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Japan Association for Language Teaching

Inside this issue:

- Testing Tests • Junior High ALTs
- Motivational differences • Preferred behavior
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- Expressing anger • Writing tutorials
- Suprasegmentals • Sociolinguistic knowledge

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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).

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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

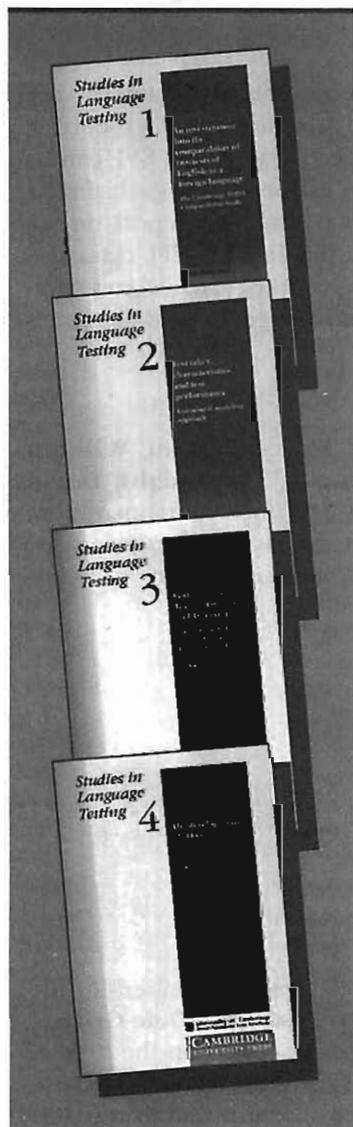
Seven books are reviewed in this issue. **Kaye M. Dunn, William Corr, Milan Davidovic, Thomas L. Simmons, Tim Knight, David Cozy, and Wm. Thomas Hill** review texts on curriculum innovation, the language used about poverty, becoming a successful language learner, language awareness, multiple intelligences,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

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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のみならず信頼性とクローズ・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 & Schooli (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 ($r_{xx'} = 2r_{hh}/(1+r_{hh})$).

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 TOEFL¹ (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

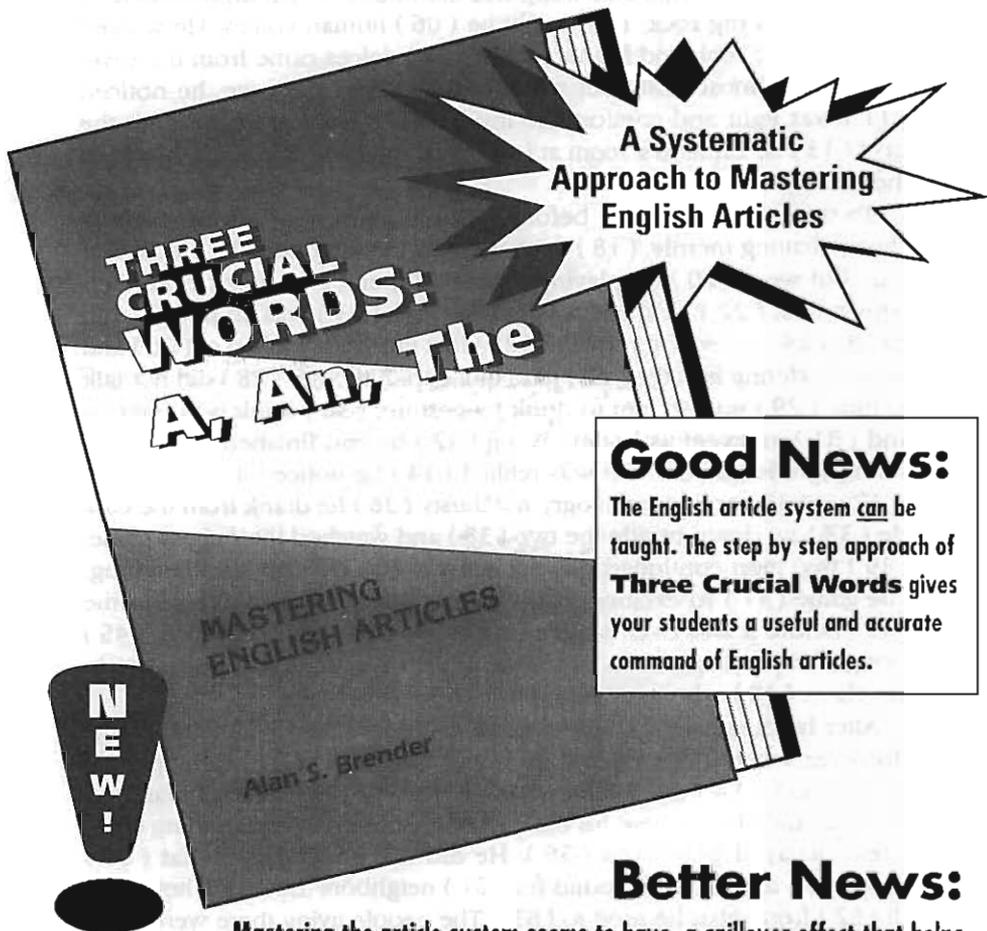
One day Wang lost his way while he was gathering wool. He wandered in the woods (01) hours, but could not find (02) path to lead him home. (03) came and Wang was tired (04) very hungry. When he passed (05) big rock, he thought he (06) human voices. He walked around (07) rock and found a cave. (08) voices 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 ?

