

ISSN 0287-2420 ¥950



全国語  
学教育学会  
JALT  
JOURNAL

November 1998

Volume 20 • No. 2

Japan Association for Language Teaching

**Inside this issue:**

- EFL readability • Error correction
- LANs in EFL writing classes • Kanji education
- Product-driven writing projects
- Intercultural communication

# **Call for Papers**

## **JALT98 Conference Proceedings**

### **Focus on the Classroom: Interpretations**

*(expected publication date: July/August 1999)*

Non-commercial presenters who present at JALT98 are invited to submit an article derived from their presentation(s) for possible publication in the *JALT98 Conference Proceedings*. Presenters may submit one article individually, and/or one co-authored article.

Interested contributors should consult the complete JALT98 Conference Proceedings Call for Papers before writing their articles.

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The editors can neither consider papers based on canceled presentations, nor accept articles submitted after the submission deadline of January 20, 1999.

The editors will select a variety of content areas/ articles to create a balance in the Proceedings. Because of the time involved in getting the Proceedings out prior to JALT99, the editors will not be able to suggest revisions: Article(s) must be submitted in a finalized form.

# JALT Journal

Volume 20, No. 2  
November, 1998

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# Japan Association for Language Teaching

The Japan Association for Language Teaching (JALT) is a professional organization dedicated to the improvement of language teaching and learning in Japan. It provides a forum for the exchange of new ideas and techniques and a means of keeping informed about new developments in the rapidly changing field of second and foreign language education. Established in 1976, JALT serves an international membership of more than 4,000, and there are 37 JALT chapters and two affiliates throughout Japan. JALT is the Japan affiliate of International TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages) and is a branch of IATEFL (International Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language).

JALT publishes *JALT Journal*, a semi-annual research journal, *The Language Teacher*, a monthly magazine containing articles, teaching activities, reviews and announcements about professional concerns, *JALT Applied Materials*, a monograph series, and *JALT International Conference Proceedings*.

The JALT International Conference on Language Teaching and Learning and Educational Materials Exposition attracts some 2,000 participants annually. Local meetings are held by each JALT chapter and JALT's 15 National Special Interest Groups (N-SIGs) provide information on specific concerns. JALT also sponsors special events such as workshops and conferences on specific themes, and awards annual grants for research projects related to language teaching and learning.

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

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# In This Issue

## Articles

This issue contains four main articles. In the first, James Dean Brown reviews the concept of readability and its relationship to the cloze procedure. Common readability indices are presented and discussed, and a preliminary method for calculating the readability of EFL texts is introduced. Shinichiro Yokomizo's Japanese-language article uses the five stages of Community Language Learning as a basis for determining the types of errors which should be corrected and for selecting the appropriate method of correction. George Braine and Miho Yorozu present a summary of research on the effectiveness of Local Area Network computers (LANs) in EFL writing classes in Asia compared with traditional forms of instruction. They conclude that LANs may not be superior to conventional classrooms for promoting writing proficiency. Mary Flaherty and Mary Sisk Noguchi measure the effectiveness of two methods of kanji instruction using adult L2 learners in JSL and JFL settings. Although the Component Analysis method promoted significantly higher retention in both settings, the authors suggest that an eclectic approach which combines elements of both methods might be most effective.

## Point to Point

In the first of the two sets of exchanges in this section, two readers react to "EFL's Othering of Japan" (Vol. 20, No.1, 1998, pp. 49-82). Paul Stapleton and James J. Scott voice their concerns and author Bernard Susser replies. Next, Charles Jannuzi comments on "Yakudoku EFL Instruction in Two Japanese High School Classrooms" (Vol. 20, No. 1, 1998, pp. 6-32), and author Greta Gorsuch responds.

## Perspectives

A product-oriented approach to teaching writing is described by Christine Pearson Casanave, who discusses key procedural and conceptual ideas and identifies a major role for visualization during the writing process. Anne M. Shibata examines the literature on intercultural communication, identifying the transformative function of classroom activities.

## Reviews

This issue presents reviews by Thomas Asada-Grant, Mary Baken, William Corr, Ron Grove, Lewis E. Haymes, Guy Modica, and Paul Nation. Topics covered include second language learning theory, writing theory and pedagogy, grammatical and lexical variation, intonation, an overview of semantics, and collected essays on professional development. One review addresses the work of Steven Pinker on cognition.

## From the Editors

A change of mastheads presents many challenges and the new editorial staff of *JALT Journal* will do its best to follow the tradition of excellence established by the previous editors as we take the *Journal* into the twenty-first century. We especially thank outgoing editor Tamara Swenson for her advice and encouragement during the transition period.

With this issue, Sandra Fotos takes over as editor and Nicholas O. Jungheim becomes associate editor in addition to his work as webmaster for *JALT Journal's* Internet site. We welcome the following new members to the Editorial Advisory Board: Greta Gorsuch, Eli Hinkel, Guy Modica and Peter Robinson. We deeply thank departing Board members Ilona Leki, David Nunan, Thomas Robb, and Deryn Verity for their years of service to the language teaching community represented by the *Journal*.

### Conference News

The JALT 24th Annual International Conference on Language Teaching/Learning and Educational Materials Exposition, "Focus on the Classroom: Interpretations" is scheduled for November 20-23 at Sonic City, Omiya, Saitama-ken. Contact the JALT Central Office for information.

### Corrections

Book review author Steve McCarty's name was incorrectly given in Vol. 19 (1). We apologize for any inconvenience this may have caused. Author Dale Griffiee notes that reliability information was missing from his article on questionnaire validation in Vol.19 (2) and adds the following sentence to the second paragraph on p. 193:

The Confidence in Speaking English V.3 was administered in December, 1996 to an intact class of 21 students, with the resulting alpha reliability of .94.

There was a typographical error in the title of Bernard Susser's article in Vol. 20 (1), on p. 49. The corrected title should read: "EFL's Othering of Japan."

Portions of two sentences were omitted from the book review by William Bradley, Vol. 20 (1), on p. 144. The corrected sentences should read:

He argues for the practices(s) of literacy being defined singularly with regard to features of communication within particular communities in changing social realities. In *Social Literacies*, a collection of papers mostly written and originally published between 1987 and 1990, Street covers a lot of the same territory as his earlier work.



## **The Pan Asian Series of Conferences**

Since 1994, increased regional cooperation between language associations has led to a highly coordinated program of collaborative research, publications and conferences. JALT is proud to take part in this project whose first conference received the patronage of Her Right Honorable Princess Galyani Vadhana Krom Luang Naradhiwas Rajanagarindra of Thailand, and has encouraged teachers throughout Asia to join forces to solve these and other burning questions:

- (1) How do students learn best in Asia?
- (2) What is the usefulness and necessity of an Asian model?
- (3) Are we moving toward a common learning methodology in Asia?

### **PAC Sponsors and PAConference Dates:**

PAC1 Thailand TESOL, Ambassador Hotel in Bangkok, January 5 -7, 1997

PAC2 Korea TESOL, Olympic Park Hotel in Seoul, October 1-3, 1999

PAC3 Japan JALT, Convention Center, Kitakyushu, November 22-25, 2001

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To develop momentum in the search for a language teaching model for Asia, PAC program leaders observed annual conferences in 15 other countries, and advanced the following themes to stimulate individual research efforts.

PAC1 New Perspectives on Teaching and Learning English in Asia

PAC2 Teaching English: Asian Contexts and Cultures

PAC3 JALT2001: A Language Teaching Odyssey

### **PAC Research:**

Lists of research partners are growing in number. Over 200 presentations, and 50 research articles have been published. Between PAConferences, researchers share their work in progress at TESOL, IATEFL, and JALT.

### **PAC Publications:**

*ThaiTESOL Bulletin*, The Region Column in *TLT* and *The English Connection* by KoreaTESOL provide space for PAC articles.

PAC2 Web Page <<http://www2.gol.com/users/pnd/PAC/PACmain/PAC2.html>>

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# Articles

## An EFL Readability Index

**James Dean Brown**

*University of Hawai'i*

This study explores readability and its relationship to the cloze passage performance of EFL students. Fifty reading passages were made into 30-item cloze passages by deleting every 12th word. Each passage was then analyzed for two sets of independent variables chosen to investigate how well they predict EFL Difficulty. The first set was made up of various first language readability indices and the second set was made up of quantifiable linguistic characteristics of the passages, such as the percent of function words, number of syllables per sentence and so forth. Correlational, factor, and multiple-regression analyses indicated that the first language readability indices were only weakly related to EFL Difficulty. However, the analysis of linguistic characteristics indicated clear groupings among the variables. In addition, when the number of syllables per sentence, the average frequency of lexical items elsewhere in the passage, the percent of words with seven or more letters, and the percent of function words were combined, they were highly related to EFL Difficulty. These results are discussed in terms of their implications for the development of an EFL readability index.

本論では、日本人英語学習者の英文難易度とクローズテスト結果との関係について考察する。50の英文をランダムに選び出し、それぞれ12語毎に30箇所の空所を設けたクローズテストを50個作成し、18校の日本人大学生英語学習者2,298名を被験者として、各学生にランダムに選び出したクローズテストを1つずつ与えた。次に、各クローズテストの平均得点をテストに使用した英文の難易度と考え、これを従属変数とし、次の2種類を独立変数として、その関係を分析した。1. 母語読者にとってのリーダビリティ推定値(Flesch, Flesch-Kincaid, Fry, Gunning, Fog, and modified Gunning-Fog) 2. 英文上の計量可能な情報(機能語の占める割合、1文あたりの音節数、1文節あたりの単語数、単語の出現頻度など)との相関分析、因子分析、重回帰分析の結果、1の「母語読者にとってのリーダビリティ推定値」は、クローズテストの結果によって示された「英文難易度」とは弱い関係しか認められなかったが、2の「英文上の計量可能な情報」については、数種類の変数の組み合わせが興味深い結果を示した。特に、a) 1文あたりの音節数、b) 単語の平均出現頻度、c) 7文字以上の単語の占める割合、d) 機能語の占める割合、の4つの計量可能情報と「英文難易度」との間には、強い関係があることが確認された。これらの結果に基づき、本論では、外国語としての英文難易度推定方法の研究方向について考察する。

The cloze procedure first appeared in the literature when Taylor (1953) investigated its value as a device for estimating the readability of materials used in public education. Research has also investigated the effectiveness of the cloze procedure as a measure of reading ability for native speakers of English, and, in the 1970s, a number of studies also explored the effectiveness of cloze as a measure of overall ESL/EFL proficiency (for overviews on cloze research, see Alderson, 1978; Oller, 1979). After brief discussion of these developments, this paper will review efforts that have gone on in both the first and second language readability literatures.

### Cloze and Readability

In the first language literature, numerous studies indicate that cloze scores are moderately to highly correlated with various standardized reading comprehension tests (Bormuth, 1965, 1967; Crawford, 1970; Gallant, 1965; Ransom, 1968, Ruddell; 1964; Weaver & Kingston, 1963) with correlation coefficients ranging from .25 to .95 (see Brown, 1978 for a more detailed summary). These results indicate that cloze scores can provide reasonable estimates of reading comprehension ability for native speakers of English, at least as measured by standardized reading comprehension tests. As mentioned, the connection between cloze and readability was an issue when the cloze procedure was first introduced by Taylor (1953). Other studies including Taylor (1957), Bormuth (1966, 1968), Miller and Coleman (1967), Bickley, Ellington, & Bickley (1970), Moyle (1970), and Ransom (1968) all indicated that cloze was to some degree related to readability. Furthermore, in the second language literature, even more numerous studies indicate that cloze, if carefully developed, can be a sound measure of overall English language proficiency (Alderson, 1979, 1980; Bachman, 1985; Brown, 1980, 1984, 1988b; Conrad, 1970; Darnell, 1970; Hinofotis, 1980; Irvine, Atai & Oller, 1974; Mullen, 1979; Oller, 1972a & b; Oller & Inal, 1971; Revard, 1990; Stubbs & Tucker, 1974) with coefficients ranging from .43 to .91.

However, other researchers have criticized the use of cloze procedures, especially as a criterion-measure in readability studies. As Carrell (1987, p. 25) pointed out:

... cloze procedure can be, and often is, misused as a criterion. The most common abuse is to use only one of the  $n$  forms of a fixed-ratio, every  $n$ th deletion format, to collect criterion data. Studies have shown that all  $n$  forms of and every  $n$ th fixed-ratio deletion cloze are seldom equal in difficulty.

Carrell's article does not make clear which studies have shown that different  $n$ th word deletion patterns seldom produce equal difficulties. Indeed, based on sampling theory, it would be reasonable to expect variations in difficulty such that the difficulties would only rarely be the same. The issue is not if they will differ but rather the degree to which they will differ beyond expectations within statistical sampling theory—an issue that, to my knowledge, has not been addressed in the literature.

Another critique, Carver (1977-1978, p. 31), felt that cloze was not a good criterion measure for readability indices because it depended on the ability level of the particular group of students involved. As he put it:

Superficially, it may appear that cloze would provide an acceptable estimate of material difficulty level (Ld). Yet the cloze measure has an inherent disadvantage which precludes its being used as [a] standard for measuring language-knowledge difficulty of the material (Ld). Cloze is a rubber yardstick because the cloze difficulty estimate depends both upon the ability level of the particular group which was administered the cloze test, as well as the difficulty level of the material.

Carver's view condemns the value of cloze to pinpoint actual grade level difficulty of passages. However, it ignores the benefits to be derived from basing readability estimates on human performance and, in fact, does not condemn the usefulness of cloze to estimate the relative difficulty of passages.

Kintsch and Vipond (1979, p. 337) offer further criticism:

The cloze procedure . . . is probably actually misleading. It measures the statistical redundancy of a text, which is a far cry from its comprehensibility. By that score, a high-order statistical approximation of English that nevertheless constitutes incomprehensible gibberish would be preferred to a well-organized text with less predictable local patterns.

In fact, if a cloze passage were based on highly redundant "incomprehensible gibberish," as suggested by Kintsch and Vipond, it would be reasonable to expect students to score relatively poorly on it. Cziko (1978) provided evidence of this when he showed that, in French, students performed significantly better on a normal cloze passage than they did on one that had the sentences scrambled. Furthermore, Kintsch and Vipond provide no support for their contention that the cloze procedure only measures statistical redundancy. Indeed, as noted above, research indicates that cloze assesses general reading comprehension for native speakers and overall English language proficiency for ESL/EFL students. However, little indication exists in the literature on cloze that researchers have any more specific ideas on what cloze measures—redundancy or otherwise. The point is that, even if one accepts the notion that cloze principally assesses the students' abilities to deal with

redundancy, it can be argued (as I have elsewhere, see Brown, 1986) on the basis of the work of Goodman (1967) and Smith (1975, 1978) that the use of redundancy and prediction in taking a cloze test may be very similar to what goes on in the reading process.

## Readability Indices

### *First language readability*

Literally hundreds of readability indices have been created over the years. For overviews of the first language readability literature see Chall (1958), Klare (1963, 1984), or Zakaluk and Samuels (1988). For a review of the many uses to which readability indices have been put, see Fry (1987).

An entire literature discusses the effectiveness of these first language readability indices. However, one study (Brown, Chen, & Wang, 1984) was particularly influential in making me think that such readability indices might work. That study showed a strong degree of relationship between the Fry readability estimates and grade levels as determined by native-speaker performance. In that study, the Fry scale for SRA kit cards was compared with the grade levels previously established by the author of the kits (based on the performance of North American elementary school children). Table 1 shows the results of this comparison.

Table 1 gives the results for the 3A and 4A SRA kits, as labeled, to the left. The grade levels for each color within the kits are given in the second column. Each color designates the cards in one grade (or half grade) level as established by the performance of native-speaker students on those cards. Each color contains 12 to 14 cards. The statistics for the Fry scale readability estimates for the cards in each color are given in the four columns to the right. The mean Fry index for each color/grade level is fairly close to the actual grade level of the cards as established by student performance. Clearly, a strong relationship can be seen between the mean grade levels as estimated using the Fry scale and the grade levels as established on the basis of students' performances.

However, the Fry scale estimates shown in Table 1 are averages across 12 to 14 cards in each color and considerable variation exists in Fry readability indices among the cards within any given color/grade level as indicated by the standard deviation (SD), as well as by the low and high statistics given to the right of the table. Nonetheless, these results clearly indicate that an index like the Fry scale does have a striking relationship with the difficulty level of the materials for native speakers of English.

The first language readability indices of focus in this study are the Flesch reading ease formula (Flesch, 1948), the Flesch-Kincaid readabil-

Table 1: The Accuracy of First Language Readability Estimates Using the Fry Scale (Adapted From Brown, Chen, & Wang, 1984)

SRA Kit	Passage Grades Established By Student Performance	Fry Scale Estimate		
		Mean	SD	Low - High
3A	3.5	3.22	1.20	2 - 6
	4.0	4.56	1.42	3 - 6
	4.5	5.56	0.88	4 - 7
	5.0	6.44	0.73	5 - 7
	6.0	7.11	0.93	6 - 8
	7.0	8.22	2.17	6 - 13
	8.0	8.67	1.50	6 - 10
	9.0	9.56	1.67	6 - 12
	10.0	10.22	1.48	7 - 12
	11.0	10.11	2.15	6 - 12
4A	8.0	8.56	1.13	6 - 10
	9.0	9.44	0.88	8 - 10
	10.0	10.44	1.74	9 - 14
	11.0	11.11	1.83	7 - 13
	12.0	12.56	1.51	11 - 16
	13.0	13.11	3.30	9 - 17
	14.0	13.25	1.98	9 - 15

ity index (as described in Klare, 1984), the Fry readability index (see Fry, 1985), as well as the Gunning index, the Fog count, and a modified version of the Gunning-Fog readability index (see Larson, 1987).

### *Second language readability*

In contrast to the vast amount of work that has been done on first language readability indices, very little has been done with regard to readability indices specifically designed for second language students. (For an excellent overview of readability issues directly related to ESL/EFL teaching, see Carrell, 1987.)

