rhetoric works together with other disciplines, focusing on rhetoric and composition, text linguistics, cultural anthropology, translation, and genre studies. In the chapter on rhetoric and composition, Connor discusses the influences of contrastive rhetoric on four different approaches: approaches based on rhetorical theories, the expressionist approach, the cognitive approach, and the social constructivist approach. The next chapter discusses the relatively new area of text linguistics and shows how this area of study had helped to vitalize contrastive rhetoric. Central to the next chapter on cultural anthropology is the fact that more research is needed. Drawing from the early work of Kaplan and others on up to the present, Connor reminds us that some writing patterns seem to be culture specific. But what this means on a practical level for the teacher in the classroom remains largely elusive, largely because we do not know enough about the underlying causes of these differences in writing style. In the following chapter on translation studies, after showing their similar origin to contrastive rhetoric, Connor shows that both deal with interlanguage transfer though in very different ways. To my mind, the finest chapter is the final chapter of Part Two. Here, Connor looks at genre studies as it is applied to L2 teaching. This is an exciting and growing area still in need of research. She explores this area, in her own words, "in three domains: student writing at the primary, secondary, and college level; academic writing; and professional writing, a category that includes political writing" (p. 126).

Throughout, Connor continually points out specific areas that need further research. The final section of her book outlines the changing methods of research which have formed the outlying features of contrastive rhetoric from its inception. From the early empirical analyses influenced by structural linguistics, contrastive rhetoric has drawn increasingly from education, anthropology, and linguistics in order to meet the needs of this growing area of study. She then explores the most current methods of research that have come out of these various fields and suggests how they might be practically applied to contrastive rhetoric. Overall, Connor achieves her ultimate objective in first, defining the field and showing its connections and debts to adjacent fields of study and second, leaving her target audience—graduate students, teachers, and readers—with numerous suggestions for practical applications as well as directions for further research.

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