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

James Sick

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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.

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 two-

thirds 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	<i>n</i>	K	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	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 listen-

ers 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	High Utilization Programs $n = 46$
11	1	
10	0	
9	11	
8	6	
7	3	
6	16	Average Utilization Programs $n = 110$
5	11	
4	10	
3	89	Low Utilization Programs $n = 27$
2	18	
1	5	
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	<i>n</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>SE</i>	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

	<i>df</i>	<i>SS</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
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, how-

ever. 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 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。

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 Univer-

sity 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 universities who 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 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					Instrumental Scores for Sophomores				
L_1	n	M	SD	SE	L_1	n	M	SD	SE
Japanese	20	14.7	2.203	.493	Japanese	20	15.25	2.197	.491
Mandarin	20	17.05*	2.259	.505	Mandarin	20	16.4	2.28	.51
(F-Test 11.095, * $p < .05$)					(F-Test 2.637, $p = .1126$)				
Integrative Scores for Freshmen					Integrative Scores for Sophomores				
L_1	n	M	SD	SE	L_1	n	M	SD	SE
Japanese	20	15.1	1.944	.435	Japanese	20	16.4	1.903	.426
Mandarin	20	16.7*	2.06	.465	Mandarin	20	16.15*	2.134	.477
(F-Test 6.317, * $p < .05$)					(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	<i>p</i> 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	<i>p</i> value
L_1	1	2432.068	2432.068	33.101	.0001*
Gender (B)1	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 kokusat shakat no naka de hitsuyoo to sarete tru 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

- English is very useful in the workplace or in most job situations these days.
STRONGLY AGREE / AGREE / NOT SURE / DISAGREE / STRONGLY DISAGREE
- English helps you make a variety of friends more easily.
STRONGLY AGREE / AGREE / NOT SURE / DISAGREE / STRONGLY DISAGREE
- A truly educated person should be able to read or understand written or spoken English.
STRONGLY AGREE / AGREE / NOT SURE / DISAGREE / STRONGLY DISAGREE
- 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
- Knowing at least one foreign language is desirable for social recognition or gaining higher social status.
STRONGLY AGREE / AGREE / NOT SURE / DISAGREE / STRONGLY DISAGREE
- English is necessary if one wishes to travel abroad or live in another country.
STRONGLY AGREE / AGREE / NOT SURE / DISAGREE / STRONGLY DISAGREE
- I am taking English mainly to gain college course credit.
YES/NO
- English is important in order to understand Western thought.
STRONGLY AGREE / AGREE / NOT SURE / DISAGREE / STRONGLY DISAGREE
- English is necessary in order for us to become truly "internationally minded" or a "world citizen."
STRONGLY AGREE / AGREE / NOT SURE / DISAGREE / STRONGLY DISAGREE
- 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 logicity (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 Questionnaire

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。

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 oppor-

tunities 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 formula¹ 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	<i>n</i>	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 TPre