I was able to find only a few studies wherein readability was investigated in languages other than English. A readability formula was developed for Vietnamese (Nguyen & Henkin, 1982), and the Fry formula was applied to Spanish texts (Gilliam, Peña, & Mountain, 1980). In addition, Klare (1963, pp. 98-99, 272-274) surveyed nine other early studies of readability indices for French, German, Japanese, and Spanish.

In the ESL field, Haskell (1973) found that cloze successfully differentiated passages regardless of variations in passage length, scoring method deletion rate, etc. Hamsik (1984) studied the relationships between four different readability indices and student performance on cloze tests developed from the passages found in the Miller-Coleman Readability Scale (Miller & Coleman, 1967) and it should be noted that Miller and Coleman had themselves ranked the passages on the basis of the cloze scores of 479 American college students. Hamsik found that the readability formulas were appropriate for measuring ESL readability levels with rank order correlation coefficients ranging from .78 to .82 between the readability estimates and students' cloze performances.

However, on the whole, very little work has been done to establish any indices specifically tailored to second language learners' needs. Is such an index desirable? It seems to me that many situations arise in which second language materials developers do need to sequence reading and other materials according to readability difficulty level just like first language materials developers do. Often when that need has come up in my work, like other ESL/EFL specialists, I have fallen back on the first language readability indices and made the assumption that they would work equally well in my setting because the texts that I was judging for readability were first language texts.

In reading Carrell (1987), however, I began to realize that the first language readability indices might not be appropriate for ESL/EFL settings. As she rightly pointed out, a number of factors are left out of the first language indices that might be crucial to judging the readability of texts for second language learners. For one thing, reader-based variables are totally ignored by such first language formulas. Consequently, differences in readability that might arise from differences in learners' characteristics (in terms of language differences, education, age, or learning style, for instance) are not taken into account.

Even in considering text-based factors alone, Carrell (1987) pointed out that first language indices typically include no measures of syntactic complexity, such as the T-unit (Hunt, 1965), rhetorical organization, or "propositional density" (after Kintsch & Keenan, 1973). It occurred to me that additional factors might usefully be included in a second language readability index. From a lexical standpoint, several factors have seldom been considered in the first language readability indices; perhaps the type, function, and frequency of the words in a passage would be important factors in a second language index. For example, the type of vocabulary (e.g., the proportion of words of Latin origin as opposed to Germanic origin) might be an important consideration for ESL/EFL readers, particularly for students from Germanic or Latin language back-

grounds or even for students from other language groups. The frequency of the vocabulary items within the passage itself (i.e., the redundancy), or the frequency of the vocabulary items in the language might also be important factors in second language readability. What about the type of passage? For instance, could important differences exist in the readability of straight prose passages in contrast to dialogs, or other types of texts? What about extra-textual factors? Do accompanying illustrations, diagrams, and charts make a passage more readable for second language students? What about language specific factors like the number of words in the language of the students that are loan words from English?

### Purpose of this Study

These and many other questions ultimately lead to the study that is being reported here. To answer such questions, I decided to focus on two central issues. One purpose was to investigate the relationship between first language readability estimates and actual passage difficulties as established by EFL learners. In other words, I wanted to find out whether those indices were adequate for distinguishing EFL readability levels. A second purpose was to explore a wide range of textual and extra-textual characteristics which might help to predict the relative difficulty that EFL students have with different passages. In the process, every effort was made to keep an open mind so that the data would guide me into discovering any existing patterns rather than the other way around. Nevertheless, the following exploratory, open-ended research questions were posed at the outset of this study:

1. Are randomly selected cloze tests reliable and valid tools for gathering data on the linguistic text variables that may be related to passage difficulty?
2. To what degree are traditional first language readability indices related to the average cloze scores for the same passages (when they are administered to EFL students)?
3. What combination of linguistic text variables best predicts passage difficulty for EFL students?
4. How can this combination of linguistic text variables be used as an EFL Difficulty Estimate?
5. How does the EFL Difficulty Estimate compare to existing first language indices?

Since this research was exploratory in nature, the alpha level for all statistical decisions was set at a conservative  $< .01$ .

## Method

### *Participants*

This study focused on the performance of 2,298 Japanese university students who were all native speakers of Japanese. The participants, selected as intact EFL classes from 18 different colleges and universities across Japan, ranged in age from 18 to 24 and included 880 females and 1,418 males. A total of fifty cloze procedures were administered such that all students were randomly assigned across all testing sessions to their particular cloze passages. This was done so that the results of the different groups could reasonably be assumed to be equivalent across the fifty cloze procedures. An average of 45.96 students took each cloze, with a range of 42 to 50.

One problem with this study is that it focuses entirely on the performance of university students in Japan. Thus the results can only be generalized to Japanese university students. However, the fact that only one nationality was used can also be considered a strength of the study. In many studies in North America and other ESL settings, students with a variety of language backgrounds are mixed together. The results of such studies are difficult to interpret, at best, and cannot reasonably be generalized beyond the single institution in which the data were gathered. In addition, while the participants in this study are not a random sample of all Japanese university students, the sample is at least fairly large and homogeneous with regard to the nationality, language background, and educational level of the students.

### *Materials*

The cloze procedures used here were based on texts which had been randomly selected from fifty randomly chosen books in the adult reading section of the Leon County Public Library in Tallahassee, Florida. A page was randomly chosen from each book and the actual passages were isolated by backing up to a logical starting point for a 400 to 450 word passage. Thus the passages were not 100 percent arbitrary. They were selected so that they would form sensible semantic units. Some passages were somewhat longer than 450 words because the stopping point was also determined by logical stopping points. In fact, the fifty passages ranged in length from 366 to 478 words with an average of 412.1 words per passage. The result was a set of fifty passages selected such that they can be assumed to represent the passages that would be encountered in the books found in a U.S. public library.

Once a passage was selected, every 12th word was deleted (for a total of thirty blanks) in order to create cloze procedures. The 12th word

deletion pattern was used instead of the more traditional 7th word deletion pattern to make the items far enough apart so that performance on one item would minimally affect performance on other items. Generally, one sentence was left intact at the beginning of each passage and one or more sentences were unmodified at the end of each passage. Blanks were placed at the top of each passage for the student's name, sex, age, native language, and country of passport. Directions explained what the students must do to fill in the blanks and how the blanks would be scored. The net result was a set of fifty cloze procedures (see the Appendix for an example of the directions and 12 cloze test items taken from Test A in the pilot study reported in Brown, 1989).

The reliability estimates for the cloze tests used in this study indicate that most of the cloze tests were reasonably reliable, with values in the .70 to .80 range. However, the reliability estimates ranged considerably from one exceptionally low one of .172 to a high of .869 (for more details, see Brown, 1992 or 1993). The average of all fifty reliability estimates (using the Fisher  $z$  transformation) was .70. These reliability estimates are important in that the results of the study can be no more reliable than the measures upon which they are based.

A second very short ten-item cloze procedure was also created on the basis of the pretesting reported in Brown (1989). This cloze was modified using procedures similar to those described in Brown (1988b) so that only blanks that had proven very effective from an item analysis point of view were deleted. The purpose of this short cloze was to provide a common measure for making comparisons across the fifty groups of students.

### *The Importance of Randomization*

Before moving to a description of the procedures used in this study, I would like to briefly discuss the importance of the notion of randomization. The passages were selected randomly from a public library and the blanks were selected on a semi-random basis (every 12th word). Based on sampling theory, the theoretical justification for this study depends on the notion that the fifty 30-item cloze procedures constitute a collection of fifty texts which are representative of all of the texts in the Leon County Public Library. The representativeness of these passages appears to be supported by study of the lexical frequencies. The lexical frequencies of the fifty passages were counted and compared to the frequencies published for the "Brown" corpus (Kucera & Francis, 1967; Francis & Kucera, 1982) and after being logarithmically transformed (for an explanation of the appropriateness of this transformation, see Carroll, 1967) were found to correlate at .93. Thus based on sampling theory and comparison of the lexical fre-

quencies, I feel reasonably safe in assuming that these passages and blanks are representative samples of the English language, at least the English language written in the books found in a U.S. public library.

In addition, the fifty groups of students were randomly assigned to the cloze passages. As such, it can be assumed that the groups were about equal in overall proficiency. Additional support for this assumption is found in Brown (1993), where one-way analysis of variance results for a single 10-item cloze test that was administered across all fifty of these groups showed an F ratio that was very close to the base value of 1.00 and was not statistically significant ( $F = 1.195$ ;  $df = 49$ , 2248;  $p > .10$ ).

### *Procedures*

The data for this study were gathered with the cooperation of a large number of Japanese, American, and British EFL teachers at 18 universities in various locations throughout Japan (see Note 1). The cloze procedures were photocopied and randomly distributed such that all students had an equal chance of getting any one of the fifty passages. They were administered by the teachers to their own students. The directions were read aloud and clarified as necessary. A total of 25 minutes was allowed for completing both the thirty-item and ten-item cloze procedures. According to feedback from the teachers, the 25 minute time limit proved sufficient.

The exact-answer scoring method was used throughout this study, which means that only the original word that had occupied the blank was counted as correct. This was justified because the results were not being reported to the students and because research indicates high correlations between exact-answer scoring results and other scoring procedures (Alderson, 1979; Brown, 1980).

### *Analyses*

The analyses in this study were all based on two kinds of variables: a dependent variable and a number of independent variables. The discussion in this section will first cover these two categories of variables, then briefly list the statistical analyses that were used.

#### *Dependent variable*

EFL Difficulty, as a variable, was operationally defined as the mean scores on the cloze tests normalized by converting them to z values (relative to each other) then to percentiles. EFL Difficulty was the *dependent* variable in this study because it was the variable of primary interest in answering questions like the following: "To what degree are the traditional first language readability indices related to EFL Difficulty?"

and "What linguistic variables can best be combined to predict EFL Difficulty?" In other words, EFL Difficulty was the dependent variable because it was measured "to determine what effect, if any, the other types of variables may have on it" (Brown, 1988a, p. 10).

### *Independent variables*

The *independent* variables in this study were chosen because, in one way or another, they were factors which were potentially related to the EFL Difficulty dependent variable and because they were quantifiable in some way or other. In other words, the independent variables were selected because they might statistically explain, at least in part, the varying difficulty levels of the cloze passages in this study. Only ten independent variables have survived to be part of this report; these fall into two subcategories: (a) six first language readability indices and (b) four second language linguistic predictor variables (that is, those four linguistic variables that proved to have meaningful, yet non-redundant relationships with the dependent variable).

The clearest way to explain the *first language readability indices* is to provide the formulas that define them. For instance, the formula for the Flesch reading ease index is as follows:

1. Flesch Reading Ease Formula (Flesch, 1948)

$$= 206.835 - .846 (\text{syllables/words}) - 1.015 (\text{words/sentences})$$

This formula simply means that you must calculate the average number of syllables per word (syllables/words) and the average number of words per sentence (words/sentences). Next, multiply the average number of syllables per word by .846 and subtract the result from 206.835. From that result, subtract 1.015 times the average number of words per sentence. The other readability indices work in similar manner:

2. Flesch-Kincaid Index (as cited in Klare, 1984)

$$= .39 (\text{words/sentences}) + 11.8 (\text{syllables/words}) - 15.59$$

3. Fry Grade Level (Fry, 1977, or 1985)

$$= \text{on the Fry reading graph, the grade value at the point where the coordinates for sentences per 100 words and syllables per 100 words cross}$$

4. Gunning Index (as cited in Carrell, 1987)

$$= .4 (\text{words/sentences} + \% \text{ of words over two syllables})$$

## 5. Fog Count (as cited in Carrell, 1987)

$$= \frac{\left[ \frac{\text{easy words} + 3 (\text{hard words})}{\text{sentences}} - 3 \right]}{2}$$

## 6. Gunning-Fog Index (Larson, 1987)

$$= \text{words/sentences} + 100 \times \left[ \frac{\text{long words/sentences}}{\text{words/sentences}} \right]$$

A large number of second language linguistic predictor variables were also investigated in this study. Some of the simplest counts were the number of characters per word, syllables per word, syllables per sentence, words per sentence, syllables per paragraph, words per paragraph, and sentences per paragraph. Two measures of syntactic complexity were also included: words per T-unit (see Hunt, 1965; Gaies, 1980) and syllables per T-unit. Some lexical frequency variables were also added (as average frequencies): average frequency of the deleted words elsewhere in the cloze blanks, average frequency of the deleted words elsewhere in the passage in which they were found, average frequency of deleted words elsewhere in the 50 passages of this study, and average frequency of the deleted words in the Brown corpus (see Kucera & Francis, 1967; Francis & Kucera, 1982). Other lexical variables were calculated as percents: the percent of long words (seven or more letters), percent of function words, percent of Germanic root words. In addition, several learner-related variables were calculated as percents: percent of loan words to Japanese (based on Miura, 1979), and percent of Japanese Ministry of Education basic 507 words that junior high school students should know. Rhetorical organization was not studied here, but passage type was (i.e., whether the passage was straight prose or included a dialog). Finally, the presence or absence of illustrations (including pictures or diagrams) was an extra-textual variable that was considered.

Many of the variables and readability indices in this study were quantified and calculated using three software programs: *Scandinavian PC Systems* (1988), *Que Software* (1990), and *PC-Style* by Button (1986).

Out of all of the variables examined in this study, only a small subset survived. The surviving variables were selected on the basis of correlation, factor, and regression analyses as being orthogonal and most important in predicting EFL Difficulty. This does not mean that the other variables had no value, but rather that, in comparison to those variables

that survived, they were relatively less important in predicting passage difficulty for Japanese university students. In other words, the relative importance of the above listed variables might have been quite different if the students had been different (i.e., had been older, had been Spanish speakers, etc.).

Of the three types of variables suggested by Carrell (1987), syntactic complexity (using T-units) and learner-related variables did not turn out to be very strongly related to EFL Difficulty in this particular study (as they were operationalized here). However, syllables per sentence and the percent of long words, which are both factors that show up in many of the traditional indices, did prove to be useful predictors of the relative difficulty of the passages for Japanese university students. In addition, two other factors related to the frequency and type of lexis were introduced in this study; these two variables, passage frequency and percent of function words, are not variables associated with traditional readability indices, but they did turn out to be useful in predicting the relative difficulty that students had with the fifty passages involved here.

To be specific, the subset of variables which survived to be included in the ensuing analyses are the following:

1. Syll/Sent            The average number of syllables found in the sentences in each passage.
2. Pass Freq            The average frequency with which the correct answers in the 30 blanks appeared elsewhere in the passage.
3. % Long Words        The percent of words that contained seven or more letters in the passages.
4. % Func Words        The percent of function words among the 30 deleted words in each passage. The remaining words were content words. Function words included articles, prepositions, conjunctions, and auxiliaries. Content words included nouns, pronouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs.

### *Statistical analyses*

The statistical analyses in this study included descriptive statistics for the fifty cloze tests and for the dependent and independent variables just described. At certain points Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients were used to investigate the degree of relationship between various pairs of the variables in this study. Factor analysis techniques, including principal components analysis and Varimax rotation, were used to investigate the degree to which variables were orthogo-

nal (independent of each other). Finally, multiple regression analysis was used to investigate the degree to which combinations of the independent variables listed above could be used to predict the EFL Difficulty dependent variable.

### Results

The descriptive statistics for the fifty sets of cloze passages are given in Table 2, which describes the overall test characteristics for all fifty cloze tests in terms of the mean, standard deviation (SD), minimum score obtained (MIN), maximum score (MAX), the number of participants who took the particular cloze (*N*), and the internal consistency reliability of the test (using the odd-even split-half method adjusted by the Spearman-Brown formula for full test reliability). In addition, the EFL Difficulty levels are reported in the column furthest to the right. Recall that these EFL Difficulty levels are simply the means converted to standardized percentiles (for passages relative to each other).

One salient result which surfaces in Table 2 is that the means of the fifty cloze tests range from 1.020 to 9.918. For reasons that are explained above, the groups can be assumed to be about equal in overall proficiency. Therefore, the variation among the means reported in Table 2 surely indicates considerable variation in the difficulty of the passages rather than differences in proficiency among the groups. Note that, for tests with 30 items each, these means are fairly low. However, such low means are common for cloze tests which have been scored by the exact-answer method.

Notice also the wide range of standard deviations, from a low of 1.247 to a high of 4.435. Such a range of standard deviations suggests considerable variation in the degree to which the students' scores were dispersed around the means on these cloze tests. The minimum (MIN) and maximum (MAX) indicate similar variations with the minimum ranging from 0 to 4 and the maximum ranging from 3 to 21. The number of participants on each cloze passage also ranged from 42 to 50. The reliability of the 50 cloze tests likewise varied considerably. Notice that the lowest internal consistency reliability was .172, while the highest was .869. Finally, the EFL Difficulty levels show the difficulty of each of the passages relative to all other passages in percentile terms with the most difficult having the highest percentiles.

Table 3 focuses on the statistical characteristics of the first language readability indices examined in this study. Notice that, rather than being arranged by passage number as they were in the previous table, the passages are arranged here from the most difficult to the easiest as indicated by the EFL Difficulty in the second column. The remaining

Table 2: Descriptive Statistics for 50 Cloze Passages

Passage	Mean	SD	Min	Max	N	Reliability	EFL Diff.
01	5.229	3.164	0	15	48	0.708	30.15
02	4.208	3.421	0	13	47	0.858	48.40
03	2.021	2.126	0	10	48	0.735	83.40
04	7.543	3.866	2	16	46	0.803	5.59
05	3.979	2.787	0	13	47	0.734	52.39
06	5.106	3.230	0	14	47	0.803	32.28
07	6.140	3.407	0	16	43	0.825	17.36
08	3.156	2.270	0	8	45	0.457	67.00
09	2.848	2.458	0	11	46	0.773	71.90
10	2.543	2.310	0	8	46	0.825	76.42
11	5.935	3.358	0	16	46	0.742	20.05
12	8.980	3.967	0	21	47	0.789	1.22
13	2.870	1.714	0	8	46	0.503	71.57
14	3.234	2.503	0	9	47	0.682	65.91
15	9.180	3.416	4	18	49	0.683	0.96
16	1.360	1.411	0	6	48	0.650	89.80
17	1.383	1.247	0	5	46	0.348	89.62
18	1.020	1.086	0	3	50	0.500	92.36
19	4.760	2.881	0	10	50	0.701	38.21
20	4.375	3.238	0	15	47	0.855	45.22
21	9.918	4.435	0	19	48	0.840	0.37
22	3.702	2.858	0	11	47	0.841	57.53
23	3.638	2.401	0	11	43	0.646	58.71
24	2.957	2.259	0	9	47	0.436	70.19
25	5.362	2.740	0	12	46	0.627	28.10
26	2.681	1.559	0	5	47	0.172	74.54
27	2.340	2.723	0	13	47	0.869	79.39
28	2.581	2.170	0	8	43	0.574	76.11
29	2.318	1.768	0	7	44	0.640	79.67
30	9.563	3.284	3	16	48	0.715	0.59
31	3.783	3.078	0	15	46	0.832	55.96
32	3.833	2.525	0	9	42	0.770	55.17
33	2.136	1.866	0	6	44	0.633	81.86
34	5.867	2.918	0	13	45	0.819	20.90
35	6.630	3.662	0	17	45	0.719	12.30
36	5.000	2.054	0	9	46	0.505	34.09
37	5.458	3.657	0	13	48	0.767	26.76
38	1.708	1.567	0	8	48	0.746	86.65
39	2.511	1.977	0	9	47	0.648	77.04
40	3.488	1.897	0	9	43	0.659	61.41
41	2.870	2.507	0	10	43	0.764	71.57
42	4.409	3.099	0	18	44	0.811	44.43
43	1.432	1.452	0	7	44	0.190	89.25
44	3.239	2.521	0	10	46	0.673	65.54
45	6.548	3.874	0	16	42	0.788	12.92
46	2.163	1.816	0	7	47	0.307	81.59
47	3.791	2.328	0	11	43	0.685	55.96
48	2.690	2.121	0	11	42	0.738	74.54
49	4.564	2.808	0	11	49	0.748	41.48
50	2.488	2.697	0	12	45	0.774	77.34

Table 3: First Language Readability Estimates for 50 Passages

Passage	EFL Diff.	Flesch	Flesch-Kincaid	Fry	Gunning	Fog	Gunning-Fog
18	92.36	9.69	12.7	12	6.06	9.70	40
16	89.80	8.90	13.0	9	8.99	15.72	50
17	89.62	15.60	20.4	14	9.78	18.83	58
43	89.25	11.51	13.9	10	9.72	15.16	43
38	86.65	11.01	12.9	11	8.13	12.95	42
03	83.40	2.83	4.8	3	3.25	3.51	21
33	81.86	13.82	16.3	12	11.01	20.82	59
46	81.59	8.78	11.2	9	5.80	8.50	34
29	79.67	13.58	16.0	11	11.00	17.25	46
27	79.39	9.36	10.0	9	7.20	11.02	38
50	77.34	18.51	21.3	15	13.48	25.35	64
39	77.04	5.09	6.7	6	5.81	7.54	27
10	76.42	11.86	15.2	10	9.61	15.76	46
28	76.11	12.00	14.4	14	8.23	14.48	49
26	74.54	13.95	16.6	14	9.05	16.67	54
48	74.54	8.51	11.2	8	6.95	11.59	44
09	71.90	12.30	15.3	12	9.34	16.11	49
41	71.57	12.26	14.3	12	9.33	15.47	47
13	71.57	10.65	12.1	10	8.83	13.53	40
24	70.19	10.69	13.1	10	8.95	13.61	40
08	67.00	8.46	11.2	8	7.83	11.43	36
14	65.91	4.79	8.5	6	4.26	5.45	27
44	65.54	11.60	13.9	11	7.81	12.69	43
40	61.41	5.69	8.1	6	5.47	7.53	30
23	58.71	11.45	13.9	13	7.35	12.54	46
22	57.53	8.97	10.8	9	7.16	10.67	37
47	55.96	9.99	11.9	9	8.24	12.70	40
31	55.96	8.13	11.6	10	5.26	8.09	37
32	55.17	7.80	9.6	8	5.94	8.13	30
05	52.39	11.00	13.9	10	6.57	10.38	40
02	48.40	10.71	13.5	13	6.07	10.04	42
20	45.22	8.30	10.8	8	7.03	10.24	35
42	44.43	7.10	9.1	8	5.19	7.17	31
49	41.48	7.59	10.3	7	8.19	12.00	37
19	38.21	8.27	10.2	8	6.40	9.42	35
36	34.09	7.88	11.3	8	5.82	9.37	40
06	32.28	5.18	7.0	6	4.11	5.22	27
01	30.15	6.78	9.6	7	6.15	8.65	32
25	28.10	7.72	10.2	7	7.09	9.69	31
37	26.76	6.03	8.6	2	6.81	9.26	31
34	20.90	10.69	12.8	10	8.48	13.38	42
11	20.05	2.71	5.0	3	3.05	3.22	20
07	17.36	9.37	9.9	10	6.07	10.08	43
45	12.92	8.47	11.1	8	6.72	10.06	36
35	12.30	3.69	4.8	4	4.09	4.79	22
04	05.59	5.95	7.6	6	6.41	8.41	28
12	01.22	8.59	11.0	10	5.67	8.09	32
15	00.96	9.69	12.0	10	6.41	9.98	38
30	00.59	4.63	6.5	5	5.08	6.03	22
21	00.37	4.74	7.5	5	4.85	5.91	24

columns give the readability estimates for each passage using the Flesh, Flesch-Kincaid, Fry, Gunning, Fog, and Gunning-Fog indices. Notice that all of the indices except the Gunning-Fog index are on scales that resemble the grades in U.S. public schools. Notice also that, in some cases, they are fairly comparable across indices. In addition, note that the indices indicate similar relative difficulties for the passages. In other words, a passage that appears to be relatively easy on one index is also relatively easy on the other ones, while a passage that appears to be relatively difficult on one index is also relatively difficult on the others.

Table 4 shows the simple correlation coefficients above the diagonal (a line drawn from the upper left value of 1.00 to the lower right value of 1.00) and coefficients of determination below the diagonal for all possible pairs of the first language readability estimates used in this study. The coefficients of determination are calculated by squaring the correlation coefficient, and they indicate the percent of overlapping variance between the two variables involved. Thus the correlation coefficient of .48 shown above the diagonal in Table 4 between the Fry index and Observed EFL Difficulty can be interpreted as indicating that 23 percent ( $.48 \leq x 100 = .2304 \times 100 = 23.04$ , or about 23 percent) of the variance in EFL Difficulty is accounted for by the Fry index. These squared values are shown below the diagonal.

Notice that the coefficients of determination are mostly fairly high with the lowest being .49 and the highest being .96. These relatively high coefficients indicate that the first language readability indices (vari-

Table 4: Correlation Coefficients (Above the Diagonal) and Correlation Coefficients for First Language Readability Indices and EFL Difficulty

A. Observed EFL Difficulty	1.00	0.74	0.50	0.52	0.48	0.50	0.54	0.55
B. ESL Diff. Estimate	0.55	1.00	0.70	0.72	0.66	0.66	0.70	0.73
1. Flesch	0.25	0.49	1.00	0.98	0.92	0.89	0.93	0.95
2. Flesch-Kincaid	0.27	0.52	0.96	1.00	0.90	0.87	0.92	0.95
3. Fry	0.23	0.44	0.85	0.81	1.00	0.70	0.78	0.88
4. Gunning	0.25	0.44	0.79	0.76	0.49	1.00	0.98	0.87
5. Fog	0.29	0.49	0.86	0.85	0.61	0.96	1.00	0.95
6. Gunning-Fog	0.30	0.53	0.90	0.90	0.77	0.76	0.90	1.00
	A	B	1	2	3	4	5	6

ables 1 through 6 in the table) are all fairly highly related to each other. In other words, they are lining up the relative difficulty of the passages in very similar ways.

The long thin rectangle (on the left side) outlines those coefficients of determination which show the percent of relationship between the various first language readability estimates and the observed performance of Japanese students on the cloze passages, as represented by the observed EFL Difficulty percentiles (variable A). It turns out that the first language indices overlap between 23 and 30 percent (depending on which one is examined) with the variance in observed EFL Difficulties. In short, these first language readability indices account for less than thirty percent of the variance in the observed EFL Difficulty levels.

A large number of linguistic variables were also examined for relationship to EFL Difficulty. Four of these variables were selected on the basis of factor analysis as being orthogonal: syllables per sentence, average frequency elsewhere in the passage of the words that had been deleted, the percent of long words of seven letters or more, and the percent of function words. When combined, they proved to be the best predictors of observed EFL Difficulty. The descriptive statistics for these four independent (predictor) variables and the dependent (predicted) variable, EFL Difficulty, are shown in Table 5.

Table 5: Descriptive Statistics for the Predicted and Predictor Variables

Variable	Mean	SD	Minimum	Maximum
Predicted				
EFL Difficulty	53.02	28.12	.37	92.36
Predictor				
Syll/Sent	36.95	12.62	15.57	76.63
Pass Freq	6.96	0.59	5.66	8.82
% Long Words	20.52	5.94	9.89	34.33
% Func Words	31.55	8.17	13.33	50.00

The degree to which the independent variables listed in the previous paragraph were collectively related to EFL Difficulty was investigated using multiple-regression analysis. The assumptions underlying multiple regression were checked and found to be met. A forward-stepping multiple-regression analysis was calculated for the four variables regressed against EFL Difficulty. The results of this regression analysis

Table 6: Stepwise Regression Analysis of Four Independent Variables Predicting the EFL Difficulty Dependent Variable

Prob Value To Add/Remove: 0.1000

Dependent Variable: EFL Difficulty

Step 1	<i>MR</i> = .5506	<i>MR</i> ≤ = 0.3032	Added Syll/Sent		
Step 2	<i>MR</i> = .6699	<i>MR</i> ≤ = 0.4487	Added Pass Freq		
Step 3	<i>MR</i> = .7168	<i>MR</i> ≤ = 0.5138	Added % Long Words		
Step 4	<i>MR</i> = .7418	<i>MR</i> ≤ = 0.5502	Added % Func Words		
Variable	Regression Coefficient	Standardized Coefficient	Standard Error	<i>T</i>	Prob
Syll/Sent	0.7823	0.351189	0.2793	2.8014	0.0075
Pass Freq	-126.1770	-0.520334	27.3129	-4.6197	0.0000
% Long Words	1.2878	0.272007	0.6117	2.1051	0.0409
% Func Words	0.7596	0.220810	0.3982	1.9076	0.0628
Estimated Constant Term:	38.7469				
Standard Error Of Estimate:	19.6800				

are presented in Tables 6 and 7. Table 6 shows the technical results of the regression analysis including the progressive additivity of the multiple correlation (*MR*) and multiple coefficient of determination (*MR*≤). Note that the overall analysis of variance results were deleted for economy of space, but  $F = 13.7618$ ,  $df$  4, 45,  $p < .00001$ . For each independent variable, Table 6 also gives the regression coefficients, standardized coefficients, individual standard errors,  $t$  value at entry, and the probability associated with  $t$ . Finally, the constant, and an overall standard error of estimate for the predicted values of EFL Difficulty are given in the lower-left corner. Table 7 illustrates the progressive

Table 7: Summary of the Variables Contributing to the Stepwise Regression Coefficients

Dependent = Variable	Independent Variables	<i>MR</i>	<i>MR</i> ≤
Pass Diff = Syll/Sent		.55	.30
Pass Diff = Syll/Sent + Pass Freq		.67	.45
Pass Diff = Syll/Sent + Pass Freq + % Long Words		.72	.51
Pass Diff = Syll/Sent + Pass Freq + % Long Words + % Func Words		.74	.55

additivity of the variables and the associated multiple correlations ( $MR$ ) and the multiple coefficients of determination ( $MRS$ ).

These results indicate that the combination of Syll/Sent + Pass Freq + % Long Words + % Func Words taken together produce a multiple-correlation ( $MR$ ) of .74 and a corresponding  $MRS$  of .55. This means that the combination of simple countable independent variables taken together predicts about 55 percent of the variance in the performance of Japanese students on the 50 cloze passages in this study. In other words, the results here indicate that each of the independent variables separately is related to EFL Difficulty and that, taken together, they account for 55 percent of the variance in EFL Difficulty.

### Discussion

The discussion will now return to the original five research questions. The implications of these findings for second language readability estimation will then be covered in the Conclusions section.

*1. Are randomly selected cloze tests reliable and valid tools for gathering data on the linguistic text variables that may be related to passage difficulty?*

Based on Table 2, the cloze passages used in this study appear on average to be moderately reliable at .70 using the adjusted Split-half method, but also, individual tests can clearly vary considerably in reliability from .172 to .869. To some degree, such variation in reliability appears to be related to the magnitude of the means and standard deviations involved. However, all of these variations in descriptive statistics and reliability could conceivably have occurred by chance alone.

For the purposes of this study, the validity of the fifty cloze passages will be considered from a fairly common-sense point of view. First, the cloze passages were created from books which were randomly selected from a public library, and the items for each passage were selected semi-randomly (i.e., every 12th word deletion). Based on sampling theory, the passages can be said to be a representative sample of the language found in the books in the library from which they were taken, and the items can be said to provide a representative sample of the blanks that could be created in the language contained in the passages. Since the validity of a test can be defined as the degree to which it is measuring what it purports to be measuring, it seems reasonable to claim a high degree of content validity for these cloze passage items because they can be said to be representative samples of the universe of all possible items (after Cronbach, 1970) if that universe is defined as single-word

blanks created in the written language which is found in a U.S. public library. For much more discussion of the reliability and validity of these passages, see Brown (1993); for an overview of test reliability and validity issues, see Brown (1996).

*2. To what degree are traditional first language readability indices related to the average cloze scores for the same passages when they are administered to EFL students?*

Tables 3 and 4 both indicate that some degree of relationship exists between each of the first language readability indices and EFL Difficulty. More specifically, the first language readability indices used in this study are related to EFL Difficulty at between 23 and 30 percent—at least as EFL Difficulty is measured by the performance of Japanese university students on the cloze passages. The first language readability indices also appear to be highly interrelated with each other, producing coefficients of determination of .49 to .96, which indicate 49 to 96 percent overlapping variance.

Aside from the fact that first language readability indices are not very highly related to the EFL Difficulty, another problem with these first language readability indices is that they use grade levels (in American schools) as their yardstick. Such grade levels do not make sense for second language students. Grades are different from country to country. Even within the United States, the meaning of reading levels at different grades may have changed in recent years with fewer and fewer students reading at or above their own grade level. Instead, any EFL Difficulty Estimate should probably be referenced to a specific population in percentile terms. Such estimates will therefore be population specific, and that is perhaps as it should be.

*3. What combination of linguistic text variables best predicts passage difficulty for EFL students?*

The variables that best predicted EFL Difficulty, at least for the population of Japanese university students, were Syllables/Sentence, Passage Frequency, % Long Words, and % Function Words (see Table 6 and 7). This combination of independent variables produced a multiple correlation of .75 with the dependent variable. Its squared value, the multiple coefficient of determination, indicated that the four variables taken together account for about 55 percent of the variance in EFL Difficulty. Of course, such results must be interpreted very cautiously. For instance, these results do not necessarily mean that these same variables in the same order will be found to be the best predictors in a replication of this study. In addition, many of the other variables examined in this study might have been used in this formula. The fact that these particular

variables were chosen was based on a factor analysis, which indicated that four orthogonal factors existed in the correlation matrix of dozens of independent variables. For those four factors, the variables listed above were the ones most strongly correlated with the factor.

#### *4. How can this combination of linguistic text variables be used as an EFL Difficulty Estimate?*

Like many of the first language readability indices, the EFL Difficulty Estimate can be calculated by using a regression equation. In this case, the regression equation for predicting a single dependent variable (Y) takes the form of a constant (a) and four independent variables (X1 to X4) with their associated slopes (b1 to b4). Such an equation would take the following general form:

$$Y = a + b1X1 + b2X2 + b3X3 + b4X4$$

In more familiar terms, the regression equation for predicting, or estimating, the single dependent variable (EFL Difficulty) is formed by using the constant (shown to be 38.7469 shown in Table 6), as well as the four slopes (called regression coefficients in Table 6) and the values for each of the four independent variables (Syllables/Sentence, Passage Frequency, % Long Words, % Function Words). The equation in this case would take the following form:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{EFL Difficulty Estimate} = & 38.7469 + (.7823 \times \text{Syll/Sent}) \\ & + (-126.1770 \times \text{Pass Freq}) \\ & + (1.2878 \times \% \text{ Long Words}) \\ & + (.7596 \times \% \text{ Func Words}) \end{aligned}$$

For instance, the equation for the EFL Difficulty Estimate for Passage 43 (where Syll/Sent = 76.63; Pass Freq = .41; % Long Words = 19.22; and % Func Words = 23.33) would be as follows:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{EFL Difficulty Estimate} = & 38.7469 + (.7823 \times 76.63) \\ & + (-126.1770 \times .41) \\ & + (1.2878 \times 19.22) \\ & + (.7596 \times 23.33) \end{aligned}$$

$$\begin{aligned} \text{EFL Difficulty Estimate} = & 38.7469 + (59.9476) \\ & + (-51.7326) \\ & + (23.7515) \\ & + (17.7215) \end{aligned}$$

$$\text{EFL Difficulty Estimate} = 89.4349 \quad 89.43$$

Obviously such an EFL Difficulty Estimate is not easy to calculate. The counts that are necessary and the computations are not only laborious,

but are also very prone to calculation errors if done by hand. However, computer software could no doubt be developed to do the job quickly and efficiently. Examples of similar software include *Scandinavian PC Systems* (1988), *Que Software* (1990) and *PC-Style* by Button (1986). All three of these software packages produce first language readability indices, and no doubt, a similar software package could easily be programmed to count the necessary linguistic elements and calculate an EFL Difficulty Estimate like the one shown here.