	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

<i>n</i>	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

<i>n</i>	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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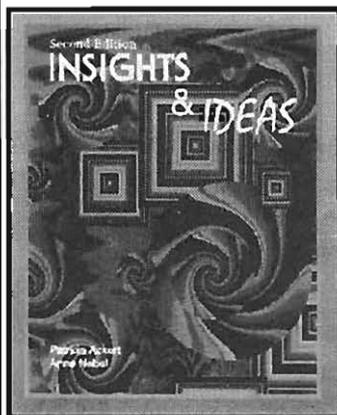
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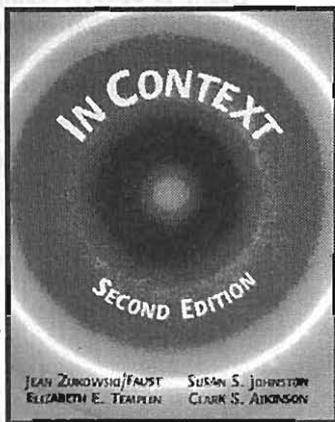
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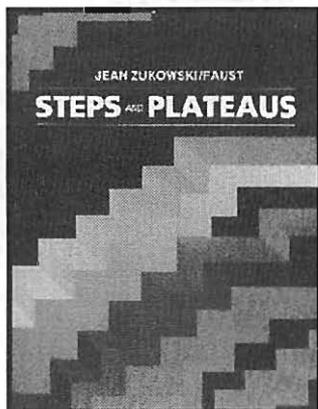
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The Essential Role of Negotiation in the Communicative Classroom

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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、実証的の先行研究と、コミュニケーション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.

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**

all right how about the fourth family?
now I must remind you about the seriousness of our job...
Guillermo

**Five English as a Second Language (L2)
Learners (nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5)**

1: I know is a good relation one man and two women

laughter
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

OK any comments about this
this third family? this fourth
family of three?

3: three company
2: is good I think is more than the last
family

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
- um no?
the second
maybe OK Elena
singer in the
Metropolitan
Opera
- this- no-
everybody ok?
- OK
- (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 | <i>rectangular?</i> |
| yeah it's in the shape of a | |
| rectangle with um you know | |
| a rectangle has two long sides | |
| and two short sides | |
| | <i>rectangle?</i> |
| re-rectangle it's it's like a square | |

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>except you you flatten it out
uh a rectangle is a square
except a square has four equal
sides a rectangle has two sides
that are much longer and two
sides that are much shorter</p> | <p><i>square except</i>
uhuh
yes
OK (Pica, 1993, p. 437, 1994, p. 513)</p> |
| <p>(4) English NS
the windows are clozed
<i>the windows have what?</i>
<i>crossed? I'm not sure what</i>
<i>you're saying there</i>
oh the windows are closed oh
OK sorry</p> | <p>English L2 Learner

crozed

windows are closed

(Pica, 1994, p. 514)</p> |
| <p>(5) English L2 Learner
Where do you put the three
floor house three floor
<i>right and middle</i>
<i>in across the circle circle</i>

<i>three floors</i></p> | <p>English L2 Learner
three floor em I put it at the um right
and middle
yes close the cir cir the circuit
yes
OK um three floors
yes (Pica, 1992b, p. 225)</p> |

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?
is it pointed on top? the tree? | <i>tree?</i> | (Pica, 1992a) |
| (7) | the door has hinges
like hinges hold it together | <i>hinges? I don't know what that means.</i>
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.

- | (8) | English NS | English L2 learner |
|-----|---|--------------------|
| | do you all have a chance to give
your complaints to school? do | |

you know what feedback is?	<i>feedback is?</i>
do you know feedback?	
you know the word?	<i>no</i>
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	<i>greet?</i> <i>ah greeting</i>	
greet . . . hi 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
and tree with stick
yes | English NS
<i>you mean the trees have branches?</i>
(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
<i>big?</i> | English L2 Learner
this country like <i>bik</i>
yeah (Pica, 1993, p. 440; 1994, p. 514) |
| (12) | <i>to draw?</i>
(Pica, Holliday, Lewis & Morgenthaler, 1989, p. 89; Pica, 1994, p. 514) | I be easy to do on a piece of paper but
I didn't know how drew so we are very
confused
yeah |

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
<i>is what?</i> | English L2 Learner
and left tree is a [flo:wer]
[flo:wer] |
|------|-------------------------------|---|

<i>a what?</i>	a [flo:wer] [o]
<i>yeah get the book</i>	[flow er]
oh a flaUer	flaUer oh pronunciation is very difficult
	flaUer
flaU:	<i>eh? flower</i>
um <i>what's {}?</i>	
[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	<i>what? discuss? discusson?</i>
hmmn we don't have xxx	<i>we don't have to what?</i>
the last discussion activity	(Pica, 1992a)

- | | |
|-----------------------|--|
| (15) English NS | English L2 Learner |
| <i>you have what?</i> | around the house we have glass
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 | <i>free?</i> |
| because there is nothing they | uhuh |
| don't tell the cost | |
| 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 | |
| <i>on the front?</i> | yeah oh doors | |
| <i>in the front of the door?</i> | yeah | |
| <i>there is a small step. yes?</i> | 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 *bub?* 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 |
| <i>the dog is at the right hand of the girl?</i> | dog is um right hand of 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 | <i>black?</i> |
| dark | dark yeah hmnn |
| two stone steps | <i>yeah steps is a entrance?</i> |
| 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?
triangles?
triangle
which position? vertical | | |
| light blue color
triangle
and what else do you want to know? | is on the left? normal position? | | |
| is the normal position up on the left on bottom . . . of the board | <i>left is in- in the middle... in the top? in the middle down left at the bottom? bottom or top? up or down? where is it please?</i> | | |
| no at the bottom | top top (Pica, 1993, p. 456) | | |
| top | | | |
| (22) Learner 1 | Learner 2 | Learner 3 | Learner 4 |
| the stem is yellow and it has two <i>two leaves?</i> one dark green the other blue and it is on the top | uhuh | | |
| right side mmm position? vertical corner? <i>corner?</i> ahha normal position the other | <i>normal vertical?</i> | | |

one is I don't
 know like uh this
 how you call this
square? square? just off the corner? *squair?* 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 partici-

pants. 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融認されず、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.

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」(ネウストブニー, 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・ネウストブニー, 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（ネウストブニー、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、モナシユ大学のオナーズ・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ヶ月
FS2	女	-	3年	9ヶ月
FS3	女	-	3年	10ヶ月
FS4	女	5年	3年	6ヶ月
FS5	男	-	4年	なし
FS6	女	5年	3年	2週間
FS7	女	-	3年	9ヶ月
FS8	女	2年	3年	11ヶ月
FS9	女	-	3年	6ヶ月

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、教室外でもネイティブ・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

タイプI: 1回目と3回目の使用がほぼ同じ(2種類)



- ⇒ ・日本人や日本語に堪能な人と協力する
・他の人々の考え方や感情を知る

タイプII: 1回目比べて3回目の使用が増加(1種類)



- ⇒ ・学習者同士が協力する

タイプIII: 1回目比べて3回目の使用が減少(3種類)



- ⇒ ・明確化や確認を求める



- ⇒ ・文化を理解する力を高める



- ⇒ ・訂正してもらう

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。

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イティブ・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)

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	3	3	5	4	3	4	4	2	4	3.56
2回	4	2	2	4	2	2	3	3	3	2.78
3回	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（表現や発音の違い）を起こす場合、ホスト・ファミリーは、学習者の中間習語に慣れ、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（場のネットワークング）（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。

帰国後の維持

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、日本人は英語を使ったがるので、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ヶ月	①1週間 ③3ヶ月
FS2	6ヶ月	-
FS3	6ヶ月	-
FS4	①2ヶ月 ②2ヶ月	③2ヶ月
FS5	①3ヶ月 ②3ヶ月	-
FS6	①3週間 ②2ヶ月 ③3ヶ月	-
FS7	①2ヶ月 ②4ヶ月	-
FS8	6ヶ月	-
FS9	①2ヶ月 ②4ヶ月	-

(①②③: 移り住んだ順番を示す)

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（兼日協会など）の
アクティビティに参加

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) ホームステイ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、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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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:				

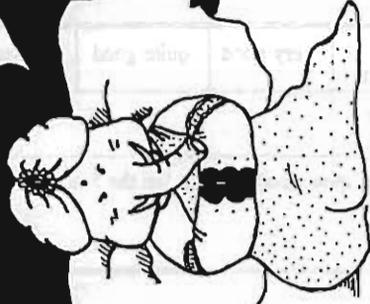
4. How to Cope with a Coming Event

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

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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、怒りを感じるであろう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 re-

sponse. 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 <i>hell</i> 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)	2 (1, 1)	0	1 (1, 1)
"I can't believe this!"			
use sarcasm: "We missed a <i>nice</i> birthday."			
" <i>You</i> 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"	3 (3, 0)	0	3 (3, 0)
curse back: "Hell!" "Fuck you!"			
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]