### *5. How does the EFL Difficulty Estimate compare to existing first language indices?*

The most variance in EFL Difficulty that was accounted for by any of the first language readability indices was 30 percent. The ESL Difficulty Estimates, on the other hand, were correlated with the EFL Difficulties at .74, which indicates that 55 percent ( $.742 = .5476 \times 100 = \text{about } 55$ ) of the variance in Passage Difficulties was accounted for. In other words, the EFL Difficulty Estimates accounted for more than half of the variance in Passage Difficulties. Another way to look at this issue is that the EFL Difficulty Estimates accounted for nearly twice as much variance in Passage Difficulties as did the first language readability indices. In short, the EFL Difficulty Estimate was much more strongly related to Passage Difficulty than any of the first language readability indices.

However, the EFL Difficulty Estimate is not without its own problems. It is still only a moderately good predictor, as indicated by the multiple coefficient of determination. Another way to think about the accuracy of predictions offered by the EFL Difficulty Estimate is to consider the standard error of estimate, which is shown to be 19.68 at the bottom of Table 6. This statistic indicates a confidence interval around the predicted values within which the estimates can be expected to fall 68 percent of the time. In practical terms, this means that the estimates can be expected to be inaccurate by as much as 19.68 points 68 percent of the time.

### Conclusions

In general terms, the results of this study indicate that a variety of first language readability indices for a set of 50 passages were only weakly correlated with the average performances of Japanese university students on cloze versions of those same passages. In other words, the first language indices were only weakly related to EFL Difficulty (no more than 30 percent related). The EFL Difficulty Estimate provided in this paper had a higher degree of association (about 55 percent related). Although the EFL Difficulty Estimate is not easy to calculate, it does

account for more of the variance in EFL Difficulty than the traditional first language readability formulas. Perhaps ESL/EFL readability formulas will necessarily be more complex than their first language counterparts. And perhaps higher order linguistic and student variables like those used in this study are needed.

In addition, because of the controversy surrounding the cloze procedure as a criterion measure for readability indices, it might be better to think of the EFL Difficulty Estimate developed in this project as a sort of clozability index, or indication of the degree of proficiency needed to successfully fill in blanks in a cloze format. Surely some association exists between the EFL Difficulty Estimate provided here and some aspect of the relative difficulty of the cloze passages used. Since cloze passages are well-established measures of overall ESL/EFL proficiency, the EFL Difficulty Estimate might best be viewed as a measure of the overall difficulty of passages with respect to the ESL/EFL proficiency needed to comprehend them.

The primary point is not that this particular index is the magical answer to determining the readability of passages for use in ESL/EFL curricula and materials, but rather that such an index can be created, one that is more highly related to the performance of second language learners than are the first language readability indices. A second point is that such an index may necessarily include some reference to lexical variables, in this case, the average percent of long words (seven or more letters), the average percent of function words, and the average frequency of the word elsewhere in the passage. A third point is that EFL/ESL readability might best be estimated separately for students from different language backgrounds. Perhaps different variables in different combinations with different weightings will work better or worse in predicting the readability of passages for speakers of different languages. Thus a strategy similar to the one employed in this study could be used to constantly improve the readability estimates for speakers of different languages as we learn more and more about what makes text difficult for students to process.

#### *Suggestions for Future Research*

As is often the case in research of this sort, more questions were raised in the process of doing the study than were answered. The following research questions are provided in the hope that other researchers will pursue this line of inquiry:

1. What differences and similarities would occur if this study were replicated at other institutions in Japan? With students from other language groups? With students at other levels of study? Or other ages?

2. What other linguistic text or extra-textual variables might be included in such research? How well would they predict EFL Difficulty?
3. What hierarchies of difficulty are found at the passage level for any of the linguistic variables (separately or combined) that would have implications for second language acquisition research?

#### Acknowledgments

*I would like to thank all of those colleagues who helped at various stages of this project by administering the cloze procedures at Dokkyo University, Fukuoka Teachers' College, Fukuoka University of Education, Fukuoka Women's University, International Christian University, International University of Japan, Kanazawa University, Kansai Gakuin University, Meiji University, Saga University, Seinan Gakuin University, Soai University, Sophia University, Tokyo University of Agriculture and Technology, Toyama College of Foreign Languages, Toyama University, Toyo Women's Junior College, and Waseda University. I would also like to thank Dr. Ian Richardson (currently a professor at King Saud University in Abha, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia) for his help in selecting and creating the cloze procedures used here. I must also thank Dr. Thom Hudson for his careful readings and comments on an earlier version of this paper.*

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#### Notes

1. Note that the dependent variable, Passage Difficulty was normalized by transforming it to a percentile scale (using the areas under the curve in the  $z$  distribution). The Passage Frequency variable was transformed in all analyses using a standard log transformation (see Chatterjee & Price, 1977, pp. 27-38, or Neter & Wasserman, 1974, pp. 121-130). This was necessary to correct for a curvilinear relationship with the dependent variable. Further justification for these transformations is based on Carroll (1967), who found that word-frequency counts are lognormally distributed.
2. One concern whenever performing regression analysis is that the rather rigorous assumptions and design conditions be met. One of these assumptions is that the dependent and independent variables must be normally distributed. In order to achieve normality and linearity two of the variables were transformed as pointed out in footnote 2. Table 5 indicates that, as analyzed, all of the variables in the regression analysis were reasonably normal in distribution. In addition, the relationships of each of the independent

variables was found to be linear with Passage Difficulty (the dependent variable). Multicollinearity was avoided by using factor analysis in the selection process with the goal of maximizing the orthogonality of the dependent variables. The assumption of heteroscedasticity was checked by examining the scatterplots of each variable with residuals; it was not found to be a problem. In addition, the Durbin-Watson statistic turned out to be 1.4 indicating that autocorrelation was not an issue (Chatterjee & Price, 1977, 127). However, one final problem is more worrisome. The units of analysis, cloze passages, were only 50 in number. Thus the *N*-size for the regression was only 50, and, with four dependent variables, this may not be large enough. No hard and fast rule exists about this matter, yet this is a problem that readers should keep in mind while interpreting the results of the present study.

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(Received November 16, 1997; revised January 27, 1998)

#### Appendix: Example of a Cloze Passage (Brown, 1989)

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Native Language \_\_\_\_\_  
 (Last) (First)  
 Sex \_\_\_\_\_ Age \_\_\_\_\_ Country of Passport \_\_\_\_\_

#### Directions

1. Read the passage quickly to get the general meaning.
2. Write only one word in each blank. Contractions (example: *don't* and possessives (*John's* bicycle) are one word.
3. Check your answers.

Note: Spelling will not count against you as long as the scorer can read the word.

Example: The boy walked up the street. He stepped on a piece of ice. He fell (1) \_\_\_\_\_, but he didn't hurt himself.

#### A Father and Son

Michael Beal was just out of the service. His father had helped him get his job at Western. The (1) \_\_\_\_\_ few weeks Mike and his father had lunch together almost every (2) \_\_\_\_\_. Mike talked a lot about his father. He was worried about (3) \_\_\_\_\_ hard he was working, holding down two jobs.

"You know," Mike (4) \_\_\_\_\_, "before I went in the service my father could do just (5) \_\_\_\_\_ anything. But he's really kind of tired these days. Working two (6) \_\_\_\_\_ takes a lot out of him. He doesn't have as much (7) \_\_\_\_\_. I tell him that he should stop the second job, but (8) \_\_\_\_\_ won't listen.

During a smoking break, Mike introduced me to his (9) \_\_\_\_\_. Bill mentioned that he had four children. I casually remarked that (10) \_\_\_\_\_ hoped the others were better than Mike. He took my joking (11) \_\_\_\_\_ and, putting his arm on Mike's shoulder, he said, "I'll be (12) \_\_\_\_\_ if they turn out as well as Mike."

(test continues)

発話矯正：

コミュニティ・ランゲージ・ラーニングの理論の応  
(Applying CLL Principles to Error Correction)

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When teaching a foreign language, the teacher frequently encounters student output that is deviant from the norm of the target language. A significant problem is how to deal with these deviations so that learning is promoted. Many proposals have been made regarding error correction, but there have been few empirical studies to support them. Currently, the extent to which error treatment facilitates learning, if at all, is not clear, and it is even less clear which kinds of treatment are effective. As a result, many teachers provide their students with error correction according to their personal beliefs. However, teachers have to deal with various classroom activities that require different error correction techniques and with learning differences that lead to a variety of errors. As a result, many teachers are inconsistent in their error correction practices during classroom activities, and this confuses students concerning the appropriateness of their utterances. Consequently, error correction guidelines are needed for each classroom activity. The pedagogical focus of classroom activities and the reactions of the corrected students provide a basis for these guidelines. The former appears easier for teachers to grasp, while the latter is more complicated and is related to the students' readiness to be corrected. Anxiety about making errors and being corrected can have a negative influence on students' learning, but it can also be eliminated, or at least minimized, when students are ready to be corrected. But how can teachers prepare students for correction?

One answer can be found in Community Language Learning (CLL). CLL suggests that there are five stages of student growth in global proficiency in the classroom and claims that students at all stages except Stage III are ready to accept error correction. The same stages are also applicable to the student's mastery of linguistic items. When a new linguistic item is introduced, the students need the teacher's full assistance (Stage I). As they practice the new linguistic item, they gain confidence, although they still need the teacher's assistance

(Stage II). Later, however, they start to reject the teacher's interruption and assistance (Stage III).

While communicating among themselves without the teacher's assistance, they realize they are making some recurring and/or uncorrectable errors and spontaneously ask for correction (Stage IV). Learners finally master the item but still need occasional refinement and correction (Stage V). Consideration of both the pedagogical focus of an activity and the stage that each student has reached in the process of learning a particular item will provide teachers with guidelines for more consistent and systematic error correction. Based on these considerations, this study presents practical proposals for error correction concerning which errors should be corrected, how errors should be corrected, and who should correct errors during classroom activities.

ある言語を外国語として教えるとき、教師はその目標言語の標準から逸脱した学習者の発話に頻繁に直面する。そのような発話にどのように対処し学習者の学習を促進するかは、教師にとって重要な問題である。発話矯正に関して様々な主張がなされてきたが、その主張を裏付ける実験的研究はほとんど存在しておらず、その結果、教育現場では自らの個人的信念に基づいて、発話矯正を行なう教師が多い。しかしながら、教師が使用するそれぞれの教室活動によってその教育目標は異なり、その目標達成のために使用される発話矯正のテクニックも多様であることが必要である。また学習自体も学習者によって異なり、それが多様な誤りを産出することも、それに対処する発話矯正のテクニックの多様性を要求する。教師の個人的信念だけではこのような多様に満ちた要求に対処しきれず、教師の発話矯正は首尾一貫性を欠き、発話の適切さに関する混乱を学習者に生じさせる結果となってしまうことが多い。現場の教師にとって必要なのは、各教室活動に於ける発話矯正の具体的なガイドラインである。本研究は、発話矯正に関するこれまでの先行研究に基づいて、いくつかの教室活動での具体的な発話矯正のガイドラインを紹介するものである。各教室活動の目的と矯正される学習者の情意という二つの要因をそのガイドライン作りでは考慮し、学習者の情意に関しては、特にCommunity Language Learning (以下 CLL) の成長の5段階の理論を応用する。

### 発話矯正<sup>1</sup>に関する先行研究<sup>2</sup>

「学習者の誤りを直すべきか」に関してオーディオ・リンガル・メソッド (以下 ALM) では、誤りイコール不十分な学習の現われであり、直すべきだとしている (例、Lee 1970)。これに対し、中間言語発達過程で学習者が目標言語に関する仮説を立てそれを検証していると主張する研究者は、誤りの産出は必然的なもので教師は誤りを予測し受け入れる必要があると考えるのだが、その誤りを必然的だと考える研究者の中でも、誤りを直すべきかについては意見が分かれている。Chaudron (1988) は、学習者が発達中の文法の仮定的で過渡的なルールを確認し訂正する助けになるとして、矯正に関し肯定的な立場を取っており、George (1972)、Corder (1973)、Allwright (1975) は、学習者が自分の誤りに気付かない場合は、その学習者よりも言語能力が上の者からの援助が必要だとしている。一方で、L1=L2 仮説の提唱者の Dulay、Burt & Krashen (1984) は、矯正の効果を非常に限定されたものであ

るとし、特にKrashen (1982)は矯正が言語習得にマイナスに作用すると主張している。

「どの誤りを直し、どの誤りを直さないのか」に関してALMは、全ての誤りを直ちに直すこと、そして学習者に正しい文を繰り返させることが重要であるとしている。これに対し、誤りの産出は言語学習にとって自然かつ必要な現象であると考えられる研究者は、目標言語のいわゆる“標準”の形や構造とは異なるものを教師は受け入れるべきであるとした上で、ALMの全てを直す方法は学習者の注意を自分が犯す誤りのみに向けることにつながるので時間の無駄だと主張している(例、George 1972)。直す誤りと直さない誤りを教師がどう選択すべきなのかについては、図1のような意見がある<sup>3</sup>。

図1 「どの誤りを直すのか」に関する意見とその特徴

意見	特徴
間違いと誤りを区別し、対処法も変えるべき。(Corder, 1967)	誤り (errors) を形成途中にある不完全な仮説を反映するもの、また間違い (mistakes) を疲労や注意力の欠如などにより偶然に生じるものと定義した。教師は間違いに関しては学習者自身が直すよう促し、誤りに関してはその取扱に責任を負うべきである。
全体的誤りは直し局部的誤りは直さなくてもよい(Burt and Kiparsky, 1974)	全体的誤り (global errors) とは文全体に影響を及ぼし意志の伝達を大きく妨げる誤りであり、局部的誤り (local errors) とは文の一構成素に生じる、大きく伝達を妨げることのない誤りである。
否定的な評価につながる (stigmatized) 誤りは直すべき (Hendrickson, 1978)	ある種の誤りは、その誤りを犯した 話者を非好意的に分類する反応を母国話者に生じさせる。そのような誤りは直すべきである。
発達次の段階に関係のある誤りは直すべきである	学習者が発達上の次段階のルールを発見するレディネスがある場合は、その次段階における矯正に対して応えることが可能である。

「どのようにして誤りを直すべきか」すなわち教師から学習者へのフィードバックの分類(例、Allwright, 1975; Chaudron, 1988; 窪田1994)は、大体図2のようにまとめられる<sup>4</sup>。

「誰が誤りを直すべきか」に関して、教室内で誤りを直すことができるのは通常、教師、誤りを犯した学習者本人、そして他の学習者の3者である。目標言語の情報源であること及び誤りを直すことに対する自分の責任を否定する教師はあまり多くないと思われるが、そのことは教師による矯正の独占の正当性を意味しておらず、誤りを犯した学習者自身が誤りを直すことは可能である。Chaudron(1988)は、目標言語の発話を自分でモニターする能力を学習者につけさせることが授業の目的であるべきだと主張し、またGeorge(1972)やCorder(1973)は、学習者が自らの誤りに意識的になれば、教師による矯正よりも、自分の誤りを直すことでより多くを学ぶと主張している。もう1つの矯正の形は、他の学習者による矯正である。教師は直感的に、学習者同士はお互いに十分な矯正が出来ないとか、間違ったフィードバックを与えないかと考えるが、この考えはいくつかの研究により否定されている(例、Bruton and Samuda, 1980)。

以上の誤りに関する先行研究は、「学習者の誤りを直すべきか」「どの誤りを直すべきか」「どのようにして誤りを直すべきか」「誰が誤りを直すべきか」いずれに関しても、主張のみに留まりそれを裏付ける実証的研究に欠け、これといった結論を見出ししていない。これは多分に、矯正の効果を測ることの困難さに起因している。そ

図2 教師から学習者へのフィードバックの種類

フィードバックの種類		特徴	例
明示的 フィードバック	誤りがあったことの指摘	会話の 流れを 遮断する	「ちょっと変でしたよ。」
	誤りのタイプの指摘		助詞 (Particle) が違いますよ。」
	誤りの場所の指摘 (誤りの部分の強調も可能)		「公園を (強調) ですか。」
	誤り文と正解文を提示し選択させる (誤り文と正解文の事なる部分の強調も可能)		「公園を (強調) 行きました、ですか。公園に (強調) 行きました、ですか。」
	正解文の提示 (直した部分の強調も可能)		「公園に (強調) 行きました、ですね。」
	説明 (誤りの理由の説明を目標言語又は学習者の母語で与える)		「Particle O is used to highlight the thing/person acted upon. That's why O should not be used.」
暗示的フィードバック		教師は会話の流れに乗って正解文を言うが、その正解文の繰り返しを学習者には要求しない	「あ、私も公園に行きましたよ。」
明確化要求		発話をし直したり言い換えたりする機会を学習者に与える	「もう一度言ってください。」
非理解を示すフィードバック		理解できた部分だけに反応したり、全然理解していないことを示したりする	「公園、公園がどうかしたんですか。」または「えっ、何ですか。」

の結果、教育現場では自らの個人的信念に基づいて、ケース・バイ・ケースで発話矯正を行なう教師が多い。しかしながら、教室内では多様な矯正が要求され、個人的信念だけではその多様な要求に対処しきれないことが原因で、教師の発話矯正は首尾一貫性を欠き、発話の適切さに関する混乱を学習者に生じさせる結果となってしまうことが少なくない (Chaudron, 1988)。現場の教師にとって必要なのは、各教室活動に於ける矯正の具体的なガイドラインである。

### 発話矯正の具体的なガイドライン作りのための理論的裏付け

各教師の個人的信念を越えた、発話矯正の具体的なガイドラインを作るために本研究では、(1) 発話矯正は成人学習者には効果的である、(2) 教室活動の目的に応じて発話矯正の方法を使い分けるべきである、(3) 矯正される学習者のレディネスを考慮すべきである、の三つの理論的裏付けに基づき考察していく<sup>5</sup>。

発話矯正は「成人学習者」の学習を促進する効果がある

現在のところ、多くの研究者の間で一致が見られるのは、発話矯正は成人外国語学習者に対しては効果的であろうということである。(例、Krashen and Seliger, 1975; Jorden, 1986)

発話矯正の方法は各教室活動の目標を反映すべきである

コミュニカティブ・アプローチの提唱者(例、Lightbown and Spada, 1990)は、何種類もの矯正のテクニックを使うことの重要性を指摘し、Omaggio-Hadley (1993)は、