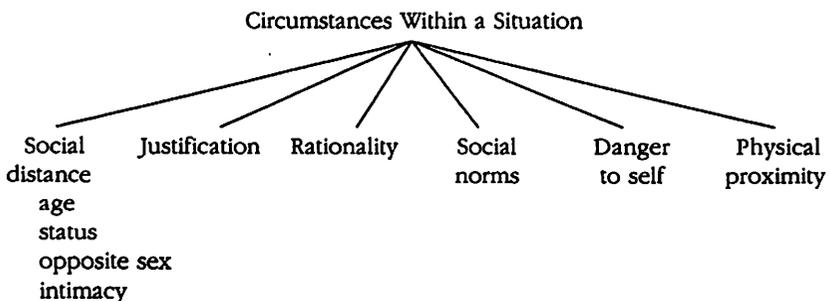
Reactions	NS (M, F)	NNS (M, F)	Total (M, F)
have negative feelings	5 (2, 3)	6 (2, 4)	11 (4, 7)
feel upset/angry	2 (1, 1)	2 (1, 1)	4 (2, 2)
feel frustrated	0	1 (0, 1)	1 (0, 1)
feel irritated	1 (0, 1)	0	1 (0, 1)
feel uncomfortable/bad	0	3 (0, 3)	3 (0, 3)
feel disturbed	1 (1, 0)	0	1 (1, 0)
feel sad	0	1 (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

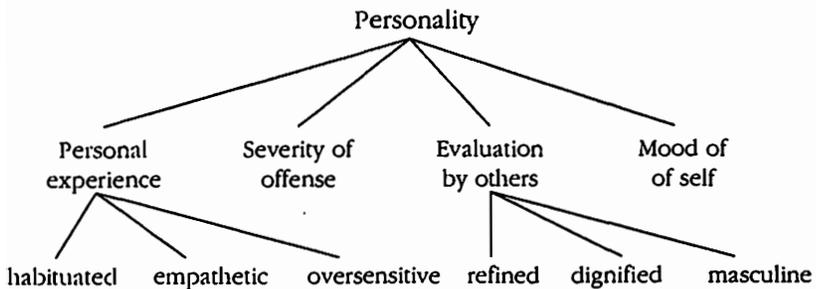
Figure 1: Factors Common to All Situations



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.

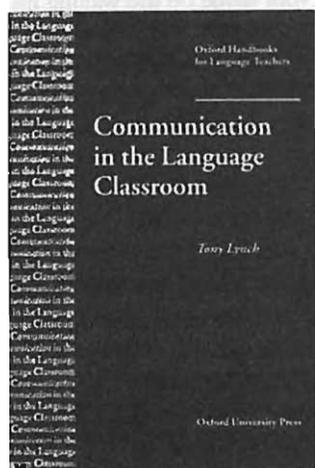
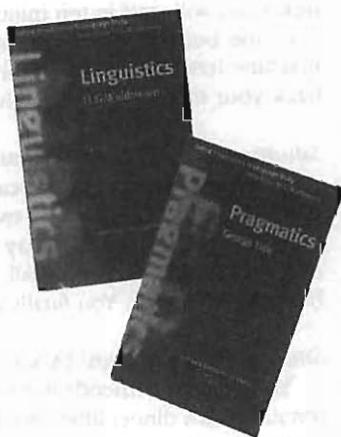
Situation 5: Bus (Anger toward the mistreatment of a stranger)

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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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・ライティングのチ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。チ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チャートと、一学期のチュートリアルに対する学生の意見、また理想的なチ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、コミュニケーション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、チ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。

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 *writing* but to student *writers*" (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 discus-

sions between the authors revealed significant differences in their concept of the goal of tutorials, as well as their approach. This led 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 5 questions	0	3
speak slowly/simplely/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 aggressive in tutorial. For example we should speak and question if we use a wrong structure or

word.”

B15: “Student’s need concentration 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 to 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' flow-charts, 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 tutorials 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 theses and circle key words in theses and topic sentences. Ss must write a minimum of two content or organization-related questions to ask T. T skims essay for theses, 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.