Proficiency-oriented Approachにおける形式に焦点を当てた教室活動の重要性を認め、第2言語教育には様々なタイプのフィードバックが必要であるとしている。窪田(1994)は一步踏み込んで、正確さを目的とした教室活動では明示的フィードバックが、なめらかさを目的とした教室活動では暗示的フィードバックが効果的であるとした上で、授業の目的を考慮して明示的と暗示的の両フィードバックをバランス良く使うべきであるとしている。

### 矯正される学習者のレディネスを考慮すべきである

誤りの矯正により、誤りそのもの、誤りを犯した自分自身、そして誤りを直した者に対する否定的態度が、矯正された学習者に生じることがある。特に、学習者の発話が教師または他の学習者によって矯正された場合、その矯正は教育的援助ではなく、直した者から直された者への「受け入れ不可」のメッセージ、そして誤りを犯した学習者に対する個人的批判ととらえられてしまうこともある。直されることに対する否定的態度は、教師や他の学習者の前で誤りを犯すことへの不安を学習者に生じ、学習者の発話自体の質的・量的な低下につながるものが少なくない。それ故、直されることイコール失敗であるという不安から学習者を解放する必要がある (MacFarlane, 1975)。誤りを犯したり直されたりすることに対する不安をなくす、または最小限にすることに関して Chaudron (1988) は、フィードバックとしての矯正の効果は、フィードバック内の情報に対する学習者のレディネスと注意力次第であると主張している。換言すれば、誤りを犯したり矯正されたりすることに対する不安は、学習者の学習を妨げるが、学習者が矯正を受け入れられる状態であれば、その不安を取り除いたり少なくとも最小限に抑えることは可能であり、それができれば矯正の効果を上げることにつながるのである。発話矯正を受け入れられる学習者の状態を教師がどのようにして見極めるかに対する答えの一つが、CLLによって導き出される。CLLは、その基本理論の一つとして、教室内の学習者の5段階の成長及び各段階における教師の役割を図3のように主張している<sup>6</sup>。

図3 CLLの学習者の5段階の成長と各段階での教師の役割

	学習者の5段階の成長	教師の役割
胎児期 (第1段階)	完全に教師に依存していて、教師の存在無しには目標言語が聞けない。	学習者が目標言語で発話できるよう、全面的に面倒をみる。
自己主張期 (第2段階)	少しずつ自信がつき単純な文を使い始めるが、教師への依存が依然として存在する。	援助の要請を待った上で学習者の学習を支える。
別個存在期 (第3段階)	自分選だけで目標言語のみを使い会話することを望み、教師の干渉や助力を拒否する。	学習者とある程度の距離を保ち自分から干渉したいという気持ちを押さえる。
役割転換期 (第4段階)	教師とは独立して機能するが、教師の知識に依存しなければそれ以上の上達が困難であると認識し、必要に応じて教師の助力を要請する。教師の認知面での助力を自ら働きかけて積極的に受け入れる。また、より積極的な参画が、確認行為や教師への助力といった形で現われる場合もでてくる。	学習者の安心感を損ねないように心掛けながら、学習者の要請に応じて学習を支える。また、学習者からの確認や協力があつた場合は、それを受け入れ授業に活かしていく。
独立期 (第5段階)	教師から完全に独立しコミュニケーション出来るが、微妙な言語面での洗練や手直しが必要とされる場合がある。	高いレベルで適切な表現が出来るように学習者を指導する。

この5段階の成長は、学習者の目標言語能力のグローバルな成長に関するものであるが、同様の5段階の成長が、学習者の学習項目一つ一つのマスターの過程にも適用できると考えられる。すなわち、新しい学習項目が導入されたばかりの時は、学習者は教師の助けに完全に依存している(第1段階)。その項目の練習を行なううちに、少しずつ自信を持ち始めるが、教師の援助は依然として必要である(第2段階)。その項目に関する自信が増し、教師の援助や干渉を拒絶ようになる(第3段階)。教師の援助なしでその項目を使って学習者同士でコミュニケーションしているうちに、自らが頻繁に犯す誤りや自分では直せない誤りの存在に気づき、自発的に教師による矯正を要求する(第4段階)。その項目に関してはほぼ完全にマスターしてしまい誤りもほとんど犯さないが、手直しが必要な場合が時にはある(第5段階)。矯正に対するレディネスによりこの5段階を分析してみると、第3段階以外は矯正を教師からの援助として受け入れるレディネスを持っており、矯正が効果的であるということになる。

### 教室活動と発話矯正：例

以下、各教室活動の目標と矯正される学習者の情意に基づいて「どの誤りを、どのように、誰が直すべきか」を考察し、発話矯正の具体的なガイドライン作りを試みる<sup>7</sup>。考察する教室活動は機械的ドリル、ペア・ワーク、ロール・プレイの3つである<sup>8</sup>。

#### 機械的ドリル (パターン練習)

教科書または教師による文法説明の直後に行なわれる正確さのための教室活動である。学習者にとってはその学習項目を使って文を作る初めての機会なので、多くの誤りが生じることが予想される。「誰が」については、教師が中心的役割を果たしてよいであろう。学習者は教師の知識に完全にまたは部分的に依存している状態(すなわちCLLの第1段階または第2段階)で、教師の援助を必要としている。学習者自身による矯正や他の学習者による矯正も生じ、生じた場合はその学習項目に関する成長の現われであると考えられる。「どの」については、その学習項目がまだ十分に定着していないので、全てのタイプの誤り(全体的誤り・局部的誤り・否定的評価につながる誤り)を矯正すべきであろう。「どのように」については、明示的フィードバックが、誤りの部分に学習者を集中させるので、もっとも有効であろう。誤りの部分が強調されれば、その効果も増すと考えられる。明確化要求も非理解を示すフィードバックも、その項目を使って文を作る機会を再度学習者に与えることになり、有効である。機械的ドリルでは、誤りを犯した学習者が(多くの場合教師の援助により)自分の誤りを正した後、教師は他の学習者に正しい文をモデルとして提示する必要がある。学習者はその項目についての仮説を形成し始めたばかりで、その項目を含む文を発話したり聞いたりする度に、自分の仮説を検証しているからである。学習項目の学習初期段階にいる学習者は、誤り文と正解文の違いに気付かないことも多いと考えられるので、暗示的フィードバックは他のテクニックに比べ効果的ではないであろう。

#### ペア・ワーク

なめらかさのための教室活動であるペア・ワーク中の学習者は、お互いの発話を確認しながらタスクを遂行することに従事しており、学習者同士でお互いの誤りを指摘・矯正し合い、教師の援助を必要としないことがよくある。この状態の学習者はCLLの第3段階にいると考えられるので、自分達だけでタスクを遂行しようとしてい

る学習者の努力を教師は妨げないように努める必要がある。学習者がCLLの第3段階にいるかぎり、矯正するのは誤りを犯した学習者またはパートナーである他の学習者であり、「どの」「どのように」も学習者によって決定される。

しかしながら、教師の援助を望む学習者もあり、大きく2つのタイプに分けられる。第1のタイプは、自分の発話に対する自信が不足して援助を求める学習者で、CLLの第2段階に当たる。もう一つのタイプは、自分の発話に対する自信はかなりあるのだが、その適切さを確認することを望む学習者でCLLの第4段階に相当する。どちらの場合も、教師からの援助を求める学習者の行為は、学習者同士の矯正に十分に満足していないことの現われである。「どの」については、学習者は第2段階にいても第4段階にいても、自分の発話の適切さを確認しようとしているので、全てのタイプの誤りを直すべきであろう。「どのように」については、学習者のニーズである学習項目に対する仮説の確認につながるので、学習者が第2段階にいても第4段階にいても、明示的フィードバックが望ましいであろう。ただし、第2段階にいて自分だけで文を作るのに困難を覚えている学習者に対しては、「誤りがあったことを指摘する」だけでは十分な教育的援助とはならないであろう。暗示的フィードバック・明確化要求・非理解を示すフィードバックは、仮説の確認に対する答えを与えられないので、効果的でないと考えられる。

### ロール・プレイ

ロール・プレイの対話創作はなめらかさのための教室活動であるが、学習者によっては、対話を開始し、発展させ、終結させることがうまく出来ない場合がある。その際学習者は、教師（または他の学習者）の援助を求めたり、またはその学習者自身が自分の力で困難な状況をのりきろうとしたりすることが多い。前者を選んだ学習者は、CLLの第2段階または第4段階に属していると考えられ、教師はCLLの教師のように、モデル文の提供により対話作りをしている学習者の奮闘努力を支える。それに対し、後者を選んだ学習者はCLLの第3段階に属し、多くの場合色々な誤りを産出する結果となり、対話終了後その誤りを矯正することになる。このように、ロール・プレイにおいて教師が援助を与えるのは、対話の途中で教師によるモデル文を学習者が望む場合と対話終了後に対話の内容をふり返る場合の2つである。対話途中での「誰が」については、自分自身で文を完成することに困難を覚えている学習者に対する援助なので、教師または他の学習者によってなされるべきである。対話の途中で情報源としての役割を果たす場合、教師は自ら進んで対話に介入し誤りを矯正することは避けねばならず、学習者により要求されたときのみ、必要な語句または文を与えるよう努める。対話中の教師の援助は、明示的フィードバックの中の1つ、正解文の提示に限定すべきである。

対話終了後、正確さのための教室活動として、対話の中で出てきた表現について学習者と一緒に考えるといった形で対話内容をふり返っていく。その際、教師はまず誤りを含んだ表現の存在の確認とその直し方を学習者から引き出すように努める。換言すれば、学習者に誤りを含む文を発見しその直し方を提案する責任が負わされているのである。学習者による直し方が正しい場合はそれが矯正になり、正しくない場合は教師が正しい直し方を提示する。このように、対話終了後の矯正は、誤りを犯した学習者本人または他の学習者が中心的役割を果たすべきで、学習者が自分達で矯正でき

ない場合のみ教師が矯正の役割を果たす。「どの」については、学習者は対話内の表現に対する自分の仮説の妥当性の確認に従事しているので、CLLの第4段階にいと考えられ、全てのタイプの誤りを直す必要が教師にはある。学習者が自らの仮説の妥当性に対する明確な答えを望んでいるので、「どのように」については、明示的フィードバックのテクニックが望ましいであろう。暗示的フィードバック・明確化要求・非理解を示すフィードバックは仮説の妥当性を確認するというニーズを満たさないで、適当ではないと考えられる。

### 各教室活動での発話矯正のまとめ

今まで述べてきた各教室活動における発話矯正の具体的な案をまとめた表1が示すように、各教室活動における教育目標及び学習者の情意は異なり、それに従い色々なタイプの発話矯正の仕方が必要とされている。

### おわりに

以上、教育目標と直される学習者の情意に基づき、各教室活動における発話矯正の具体的なガイドライン作りを試みてきたが、Ellis (1990)が指摘するように発話矯正の効果測定することは極めて困難であるため、ガイドラインの妥当性を裏付ける実証的研究は現在は存在しておらず、あくまで研究者の理論と筆者本人の経験に基づく産物である。また、このガイドラインは、教室内での教師の発話矯正の一貫性の向上には貢献できると考えられるが、考慮すべき点他にも多く存在し、現時点では未完成であることを認めざるを得ない。例えば、「どのように誤りを直すべきか」で発話矯正を大きく四つに分類し考察したが、矯正する際の教師の声のトーンや表情などは考察に含まれていない。また、誤りを犯した学習者本人や他の学習者がどのように誤りを直すべきかも考察から除外されている。加えて、成人学習者といっても幅が広く、学習者の年令・言語運用能力のレベル・学習スタイル・学習ストラテジー・パーソナリティー等によっても、発話矯正の効果が影響を受けるであろうことは容易に想像できる。更に、教師と学習者の間に信頼関係が出来ていなければ、教師の矯正を受け入れるレディネスが学習者に生じにくいであろう。それ故、本研究は一貫した発話矯正に向けての叩き台としての第一歩としてとらえられるべきであり、本研究に含まれていない上述の要素も取り入れた上での拡大、そしてそれを裏付ける実証的研究が今後の課題である。

### 脚注

- 1 本稿は学習者の教室内での発話内の誤りとその矯正に関するものである。教室外での誤りやスピーキング以外の誤りは本稿では取り扱わない。
- 2 Hendrickson (1978)が挙げた誤り矯正に関する四つの質問に基づく。尚、Hendricksonでは「いつ誤りを直すべきか」が含まれているが、「いつ」は、「どの誤りを」に密接に関係しているので、四つの質問に限定した。
- 3 Ellis (1990, 54-55)による。
- 4 誤りを犯した学習者に対する非難、学習者の上達の指摘、誤りがない文が作れた学習者への賞賛等の情意的なフィードバックや学習者の文を教師が完成するフィードバックは発話矯正の枠組みから外れるので除外する。尚、全ての例は教師の「昨日何をしましたか。」という

質問に、学習者が「公園に行きました。」と答えた後の教師のフィードバックである。

- 5 これら三つの理論も、前述の発話矯正に関する主張同様、実証的研究の裏付けが未だなされていなが、真っ向から反対する主張も筆者の知るかぎり存在しておらず、また具体的なガイドライン作りを提供するという本稿の目的には役立てやすい理論であるので、採用した。
- 6 CLLの基本理論に関しては、Curran (1972, 1976)、LaForge (1983)、および Rardin, et al. (1988) 参照。
- 7 「学習者の誤りを直すべきか」は、成人学習者には発話矯正は効果があるという前提に立つ。また、第3章の「誰が」は「誰が誤りを直すべきか」を、「どの」は「どの誤りを直すべきか」を、「どのように」は「どのようにして誤りを直すべきか」をそれぞれ指す。「どの」については、「間違いは学習者自身によって直されるべきである(Corder, 1967)」に従い、誤りだけを問題とする。誤りが学習者の発達の次の段階に関係しているかは、発達の過程に関する研究が不足している現時点では、教師による教室での判断は困難なので、考察から除く。「どのように」は、教師の矯正に絞り、学習者自身または他の学習者による矯正は本稿では触れない。
- 8 筆者は学習者の言語運用能力の向上のために、同一学習項目を練習する機会を、機械的ドリル→ペアワーク→ロールプレイの順で学習者に与えている。本稿で筆者が考察しているのは、筆者自身が使用しているタイプの機械的ドリル、ペアワーク及びロールプレイに限定されており、それらのタイプが異なれば、発話矯正の仕方に関する考察にも影響があると考えられる。筆者が使用しているタイプのこれらの教室活動に関しては、坂本・横溝(1995)、横溝(1996)、横溝(1997)を参照。

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# Local Area Network (LAN) Computers in ESL and EFL Writing Classes: Promises and Realities

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Local Area Network (LAN) computers, used in writing classes in the U.S. for more than a decade, are now being introduced to colleges and universities in Asia. LANs have been observed to increase the quantity of writing and the degree of classroom interaction by students. However, research does not indicate that LANs are more effective in improving the writing of ESL and EFL students. Further, during peer reviews of papers, a context which usually generates the most collaboration, students in traditional classes have provided more feedback than students in LAN classes. Hence, LANs may be no more effective than traditional classes in improving the writing of ESL and EFL students.

ローカル・エリア・ネットワーク (LAN) は、アメリカの大学の作文授業では10年以上前から利用されているが、近年、アジアの国々での外国語授業へも導入されつつある。実際に英語を使って書く量が多くなり、学習者間の協力が盛んになるという理由で、英作文学習に効果的だといわれるLANであるが、作文の質的側面をみると状況が異なる。すなわち、LANを利用して書き上げた作文には、従来の教授法に従って書かれた作文ほどの質的向上がみられないのである。さらに、学習者間でお互いの作文を添削する場合、LAN利用の授業と比較して、従来型の授業の方が学習者はより盛んにフィードバックを送りあっていたことが判明した。英作文能力の向上のために、LANの利用が従来型の授業よりも効果があるとは、必ずしも結論付けできないようである。

**L**ocal area network (LAN) computers, used in American writing classes for about a decade, are now being introduced to Asia. More than a dozen universities and colleges in Hong Kong, Japan, Singapore, and Taiwan have installed LAN computers to teach writing in the past two years, and more installations are planned.<sup>1</sup>

A LAN consists of a number of computer terminals linked through a server. LANs are commonly used in businesses, laboratories, and industrial settings where employees at a single location need to be linked for the purpose of sharing information. Although the exchange of electronic information usually demands expertise in LAN management, software programs designed for educational settings have simplified the process for teachers and students so that LAN-based instruction can be conducted with only a basic knowledge of computers. A number of software programs for LAN writing classes exist and this report uses the *Daedalus* program (1994).

### How LAN Software Works

*Daedalus* (1994), used by more than five hundred secondary and tertiary institutions in the U.S. and also gaining popularity in Asia, best illustrates how LAN software designed for writing classes functions. The software is capable of displaying two "windows" on each computer screen—one for private editing and the other for public viewing. The "messages" written by the teacher and students in the private editing windows of their computers appear on the public viewing window on every computer screen in the classroom. The writing on the public viewing window is called the "main" conference. Since the writing appears sequentially and can be scrolled on the computer screen, the teacher and students can be involved in a simultaneous discussion. The software program is also capable of running "sub-conferences," a third window that allows smaller groups of students, with or without the teacher, to hold simultaneous discussions separately from the main conference, with the option of joining the main conference. Thus, at any given time, the class could be involved in discussions on the main conference and a number of sub-conferences. In writing classes, sub-conferences are suggested to be especially suitable for peer review of papers in small groups of three or four students.

When computers were introduced to writing classes more than two decades ago, they were stand-alone versions and students sat in relative isolation using word processing programs. Although these programs made revision easier, interaction with other students and the teacher was not high and feedback on writing came mainly from the teacher. The introduction of LANs to writing classes about a decade ago led to a dramatic increase in student writing, interaction, and collaboration, and to more learner-centered classes.