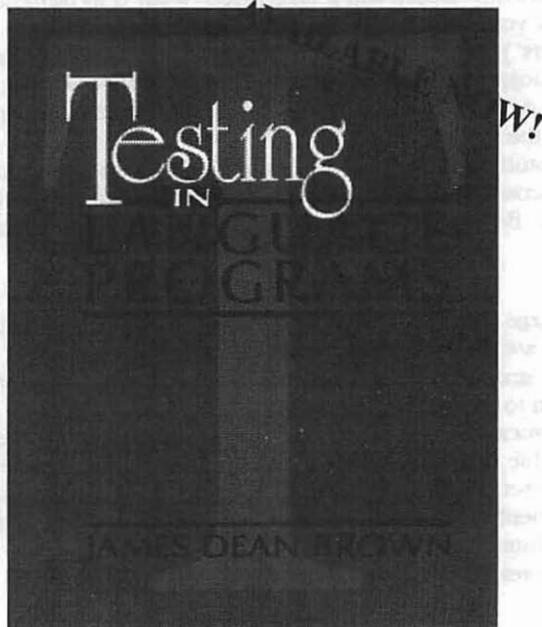
During tutorials

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.

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Perspectives

Teaching Suprasegmentals to Japanese Learners of English Through Electronic Visual Feedback

Janet Anderson-Hsieh

Iowa State University

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, Cessar, & 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

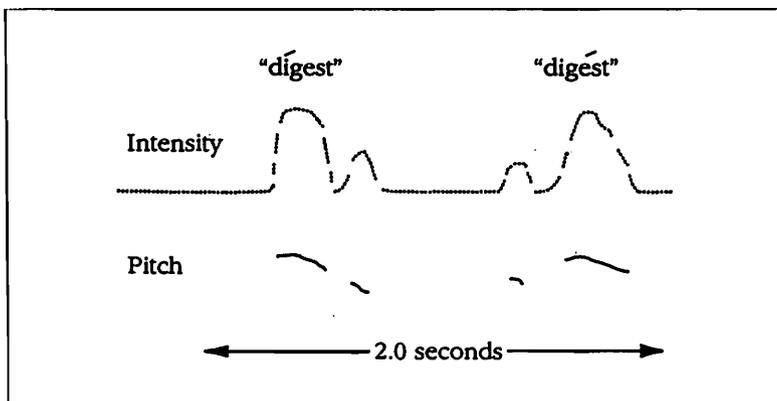
When correcting for stress problems at the word level, the teacher can first work with pairs of words which are identical except for their stress patterns. Such pairs can be found in noun and verb forms such as those in the following list:

<i>Noun</i>	<i>Verb</i>
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.



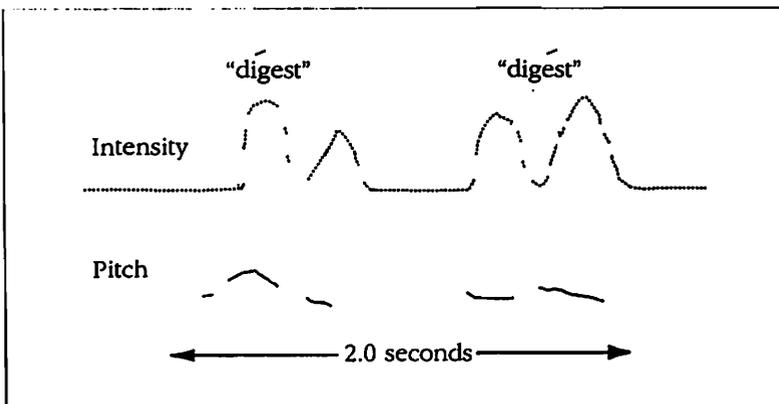
2.0 seconds. When comparing the same syllable in stressed and unstressed position, it can be seen that the syllable in the stressed position is more intense, longer in duration, and higher in pitch than in the unstressed position. This is consistent with what was described in the discussion of English 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.