Hypothetically, LANs hold much promise for second or foreign language learners because they have the following advantages over tradi-

tional teacher-centered writing classes that use methods such as oral discussions, lectures, and word processing. First, the real-time conferencing capability of LANs can promote better discussions because the lack of turn-taking allows all the students in a class to participate, eliminates interruptions, and facilitates immediate feedback by students and the teacher (see Kemp, 1993). Further, the negative effects of social context cues like skin color, gender, and age are eliminated in LAN discussions. In addition, second and foreign language learners who are generally less articulate orally than in writing, take more time to verbalize their thoughts, and are too polite to interrupt others, are also not disadvantaged (for a more detailed discussion of the positive effects of LANs in writing classes, see Cooper & Selfe, 1990). The anxiety caused by accents, another obstacle to free interaction in second and foreign language classes (see Price, 1991), is also eliminated by LANs.

As an example of how LANs promote student discourse, Figure 1 is an excerpt from a LAN discussion as it appeared in the public viewing window. The discussion on a paper titled, "Surviving in Cambodia" was conducted by Cantonese-speaking students enrolled in an EFL writing class at a Hong Kong university. Fourteen students, 4 male and 10 female, participated in this discussion, their first meeting on the LAN. The students contributed 99 messages during the total meeting time of 105 minutes, the female students sending 52 messages and the males 25; the balance of 22 messages were from the teacher. The highest number of messages sent by a student was eight, and the lowest was one, producing 100% student participation in the discussion.

This excerpt illustrates some distinctive features of a LAN writing program, such as the sequential appearance of messages, the identification of writers, and the prolific nature of writing. Cheung May's contribution, which appears at the beginning of the segment, is actually the 51st "message" in the discussion. The first message in the excerpt was sent at 11:39:58 and the final message at 11:41:28. Thus, within a period of 90 seconds, four students had contributed fairly long and thoughtful messages totaling more than 210 words (see Braine, 1998, for a detailed analysis of this LAN discussion).

#### Research on the Quantity and Quality of ESL/EFL Students' Writing with LANs

As seen from the transcript in Figure 1, perhaps the most remarkable and appealing features of LANs are the high volume of writing by students and their great degree of participation. These features have been documented repeatedly in ESL writing classes using LANs. For instance,

Figure 1: Excerpt from Transcript  
of a LAN Discussion in an EFL Writing Class

11:39:58

Msg #51 Cheung Meimei May:

Although the writer tells his unhappy story in Cambodia, he writes it quite interestingly. The story is quite funny. However, I think the deep meaning in this paper not only tells us his story. It reflects the poor situation in Cambodia during the Communist rule. It is so sad to know that a nine year old boy always has to lie and steal in order to survive.

11:40:08

Msg #52 Judy Chan:

George, does the ILC have this film?

11:40:52

Msg #53 Ashley Ip:

The thesis is also very attractive to me because I have been living in a very peaceful place since I was born. It is very difficult for me to imagine how I can live if there is a war. And, I think this is also some experience that only few students have. Therefore I think the paper is attractive to everyone.

11:41:28

Msg #58 Cora Limleena:

"surviving in Cambodia" is an interesting paper.

First of all, the thesis statement is clearly stated in the first paragraph-"I survived through the entire four years by knowing how to lie and how to steal." This attract readers attention as we are all curious to know how and why!

Examples quoted are the writer's first hand experience and so it is more believable. However I am sorry that it is really a hard time for a nine-year-old boy to lie and to steal!

Markley (1992) observed that students in a 50-minute class wrote an average of 152 words, while in another 50-minute class the average student output increased to 188 words. Students in a 40-minute class taught by Sullivan (1993) wrote an average of 95 words. In a 50-minute class taught by Ghaleb (1993), each student wrote about 90 words. In a 100-minute class observed by Braine (1997a), in which students peer reviewed essays in small groups, the output was a remarkable 480 words per student. In another study, Braine (1997b) observed an average of 334 words written by EFL students during peer reviews in 100-minute classes. In all these classes, every student participated in the discussion

and at least 71% of the classroom interactions were between students, in sharp contrast to traditional language classes, where from 60-80% of the speech is attributed to teachers (Chaudron, 1988, pp. 50-53).

However, the effectiveness of LANs in ESL and EFL writing classes should not be determined by the quantity of writing or by the degree of student interaction alone. Considering the high cost of the technology, a primary criterion should be the enhancement of writing quality. Several studies have compared ESL students writing in LAN-based and traditional writing classes to determine which context is more effective in enhancing writing quality. Ghaleb (1993) compared 39 ESL students enrolled in two first-year writing classes in the US, one writing on a LAN and the other in a traditional setting. The students were from ten language backgrounds. Writing quality was determined by holistic scores awarded to the first and final drafts of final term papers by three raters using a 6-point scoring guide designed by the author. The interrater reliability in this study was .66.

Although the first drafts in the LAN class were of a higher quality, the final drafts in the LAN class showed only a mean improvement of .2 of a point, while papers in the traditional class showed a mean improvement of .8 of a point. Ghaleb attributed the difference to the considerable amount of time spent by the instructor of the traditional class on the teaching of grammar and error correction, whereas in the LAN class, the teacher and students spent class time interacting on the LAN.

Sullivan and Pratt (1996) compared 38 Spanish-speaking EFL students in Puerto Rico who were enrolled in their first writing course. One group of students held discussions and wrote on a LAN while the other group conducted these activities in a traditional setting. Again, writing quality was measured by the holistic scores of two raters on a 5-point scale designed by the authors. The interrater reliability here was not estimated. At the beginning of the semester, the mean score of papers in the traditional class was higher than the LAN group. However, by the end of the semester, the mean score of the traditional group had decreased by -.46 of a point. In the LAN class, the mean scores of papers increased by .07 of a point, a very small gain. However, a paired t-test showed the difference in the changes to be statistically significant ( $p < 0.05$ ).

Braine (1997a) compared the writing of 69 students enrolled in first-year ESL writing classes in the U.S., some writing on a LAN and the others in traditional classes, over two academic quarters. The students were from ten language backgrounds. The first and final drafts of student essays were scored holistically by three raters using the 6-point TOEFL Test of Written English (TWE) Scoring Guide and the interrater reliability was .80. The mean scores of first and final drafts in LAN classes

were higher than the scores of the traditionally instructed group, although papers in the LAN classes improved less than papers in the traditional classes (.3 of a point compared with .4 of a point).

Another study by Braine (1997b) compared the writing of 87 Cantonese-speaker EFL students enrolled in LAN and traditional writing classes at a Hong Kong university. The comparison was repeated with six groups of students over three semesters. As in the previous study, the first and final drafts of student essays were scored holistically by three raters using the TOEFL Test of Written English (TWE) Scoring Guide. The interrater reliability here was .82. Although the mean score of the first drafts in LAN classes was higher than the mean score for the traditional group, the mean score of final drafts in traditional classes (4.54 points) was slightly better than in LAN classes (4.45 points), and, as in the previous study, writing in the traditional classes improved more, as determined by the holistic scoring method. However, a paired t-test showed that the improvements in the mean scores of both the LAN and traditional classes were statistically significant ( $p < .05$ ). See Table 1 for a summary of the results of the four studies.

Table 1: Summary of Research Comparing Writing Quality in LAN and Traditional Writing Classes (Average Points\* from Holistic Scoring)

Study	LAN Classes			Traditional Classes		
	Points for Draft 1	Points for Draft 2		Points for Draft 1	Points for Draft 2	
Ghaleb (1993)	3.4	3.6	(+.2)	3.1	3.9	(+.8)
Sullivan & Pratt (1996)	3.19	3.26	(+.07)	3.41	2.95	(-.46)
Braine (1997a)	5.3	5.6	(+.3)	4.8	5.2	(+.4)
Braine (1997b)	4.25	4.45	(+.2)	4.12	4.54	(+.42)

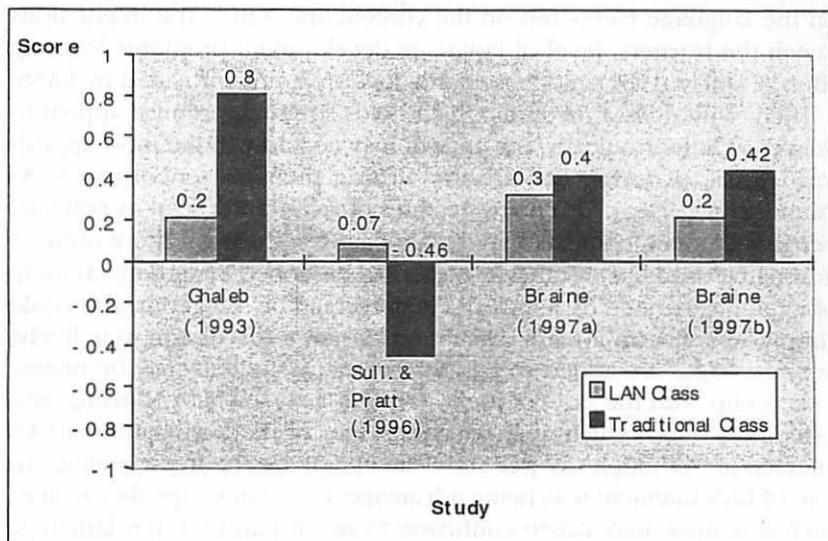
\* The two Braine studies and the Ghaleb study had a maximum of 6 points; the Sullivan and Pratt study had a maximum of 5 points.

As for the effectiveness of LANs in enhancing writing quality, the results of these studies are at best inconclusive, and this finding is compounded by the lack of measures of syntactic complexity. In Ghaleb (1993) and Braine (1997b), the final drafts in traditional classes were of a higher quality than final drafts in LAN classes: Only in Braine (1997a) were final drafts in LAN classes of a higher quality. In fact, in three of the studies, (Ghaleb 1993; Braine 1997a; 1997b), the papers from the traditional classes showed more improvement from first to final draft. In Sullivan and Pratt (1996), the

opposite was observed: The papers in the traditional class actually declined in quality while the papers in the LAN class improved. Here, the first drafts in the traditional class were of a higher quality (3.41) than both first (3.19) and final drafts (3.26) in the LAN class, which brings into question Sullivan and Pratt's (1996) claim that the students in the LAN class showed a gain in writing due to the LAN.

Since the students in EFL writing classes were homogeneous first language speakers, as opposed to the ESL students, who were from diverse language backgrounds, the findings of Sullivan and Pratt (1996), who studied Spanish speakers, and Braine (1997b), who studied Cantonese speakers, are more relevant to the EFL context. As noted, the conclusions of Sullivan and Pratt (1996) do little to support the claim that LANs improve writing quality. Braine's (1997b) study indicates the opposite, that the writing of students in traditional classes improved more, albeit marginally (see Figure 2 for a comparison of the changes in scores between first and final drafts in LAN and traditional classes).

Figure 2: Comparison of Changes in Scores between First and Final Drafts in LAN and Traditional Writing Classes (Holistic Scoring)



Sullivan and Pratt (1993) used a five-point scale. The other studies used six-point scales.

### Discussion

The lack of clear empirical evidence indicating that LANs are more effective in improving writing quality is surprising in the context of research findings on writing and language learning<sup>2</sup> which suggest that the quantity of writing generated by LANs and the collaborative nature of the writing process should promote better writing (see Keim, 1989; Burns & Culp, 1980; Briere, 1966; and Gere, 1987, for effects of writing quantity and collaboration on writing quality). Research also indicates that learning environments which provide learners with opportunities for meaningful interaction and negotiation, and provide equal status with other learners and the teacher (i.e., learner-centered, communicative classes such as LANs) promote language learning (Pica, 1987, 1996). Further, according to research on second language acquisition, collaborative, information-exchange activities (Pica, 1987), "the opportunity to participate in the same kinds of interactions as naturalistic learners" (Ellis, 1984, p. 96), the absence of typical classroom discourse such as teacher initiation, student response, and teacher feedback (Ellis, 1984, p. 97), and the opportunity to actively participate in discussions without compulsion to produce until they are ready (Ellis, 1992, p. 48) are additional conditions which promote language learning in the classroom. Thus, a language environment where the focus of communication is not on the language forms but on the content and where the interactions match the learners' level of language development promotes learning (Burt & Dulay, 1981) and these conditions are amply provided by LANs.

Then, why does a medium which holds so much promise appear to deliver so little? Ironically, the answer may lie partly in the most appealing feature of LANs, the prolific writing their use encourages. As Pennington (1996, p. 26) notes, features of a computer seen as potential benefits in some contexts may have negative effects on the writing of non-native students in other contexts. As described earlier, the amount of writing generated by a LAN discussion could be staggering and could simply overwhelm a class discussion. When a discussion gets lively, new messages are added so rapidly that many students may be unable to keep up with the flow of ideas, creating a somewhat confusing, disjointed discourse which operates against the collaborative nature of LAN interaction. Although Cooper and Selfe (1990) see the freewheeling nature of LAN interaction as being advantageous to native-speaker writers, such discourse may cause confusion to second and foreign language writers struggling to express their ideas in a new language.

This phenomenon is best illustrated in Figure 3, which is another excerpt from the LAN discussion partially presented in Figure 1. The

discussion is now coming to an end and the students are giving their research paper topics to the group. Although Cora Limleena has indicated that she is leaving the discussion, the next message from Cheung May is directed at Cora. Apparently, each message was written simultaneously without an awareness of the other's contents, a situation which would have been avoided in a face-to-face discussion. The message from Ng Lei-Ling is a commentary on a paper discussed at the beginning of class and therefore has no relevance to the current discussion. The message from Shirley Yau indicates her inability to keep up with the discussion; she assumes that the computer is malfunctioning, although her confusion may actually be caused by incoming messages flooding the computer screen.

Figure 3: Excerpt from Transcript of a LAN Discussion in an EFL Writing Class Showing Non-cohesive Discourse

12.01.02

Msg #88 Cora Limleena:

Bye everybody! See you all next time!

12.01.24

Msg #89 Cheung Meimei May:

Cora Limleena, we are lucky to live in Hong Kong. Therefore, we don't immigrate to other Asian countries as we cannot enjoy our women's rights.

12.02.04

Msg #90 Chong Ka-Yan:

I have chosen quite a different topic from the others. It's about multilevel marketing.

12.02.08

Msg #91 Ng Lei-Ling:

In my opinion, when the writer want to cite some examples or personal experiences, he had better present it clearly or give preparation for the readers to change their minds from the present situation in Russia.

Actually the data or information provided in this passage is quite abundant and valuable. But it seems that it can't concentrate on the core subject.

Msg #92 Shirley Yau:

Sorry, I can't receive your message.! I knew you had sent messages to other students! Are there any problems in my computer? James has the same problem too!

### Interaction and Collaboration During Peer Reviews

Perhaps more than any other type of classroom activity, peer reviews provide language learners with opportunities for interaction and collaboration. This is due to the nonthreatening environment of small groups, the mutually beneficial and dependent nature of the task, the pressure to provide useful feedback within a time limit, and meaning-focused nature of the activity.

As mentioned, the most appealing features of LAN use are the great volume of writing generated and the increased participation and collaboration by students. However, this may not hold true during the peer review process. In one study comparing the quantity of writing generated in peer reviews (Braine, 1997b) in traditional classes and LAN classes, the traditional classes promoted more feedback, determined by a word count, than the LAN class. In 100-minute peer review sessions, students in traditional classes provided an average of 694 words of verbal feedback, the median being 592. However, in LAN classes each student only wrote an average of 334 words, the median being 337.

An analysis comparing the peer review process in traditional and LAN classes (Braine, 1997b) found differences in student discourse patterns and behavior. Students in traditional classes showed an orderly sequence of turn taking, providing feedback in narrative form, with the whole draft being critiqued. There were instances of meaning being negotiated, the feedback indicating a careful reading of drafts and a holistic approach to the peer review. Writers responded immediately to the comments of peers, justifying and explaining the points being critiqued. Another noteworthy feature was that students in traditional classes made prudent use of the limited time allocated to the peer reviews, agreeing on whose draft to review first and proceeding smoothly from one draft to the next. The proximity of the students sitting in groups and the face to face nature of the interaction may have made this possible. Despite the fact that they conversed in English, a language they would rarely use for communication outside English language classes, these transcripts showed evidence of carefully wrought, useful feedback.

In contrast to the thoughtful nature of the feedback observed in the traditional classes, feedback in the LAN class appeared to be sporadic, scattered, and less organized. It also appears to have been less planned. While the face-to-face reviews in traditional classes compelled all students to be alert and active participants, the lack of eye contact and physical proximity between students writing on the LAN mitigated against careful feedback. Some students appeared to be oblivious to the computer interactions of their peers, instead writing extended comments on essays selected arbitrarily, not by consensus.

In fact, the quantity of peer feedback in the traditional classes in Braine (1997b) exceeded the quantity in LAN classes. When compared to written peer reviews on LANs, the quantity of verbal feedback was greater in all but one of the 14 peer review groups in traditional classes observed over three semesters.

### Conclusion

When word processing was introduced to writing classes, it was greeted with the euphoria that accompanies most high technology innovations to language teaching. But, after a more than a decade of use, Pennington (1993) notes the lack of clear evidence that word processing actually improves student writing, a caution echoed in more general terms for all CALL (Milton, Smallwood & Purchase, 1996).

Could the same be said of LANs? In a comprehensive survey of research on computers and composition, Eldred and Hawisher (1995) argue that no empirical evidence supports the view that computer networks enhance writing quality. Although this research examines the writing of English native speakers, the research surveyed here on second and foreign language writing classes, offers no evidence to contradict this view.

Technology is expensive and time-consuming. The dynamic nature of LANs and their high productivity will no doubt appeal to language teachers weary of traditional classrooms where students sit in comparative silence and isolation. Nevertheless, the reality appears to be that LANs may be no more effective than traditional classes in improving the writing quality of English as a second/foreign language learners.

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### Notes

1. Susan Meigs, The *Daedalus* Group, Inc. (personal communication. July 6, 1998).
2. Pennington (1996) claims that a "causal link between writing more and

writing better (on computers) has not been established" (p. 81). However, her claim relates to word processing, which many network theorists such as Barker and Kemp (1990) have argued is radically different from LANs.