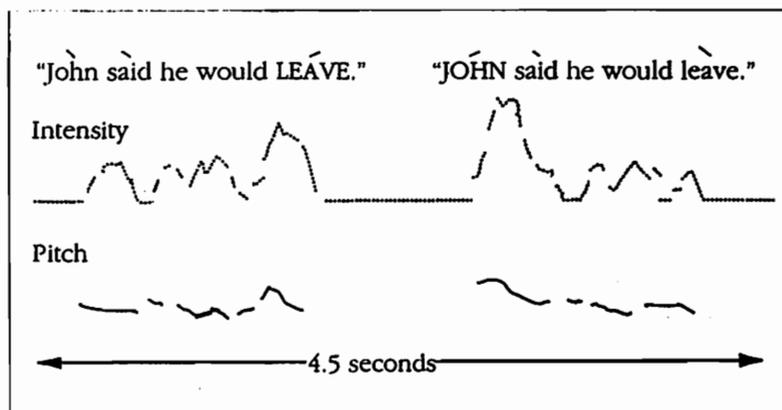
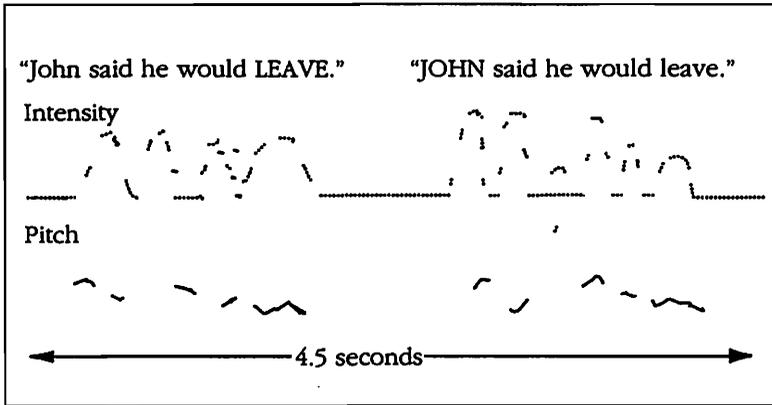


Figure 4.



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 ex-

cerpts 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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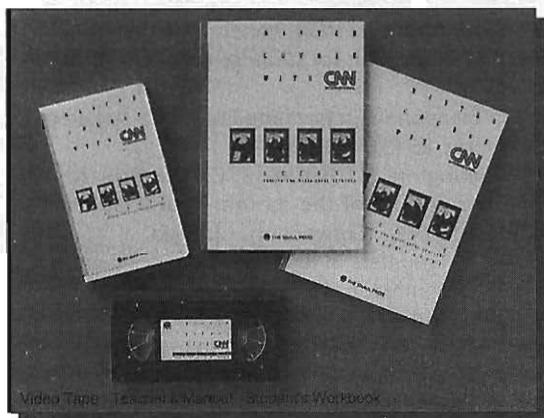
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Teaching Sociolinguistic Knowledge in Japanese High Schools

Kiwamu Izumi

Kiryu Girl's High School

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、自分自身が十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' sociolinguistic 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 *Monbusbo'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 (*Monbusbo*, 1989, p. 32)¹. Following this objective, the guidelines (*Monbusbo*, 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. Gould, 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 students³ were ran-

domly 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 *Monbusbo* (1989). However, the content is defined ambiguously in the *Monbusbo'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 a 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 Responses 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 questionnaire 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 to 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 *Monbusbo*, 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 *Monbusbo*, 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 *Monbusbo*. 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.

Reviewed by

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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 not 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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Critical Language Awareness. Norman Fairclough (Ed.). London: Longman, 1992. 343 pp.

Reviewed by

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Norman 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.

1Reviewed by

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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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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 coun-

tries 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 *obiya*, *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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Tsukuba University

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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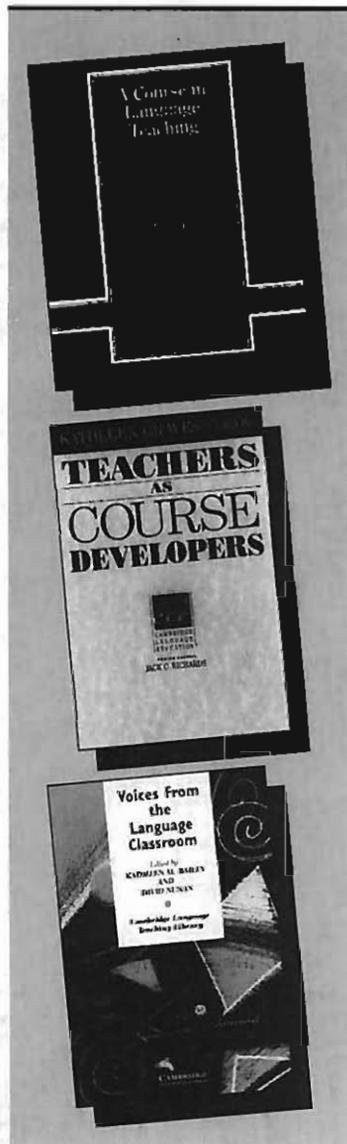
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