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(Received November 15, 1997; revised May 10, 1998)

# Effectiveness of Different Approaches to Kanji Education with Second Language Learners

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Approaches to teaching Chinese characters as used in Japanese (kanji) to adult second/foreign language learners can be broadly divided into the Whole-kanji method and the Component Analysis method. The Whole-kanji method involves memorizing kanji as units. The Component Analysis method involves breaking the kanji down into components, attaching meaning to those components and memorizing a story which ties the components together. This study examines the effectiveness of the two approaches with subject populations in JSL and JFL settings. Five sessions of each method consisting of instruction in 30 kanji were given to two subject groups. A Short Term Memory (STM) test followed each of the first three sessions, a Long Term Memory (LTM) test was given at the fourth session, and a Post LTM test was given one month later. The Component Analysis method promoted significantly higher retention in both settings. These findings are discussed in terms of depth of processing, learning styles and location of instruction.

日本語学習者に対する漢字教授法は、全体的漢字教授法と構成要素分析教授法とに大別することができる。全体的漢字教授法とは、漢字を独りで繰り返し書き写し、学習用に制約された文章の中でそれらを読むことで、漢字全体を一つの単位として記憶させるものである。構成要素分析教授法は個々の漢字を構成要素にまで完全に分解し、それぞれの構成要素に固有の意味を付与し、その後でそれらの構成要素を関連付けるようなストーリーを記憶し、元の漢字の本来の意味を思い出させるというものである。本稿では、日本国内と国外という異なった状況における、これら二つの教授法の効果を比較検討した。日本国内外の被験者グループに対し、それぞれの教授法を週1回3週間実施した。被験者は毎回10個の漢字を学習し、その後短期記憶テストを受けた。4週目には長期記憶テストを実施し、さらに一ヶ月後の5回目のテスト時には追加的な長期記憶テストを実施した。この結果、構成要素分析法の教授法としての優位性が証明された。本稿では、漢字処理の深度、学習方法、日本国内外での差異を中心に議論を展開する。

"The relative ease or difficulty of the beginner reader's task will be influenced to a large extent by the features of the symbols he has to deal with, as well as by the nature of their relation to the spoken language" (Feitelson, 1972, p. 18). We suggest that this is equally true for second language learners. All major systems of writing are based on spoken languages, though they differ radically in the ways in which they correlate to primary spoken languages and the linguistic level at which the mapping of script unit to linguistic unit occurs. In alphabetic orthographies, the basic script unit corresponds to the phoneme; in logographic orthographies it corresponds to the lexical unit or to the morpheme (Klima, 1972). Logographies involve considerably more orthographic units than the alphabet (Lado, 1957; Wang, 1981).

The focus of the research literature on kanji has been on the cognitive processing of the fluent native speaker. Alphabetic and logographic writing systems apparently activate different coding and memory mechanisms such that logographic characters produce significantly more visual information in memory, whereas alphabetic words result in a more integrated code involving visual, phonological, and semantic information (Chen & Juola, 1982; Chen & Tsoi, 1990). However, the question of the importance of phonetic representation in processing logographic scripts is far from settled (Horodeck, 1987). Tzeng, Hung & Wang (1977), Steinberg & Yamada (1978), and Perfetti & Zhang (1995) indicate that a degree of phonetic recoding occurs with processing Chinese characters. Other researchers have found that "the direct processing from visual (graphemic) codes to meaning (semantic codes) is possible" (Saito, 1981, p. 273). The *orthographic depth hypothesis* (ODH) (Frost, 1994; Frost, Katz & Bentin, 1987) proposes that with a deep orthography such as kanji, a direct route is activated primarily and word phonology is retrieved through lexical access. Evidence exists to support this hypothesis (Perfetti & Zhang, 1991). Recent studies on Chinese and English indicate that while there is an automatic phonological coding involved in all languages, orthographic variation in the degree of involvement of phonological coding is observed across languages (Perfetti, Zhang & Berent, 1992).

While some research has addressed the acquisition of kanji in the native Japanese child (Mann, 1986) and in the second language learner (Flaherty, 1995; Chikamatsu, 1996), many important questions concerning kanji pedagogy remain unanswered. In Japanese second language (L2) education, the importance of kanji knowledge has been stressed by a number of researchers (Met, 1988; Kawai, 1991). Various methods have been suggested (Gray, 1960; Downing, 1973), but none have been assessed in terms of their effectiveness. The purpose of this paper is to

examine the effectiveness of different methods of teaching kanji to L2 learners both in Japan and outside of Japan. However, the question as to whether romanization should be introduced prior to kanji has led to much argument (Harries, 1989; Steinberg & Yamada, 1978; Everson, 1988) and will not be considered in the present paper.

### Methods of Kanji Instruction

There are many ways of teaching learners how to read kanji but they may be broadly divided into two general methods. One will be referred to in this paper as the Whole-kanji method and the other as the Component Analysis method. The question as to which is better echoes the historic thirty-year debate between the whole-word supporters and phonics school in teaching English reading (see Smith, 1988).

The Whole-kanji method of teaching kanji to alphabet-habituated L2 students is essentially the same method Japanese teachers traditionally employ in the elementary classroom. The children memorize kanji as whole units by repeatedly writing them in isolation and by reading them in controlled reading passages. Writing the characters in space (kusho), according to Sasaki (1987), has two functions: "first, providing motor- or action-based representation and second, aiding a conscious mental process by an external action" (p. 146). Pictures used as visual memory aids, analysis of the radical (an element within a more complex character with a similar conceptual meaning), and etymological explanations may be used in the early stages of kanji learning to motivate Japanese children, but most teachers eventually abandon these approaches as more and more kanji are presented (Sakamoto & Makita, 1973; Kiss, 1991). The most widely used textbooks in post-secondary programs in the United States, according to a survey by Jordan and Lambert (1991), are *Learn Japanese* (Young & Nakajima, 1985) and *Reading Japanese* (Jordan & Chaplin, 1977). Both of these texts are representative of the Whole-kanji method.

On the other hand, the Component Analysis method of teaching kanji involves analyzing each kanji to be learned by breaking it down entirely into components (i.e., not simply pointing out the radical), attaching meaning to each of these components, and then having learners remember a story which ties the components together and calls to mind the essential meaning of the kanji (De Roo, 1982). While the stories of some Component Analysis materials are based partly on etymological explanations or historical research on ancient Chinese life, Heisig (1986) takes a more whimsical approach. He suggests that the

L2 learner should “make a sort of alphabet out of [the components], assign to each its own image, fuse them together to form other images and so build up [a] complex tableau in imagination” (p. 7). Heisig gives his own “story” for each of the first 508 kanji he presents and asks learners to create their own stories for the others, stories that will “shock the mind’s eye . . . so as to brand it with an image intimately associated with the (meaning)” (p. 9).

Although the role of component shapes, context and frequency on L2 acquisition has been examined (Matsunaga, 1994; Harada, 1985; Everson, 1992; Hatasa, 1993), kanji acquisition research so far has not analyzed the relative success in terms of L2 reading progress. It has been suggested that, “in learning to write Chinese, the alphabet habituated person simply has to start afresh” (Lado, 1957, p. 108). However, it is possible that the Whole-kanji approach is inappropriate for adult L2 learners, who bring a mechanism for recognition of their own native written language to the task of kanji learning which can provide a useful bridge for developing a recognition mechanism for kanji. Adult L2 learners also have much higher powers of abstraction than children, as well as a facility with generalized principles (Lado, 1957; Heisig, 1986). McGinnis (1995) suggests that the greatest challenge teachers of kanji face is to overcome their own notion that kanji are extremely difficult so that they will not pass this psychological handicap on to their students.

The present work is an attempt to approach this challenge in terms of assessing the effectiveness of *two* different methods of teaching kanji to adult L2 learners in *two* different settings: in Ireland, a Japanese as a Foreign Language (JFL) setting where the subject is exposed to kanji only in the classroom setting, and in Japan, a Japanese as a Second Language (JSL) setting where the subject is surrounded by constant kanji stimulation. The difference between studying a language in the country where it is spoken or in one own’s country cannot be underestimated (Jones, 1989).

### The Study

The purpose of this study is to focus on the visual perception of word forms and their meanings, and the ability to translate the printed symbols into verbal forms.<sup>1</sup> Reading is a complex task involving many processes and is influenced by a number of factors. Thus both the recognition and production performance of the word forms will be considered (See Ke, 1996; Mori, 1995).

### *Hypotheses*

The following hypotheses will be examined.

1. The adult L2 learners of kanji in both Japan (JSL) and Ireland<sup>2</sup> (JFL) will benefit more from instruction using the Component Analysis method than instruction using the Whole-kanji method in both the short term and the long term.
2. The adult L2 learners will benefit more in accuracy of writing kanji from the Whole-kanji method than the Component Analysis method. This hypothesis is based on the belief that repetitive kinesthetic action enhances kanji learning, but no investigation of whether this is actually true will be carried out in this preliminary study.
3. The adult L2 learners' ability to access the meaning of the kanji will be enhanced more by the Component Analysis method than by the Whole-kanji method. This is suggested to be due to the heightened power of abstraction and semantic creativity involved in use of the Component Analysis method, although, again, this will not be investigated in the present study.
4. The JSL learners in Japan will outperform their Irish counterparts in both reading and writing measures of accuracy due to their constant exposure to kanji stimuli.

### *Method*

#### *Subjects*

Fifty-three potential subjects, all native English speakers, were recruited at two separate locations, one group in Japan ( $n = 19$ ) and the other in Ireland ( $n = 34$ ). Details regarding these subjects are given below. Three criteria were decided upon in order to choose the subjects: the presence of matched kanji knowledge, generally equivalent proficiency in spoken Japanese and the lack of significant difference on two types of IQ measure. The subjects were self-selected insofar as they replied to an advertisement made at a public lecture in Japan concerning the experiment.

In order to control for current kanji knowledge and Japanese proficiency, a kanji pretest was administered. The pretest consisted of two parts; the first part was based on kanji which also act as radicals and the second on more advanced kanji. The first part consisted of a list of 16 words in English (e.g., mouth, ear, woman) for which the kanji are basic characters and also act as radicals (see Appendix 1). The second part consisted of a list of 48 concepts given in English (e.g., employment, bridge) (see Appendix 2). The Japanese Ministry of Education requires elementary

school children to have mastered certain kanji by specific grades in school. Eight kanji were selected at random from each of the first six grades to make the list of 48. The subjects were asked to write the kanji and pronunciation (in kana or romanized script) for each English word. Only subjects who knew at least 8-10 basic kanji from the first list and 13-15 kanji from the second list in the pretest qualified as subjects. Subjects who knew more than 30 kanji were also eliminated. The potential subjects were considered to know the kanji only if the kanji could be written correctly and one of its pronunciations noted. The criteria here for "knowing the kanji" were the ability to pronounce and write the character. While it could be argued that simple recognition of the kanji might tap into the passive knowledge of the L2 learners (particularly those who might have learned the character, had not used it in a while and could neither access the pronunciation of it nor reproduce it in writing), "reading" here is deemed to involve the visual perception of the word, the elaboration of both meaning and pronunciation to symbol, and the ability to reproduce the symbol on comprehending the message once decoded.

The subjects were also required to have sufficient spoken Japanese proficiency to comprehend and respond to basic conversation. This was assessed by the experimenters, who speak Japanese fluently, and also through self-assessment by the subjects. While the subjects' self-reported proficiency in spoken Japanese was approximately matched between the JSL and JFL groups, those subjects recruited in Japan may have known more vocabulary than those in Ireland, by virtue of having lived in Japan for an average of three years.

Two types of IQ tests were administered, a visual test (Visual Estimation: ET3) and a verbal test (Verbal Comprehension: VT1) (Saville & Holdsworth, 1979). These tests had reliability estimates of .83 and .80 respectively. Paired and unpaired *t*-tests were used to examine the significance of differences in the test scores of subjects assigned in the two instructional situations.

Application of these criteria drastically reduced the original potential subject sample of 53. Twenty-nine subjects were chosen to participate in the experiment (15 in Japan and 14 in Ireland). Fourteen subjects (7 in Japan and 7 in Ireland) were randomly assigned to the Component Analysis method instruction group and 15 (8 in Japan and 7 in Ireland) to the Whole-kanji method instruction group. As measured by an independent *t*-test, there were no significant differences between the subjects assigned to the two methods on either IQ measure (subjects living in Japan: verbal IQ:  $t = .91$ ,  $df = 13$ ,  $p > .01$ ; visual IQ:  $t = 1.06$ ,  $df = 13$ ,  $p < .01$ . Subjects living in Ireland: verbal IQ:  $t = .49$ ,  $df = 12$ ,  $p > .01$ ; visual IQ:  $t = .55$ ,  $df = 12$ ,  $p > .01$ ).<sup>3</sup>

*Subjects in Japan:* Fifteen adults (six males and nine females) aged 20-45 (Median age = 28) participated in the study. All were resident in Japan at the time of testing and had lived in Japan for some time (three years on average). Some subjects had taken brief courses in Japanese but none were taking classes at the time of the study. For the most part they were all self-taught in Japanese, and their motivation to learn the language was for practical reasons. They were all alphabet-habituated native English speakers. All had normal or corrected-to-normal vision in both eyes. Each subject was paid transportation costs to the experiment site (approximately \$10 per session).

For practical reasons, the subject population in Japan was recruited prior to the Irish group. It was difficult to find people in Japan who were willing to commit themselves to the time required for the entire experiment. The kanji knowledge of these subjects was then matched with the Irish group; it was found that the skill level of students studying Japanese intensively for six months was equivalent to those who had resided in Japan without long-term formal education. Although it was impossible to control for the subjects' individual kanji input between sessions, in an attempt to control for the kanji taught in the sessions, all materials used in the experiment were taken from the subjects after each session and given to them only after the post-LTM test had been completed.

*Subjects in Ireland:* Fourteen undergraduate students of Japanese (three males and 11 females), aged 18-19, from Dublin City University, Ireland participated in the study. All had studied Japanese intensively as a foreign language for six months. None of the subjects had ever been to Japan or any other kanji-using country. Their motivation to study Japanese was to gain a degree in the language and pursue a career in the field. All were alphabet-habituated native English speakers. All had normal or corrected-to-normal vision in both eyes. Each subject was paid \$15 for participation.

### *Materials*

Two sets of teaching materials corresponding to the two teaching methods being investigated were employed. For the Whole-kanji method, Jordan and Chaplin's *Reading Japanese* (1977) was used. For the Component Analysis method, Heisig's *Remembering the Kanji I* (1986) and De Roo's *2001 Kanji* (1982) were employed.

### *Design and Procedure*

The experiment consisted of five sessions for each method. The first four sessions, each lasting two hours, were held at intervals of one week and a follow-up post-test was given one month later. All sessions for each

method were administered in a group setting. All explanations and instructions were given verbally in English. The experimenters acted as the instructors: one experimenter was in Ireland and taught both methods; the other experimenter was in Japan and taught both methods.

The kanji for the sessions were carefully chosen from the pre-test list (see Appendix 3 for the list). Kanji that were known (as indicated by the pre-test) were rejected. Thirty kanji were chosen randomly from the list of unknown kanji. It is important to note that no subject knew the Japanese word or the written form of these 30 kanji prior to the experiment. The set of 30 kanji was randomly assigned to three groups of 10 each.

In each of the first three sessions, one group of 10 kanji was taught for a total of 100 minutes (10 minutes dedicated to each kanji), and a short-term memory test (STM), lasting approximately 20 minutes, was given immediately afterwards. All tests were unannounced. In the STM test (production only), the subjects were given a list of English words corresponding to the kanji they had just learned in that particular session and were asked to write the kanji and one pronunciation for each word. Since three STM tests were conducted, each subject therefore had three pronunciation scores and three writing scores. The three pronunciation and three writing scores were averaged to give each subject one score as STM score for pronunciation and writing respectively.

In the fourth session the subjects were asked to complete a surprise long-term memory (LTM) test over the 30 kanji that had been taught in the three previous sessions and were asked to write a short report of their impressions of the methodology employed. The LTM test consisted of two parts, production and recognition. The first part had a list of English words and the subject was asked to write the corresponding kanji. When the first part was completed, the experimenter took the list from the subject and administered the second part, which was a list of the 30 kanji; the subject then had to write the meaning and pronunciation of each kanji.

The fifth session took place one month after administration of the LTM test and consisted of a post-LTM test lasting one and a half hours. The post-LTM test was identical to the long-term memory test, and again was unannounced.

#### *Instruction of the Two Methods*

The procedures for instructing each method were as follows:

*Whole-kanji Method:* The subjects were given a copy of each kanji with the stroke order outlined, a writing grid, and a number of sentences written in natural Japanese in which the kanji being taught appeared several times. These sentences were taken from the Jordan text (Jordan

& Chaplin, 1977). The subjects were asked to look at the kanji while the instructor wrote it on the board. The shape of the kanji was noted and the stroke order was counted aloud. Various pronunciations were written on the board and the subjects were asked to repeat them aloud. They read some sentences in which the kanji appeared, and then wrote the kanji eight times on the writing grid provided. A dictation exercise followed during which the subjects were not allowed to look at any of the teaching materials.

After all kanji for the session had been introduced, the subjects were given appropriate contextual reading material in which the 10 kanji appeared, again from the Jordan textbook. They were asked to read the material silently, and then aloud.

*Component Analysis Method.* The subjects were given a worksheet (from Noguchi, 1995) with two writing spaces for each kanji. One space was a box in which the kanji would be written in its entire form and the other was a space in which its components would be broken down. Also on the worksheet were spaces for noting pronunciations, compounds (*jukugo*), names of the compounds and a story which tied the components together to provide an aid for remembering the shape and meaning of the kanji. The worksheet was filled in entirely by the subject alone.

The experimenter then wrote the kanji on the board, noting the stroke order. The subjects were asked to write the kanji on their worksheet once, calling aloud the order number of the strokes of the kanji as they wrote it. The various pronunciations and one compound containing the kanji were written on the board and then noted on the worksheet by the subjects. A component grid divided up into boxes was drawn on the board and the components of that particular kanji were noted. The story logic (as outlined by Heisig, 1986 and De Roo, 1982) which linked the components together was explained and noted on the worksheets by the subjects. They were then asked to put their worksheets aside. They also drew the kanji on each other's backs, repeating the story as they drew each component. They were allowed to review any of the 10 kanji from the session at any point during the session as time permitted.

#### *Statistical Analysis of the Data*

Analysis of variance procedures (a two-way ANOVA) were used to determine between-group differences in the STM, LTM and post-LTM test scores of the two treatment groups according to whether they were in the JFL or JSL instructional situation. A two x two cell design was used, followed by Tukey tests (given as *t* values) to further determine where differences lay. As mentioned, an indepen-

dent *t*-test was used to find whether there were significant differences between IQ test scores for subjects in each instructional group. The alpha level was set at  $p < .05$ .

### Results

The hypotheses given in the introduction will now be considered in turn.

*Hypothesis 1:* The adult learners of kanji in both Japan (JSL) and Ireland (JFL) will benefit more from instruction using the Component Analysis method than instruction using the Whole-kanji method in both the short term and the long term.

The effectiveness of each method was assessed in terms of the ability of the subjects to remember one pronunciation of the kanji, its meaning, and its written form. Effectiveness was also assessed in terms of the STM, LTM and post-LTM test scores. The performance results of the two methods in terms of the STM, LTM and Post-LTM test scores of the two subject groups in the two instructional situations are outlined in Table 1.

Table 1: Average Scores for STM (pronunciation and written form), LTM (pronunciation, meaning and written form) and Post LTM (pronunciation, meaning and written form) tests\* of the two subject groups. (The mean results are shown with the standard deviations in italics underneath.)

	STM Pron.	Writ.	LTM Pron.	Mean.	Writ.	POST Pron.	LTM Mean.	Writ.
<i>Component Analysis</i>								
Japan ss ( <i>n</i> = 7)	9.60 <i>.81</i>	9.33 <i>1.21</i>	20.50 <i>5.64</i>	25.33 <i>6.12</i>	14.16 <i>10.10</i>	18.33 <i>8.11</i>	23.83 <i>18.33</i>	14.16 <i>9.62</i>
Irish ss ( <i>n</i> = 7)	8.85 <i>1.06</i>	9.00 <i>.81</i>	12.00 <i>7.34</i>	19.71 <i>6.55</i>	8.42 <i>8.24</i>	12.85 <i>6.93</i>	15.85 <i>7.15</i>	7.42 <i>6.97</i>
<i>Whole-kanji method</i>								
Japan ss ( <i>n</i> = 8)	9.00 <i>1.11</i>	7.11 <i>2.36</i>	12.33 <i>5.59</i>	14.44 <i>3.67</i>	2.88 <i>2.08</i>	11.11 <i>5.81</i>	12.88 <i>4.75</i>	2.55 <i>1.81</i>
Irish ss ( <i>n</i> = 7)	6.00 <i>1.82</i>	3.57 <i>1.81</i>	6.28 <i>4.57</i>	7.42 <i>4.72</i>	2.42 <i>2.37</i>	9.57 <i>4.19</i>	12.42 <i>6.16</i>	6.00 <i>3.05</i>

\* The maximum correct scores for the STM tests were 10, for the LTM tests 30, and for the Post-LTM 30.

Two-way ANOVA analysis indicated that there was a significant difference between the two methods in favor of the Component Analysis method in the STM test scores in terms of both pronunciation ( $F(1, 28) = 13.70$ ,  $p < .05$ ) and writing ( $F(1, 28) = 34.19$ ,  $p < .05$  in both groups of subjects. This advantage was further revealed in the LTM test scores of the characters (meaning:  $F(1, 28) = 34.69$ ,  $p < .01$ ; pronunciation:  $F(1, 28) = 9.95$ ,  $p < .05$ ; writing:  $F(1, 28) = 13.41$ ,  $p < .05$ ).

However, for the post-LTM test (i.e., the test which followed one month after the LTM test and 5 to 7 weeks after the kanji had actually been taught), the difference between the effectiveness of the two methods appeared to depend on whether the subjects were exposed to kanji only in the classroom (as with the JFL subjects in Ireland) or whether they had constant kanji input from the environment (as with the JSL subjects in Japan). For subjects tested in Ireland, while the trend was still in favor of the Component Analysis method, there was no statistically significant difference, as determined by Tukey tests, between the success of the two methods in terms of recalling the pronunciation of the kanji ( $t = -1.07$ ,  $df = 12$ ,  $p > .05$ ), the meaning ( $t = -.96$ ,  $df = 12$ ,  $p < .05$ ) or the written form ( $t = .49$ ,  $df = 12$ ,  $p > .05$ ). However, in Japan, the trend in favor of those who used the Component Analysis method continued in both the recall of the written form ( $t = 2.92$ ,  $df = 13$ ,  $p < .05$ ) and the meaning ( $t = 3.06$ ,  $df = 13$ ,  $p < .05$ ) of the kanji. In terms of remembering the pronunciation of the kanji, there was no significant difference between the two methods ( $t = 1.88$ ,  $df = 13$ ,  $p > .05$ ).

*Hypothesis 2:* The L2 learners will benefit more in accuracy of writing kanji from the Whole-kanji method than the Component Analysis method.

Two-way ANOVA analysis indicated that the subjects who were instructed by the Component Analysis method scored significantly higher than those instructed by the Whole-kanji method in terms of accuracy in writing the kanji in the STM tests ( $F(1, 28) = 34.19$ ,  $p < .01$ ) and the LTM test ( $F(1, 28) = 13.41$ ,  $p < .01$ ). However, follow-up Tukey tests comparing the post-LTM test scores of the instruction groups for each setting suggests that this trend continued only for the subjects in Japan ( $t = 3.06$ ,  $df = 13$ ,  $p < .01$ ). For the subjects in Ireland, there was no difference between the two methods ( $t = -.96$ ,  $df = 12$ ,  $p > .01$ ).

The Two-way ANOVA procedures revealed an interesting method-by-country interaction in the written part of the post-LTM test scores ( $F(1, 28) = 5.49$ ,  $p < .05$ ). A Tukey test indicated that subjects instructed by the Component Analysis method in Japan outscored their counter-

parts in Ireland ( $t = 2.07$ ,  $df = 27$ ,  $p < .05$ ). In addition, the Component Analysis group outscored Whole-kanji subjects in both Japan ( $t = 3.76$ ,  $df = 27$ ,  $p < .01$ ) and Ireland ( $t = 2.51$ ,  $df = 27$ ,  $p < .05$ ).

*Hypothesis 3:* The L2 learners' ability to access the meaning of the kanji will be enhanced more by the Component Analysis method than by the Whole-kanji method.

Two-way ANOVA procedures also indicated that those subjects who were trained by the Component Analysis method in both Ireland and Japan outperformed their Whole-kanji counterparts in terms of accessing the meaning of the kanji in the LTM test ( $F(1, 28) = 34.69$ ,  $p < .01$ ). However, the Component Analysis method scores on the post-LTM test were significantly higher only for the JSL group, as revealed by a Tukey test (Japan:  $t = 3.06$ ,  $df = 13$ ,  $p < .01$ ; Ireland:  $t = -.96$ ,  $df = 12$ ,  $p > .01$ ).

*Hypothesis 4:* The JSL learners in Japan will outperform their Irish counterparts in both reading and writing measures of accuracy due to their constant exposure to kanji stimuli.

Two-way ANOVA procedures indicated that the subjects in Japan scored significantly higher than their Irish counterparts in the STM tests (pronunciation:  $F(1, 28) = 16.02$ ,  $p < .01$ ; writing:  $F(1, 28) = 8.75$ ,  $p < .01$ ). There was an interaction effect between the method employed and the location (JFL versus JSL), with the JSL group in Japan showing significantly higher scores (pronunciation:  $F(1, 28) = 5.29$ ,  $p < .05$ ; writing:  $F(1, 28) = 6.00$ ,  $p < .05$ ). Subjects in Japan also scored higher than subjects in Ireland on the LTM test (meaning:  $F(1, 28) = 10.31$ ,  $p < .01$ ; pronunciation:  $F(1, 28) = 10.93$ ,  $p < .01$ ; writing:  $F(1, 28) = 1.72$ ,  $p > .01$ ) and the post-LTM test (meaning:  $F(1, 28) = 9.01$ ,  $p < .01$ ; pronunciation:  $F(1, 28) = 10.23$ ,  $p < .01$ ; writing:  $F(1, 28) = 2.01$ ,  $p > .01$ ).

On completion of the experiment, the subjects were given a chance to express their opinions of the method employed. Their impressions were enlightening. Among those who were taught using the Whole-kanji method, many noted that the "use of texts was quite effective" and reading new kanji in context made the practice "rewarding;" however, "writing kanji after kanji was very boring". Those who were taught using the Component Analysis method found it "very worthwhile," "interesting" and "easy to remember the shape and meaning by breaking the kanji down and learning an interesting or bizarre story." However, it was "difficult to remember the readings (*yomi*) because we mainly concentrated on the actual writing of the kanji rather than the pronunciation." Indeed, this comment supports the statistical findings.

## Discussion

### *Support for an Eclectic Approach*

A variety of studies concerning memory have been discussed in terms of a level of processing model ( Craik & Lockhart, 1972; Craik & Tulving, 1975; Craik, 1990). According to this model, information can be encoded in multiple forms within memory; this could be in terms of semantic, phonemic or visual features, in terms of verbal associates, or as an image. The analysis procedure in memory moves from the sensory level to matching or pattern recognition and finally to semantic enrichment. This model implies greater cognitive involvement at each successive level and it has been demonstrated that stimuli processed to a deep semantic level are better remembered than those processed to a supposedly more shallow level (Fraser and Kammann, 1974; Klein & Saltz, 1976; Bellezza, Cheesman & Reddy, 1977). The subjects in Japan in the Component Analysis group commented that they made associations from kanji they had seen in their local environment. In terms of both physical location and time input, the local environment (Jones, 1989) is identified as an important factor in L2 education. The findings reported here support an eclectic interaction of teaching practices which draws benefits from each method: Component analysis, with its emphasis on writing the kanji as components (e.g., on the backs of classmates) and the Whole-kanji method with its emphasis on the contextualized reading of the kanji. We suggest that such an eclectic approach would contribute to deeper processing and therefore a better memory of the kanji.

### *Learning Styles and Kanji Instruction*

Many studies of success in L2 learning have focused on language learning styles (see Ehrman & Oxford, 1995). Language learning styles encompass the general approaches which students are predominantly disposed to use in order to learn a new language (Ehrman, 1990; Oxford, 1990; Oxford, Ehrman, & Lavine, 1991).

It has been suggested that different learners will respond well to various sub-components of an eclectic methodology. For example, highly sequential learners will probably be more comfortable with a relatively large amount of teacher-led drill. More random learners may want to use relatively non-mechanical approaches. Analytic and global associational procedures (the Component Analysis method) work well together with exposure in context and practice (the Whole-kanji method) to integrate kanji into LTM networks of meaning and experience. Perhaps the advantage of the JSL learners in Japan, who receive constant meaning-focused input outside the classroom, could be simulated for the less

fortunate classroom-bound JFL learners by more extensive use of the World Wide Web, with its numerous Japanese sites.

### *Reading*

The value of reading to overall second language acquisition in both the home country of the L2 learner and the home country of the target language has been widely acknowledged in the applied linguistics literature (Genessee, 1979). Conducting cross-cultural research involves many organizational and practical difficulties such as matching subject groups on age, profession, social status, motivation, exposure to the L2 and a complex puzzle of other variables. Unfortunately, in the present exploratory study, it was impossible to control a number of variables. Future research in the field should attempt to refine these shortcomings with stringent control on the matching of larger groups of subjects.

### *Conclusion*

In this exploratory study of kanji instruction methods with adult learners, Component Analysis was found to be superior to the Whole-kanji method traditionally employed with Japanese children. The Component Analysis method appeared to be particularly useful in helping the subject access the meaning of the character. Adult learners approaching a second writing system already have an advantage over the child initially approaching the writing system for the first time; they understand that writing is a symbol for a sound and they have higher powers of abstraction than children. Further investigation into the Component Analysis method in terms of the nature of the particular kanji and the application of different learning styles would further enrich our understanding of the "depth of processing" kanji and give new directions for JFL instruction methodology.

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## Notes

1. This focus, strongly influenced by Harris (1969), is in the Thorndike mould (1917).
2. Subjects were recruited in Ireland for practical reasons.
3. This level of statistical significance gives a 99% measure of confidence ( $p < .01$ ) that the conclusion is not simply due to chance.

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(Received January 23, 1998; revised April 28, 1998)

### Appendix 1

Please write the kanji (no readings) for the concepts below:

*Example*

fire 火

mouth	ear
moon	shell
woman	soil
tree	rain
heaven	thread
day	cow
bamboo	strength
eye	mountain

## Appendix 2

Please write the kanji and as many readings as you know for each of the following 48 concepts:

*Example*

vehicle 車 しゃ、くるま

sky	borrow	snow	government
dog	type	reason	blame, liability
blue	quiet	sing	laugh
red	rule	daytime, noon	separate (verb)
name	harm, damage	side	warm
sound	rejoice, happy	bridge	wages
left (vs. right)	employment	steps, story	be in difficulty
right (vs. left)	draw near	grade, rank	serve, employed
distant	special	harbor	settle
make	duty	finish	young
count, number	lend	hot (weather)	garden
younger sister	suitable	war	history

## Appendix 3

空  
犬  
青  
赤  
名  
音  
左  
右

借  
型  
静  
治  
害  
喜  
職  
寄

遠  
作  
数  
妹  
雪  
理  
歌  
昼

特  
務  
貸  
適  
政  
責  
笑  
割

横  
橋  
階  
級  
塔  
終  
暑  
戦

暖  
賃  
困  
勤  
濟  
若  
庭  
歴

# Point to Point

## Two Reactions to Susser's "EFL's Othering of Japan: Orientalism in English Language Teaching"

**Paul Stapleton**

*Hokkaido University*

**B**ernard Susser (1998) argues that EFL researchers are guilty of Orientalism in their depiction of Japanese students. For the framework of his critique, Susser uses Said's concept of Orientalism, which outlines various ways in which Western researchers, in their attempt to explain the Orient, have instead, dominated and restructured it. Susser claims that much research on Japanese learners of English falls into the same genre and he identifies four characteristics of Orientalism to illustrate his point: essentializing, stereotyping, representing, and othering.

Unfortunately, in choosing the Orientalist framework, Susser has given us a flawed paper. As an overreaction to legitimate concerns about stereotyping and the overwhelmingly Western-biased perspective of scholarly research, Orientalism tends to condemn legitimate tools of inquiry because of the results they have produced.

For example, to show the dangers of essentializing, Susser points to several studies that discuss tendencies towards collectivism in Japanese society. Here he does a good job of criticizing and debunking statements made without substantiation (pp. 61-63). However, Susser not only puts into doubt Japan's collective nature, he also claims that "the notion of Japan as a group-oriented society is not a useful explanation of . . . Japanese students' behavior" (p. 63). In criticizing unsubstantiated statements and giving countering evidence, Susser does us a service, but his use of Orientalism to smother all discussion about a well-substantiated cultural pattern (i.e., collective tendencies) is unjustified.

In order to understand behavioral differences among groups, researchers have identified various patterns. For example, constructs such as power distance (degree of hierarchy) (Hofstede, 1991), collectivity

(Triandis, 1995), communicative context (Hall, 1976), and time orientation (Hofstede, 1991; Hofstede & Bond 1984, 1988) are tools which quantify behavior and make it accessible for analysis. However, Susser labels these tools "Orientalist" and suggests that those who call the Japanese group-oriented are stereotyping (pp. 56-57). The point here is not whether the Japanese are group-oriented. The point is that the legitimacy of the construct, (i.e., the degree of collectivity) is questioned. Even though the same construct points to individualistic tendencies in North Americans, Susser mentions little about Occidentalism.

On one hand, he asks for evidence (p. 63) to support claims which he labels as stereotyping, yet he then dismisses the means to supply this evidence (pp. 56-57). However, "the anti-Orientalist cannot have it both ways—denouncing the pursuit of distinctive characteristics as 'essentialist,' while calling for an understanding of intergroup differences" (Landes, 1998, p. 416).

In other sections, Susser again raises legitimate objections but then extrapolates these into charges of Orientalism. One example cited is an article I wrote (Stapleton, 1995) suggesting a link between Confucianism and the behavior of Japanese students. Susser raises some legitimate concerns about the extent to which Confucianism explains the behavior of Japanese students, but the bigger issue here is his objection to the mere mention of Confucianism as a means to explain and understand behavior. According to Susser, "the use of Confucianism, [is] an archetypal symbol of the Oriental Other" (p. 54). He also claims that describing Japan in Confucianist terms makes the East mysterious (and inferior). By implication, then, Eastern scholars cannot use the word "Socratic" when describing Western teaching methods. That, of course, would be making the West mysterious (and inferior) and be "Occidentalizing." The sword cuts both ways.

Susser proposes three ways to avoid Orientalizing: 1) reading more critically, 2) researching carefully, and 3) not publishing research that Orientalizes. The first two are laudable, but the third amounts to censorship. The anti-Orientalist is, in essence, against studying distinctions and "as any good comparativist knows, distinctions are the stuff of understanding" (Landes, 1998, p. 416). Although generalizing is often bad, is it not useful to look for patterns of behavior? The understanding that arises from such "Orientalizing" surely does more good than harm.

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## James J. Scott

**B**ernard Susser (1998, pp. 49-82) asserts that the "same Orientalist discourse" that Edward W. Said describes in *Orientalism* "permeates the ESL/EFL literature" on Japan (p. 50). However, Susser's essay fails to demonstrate that the discourse he presents is, in fact, the same discourse described by Said. Susser also fails to provide sufficient evidence to justify use of the word "permeates."

Susser quotes Said's capsule description of Orientalism: "Orientalism can be discussed and analyzed as . . . a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient" (p. 51, my ellipsis). It would seem to follow that an ESL/EFL work on Japan is in the Orientalist tradition if it assists or is intended to assist the West in dominating, restructuring, or having authority over Japan. However, Susser uses different criteria. He says, "For our purposes, a work is in the Orientalist discourse vis à vis the Japanese learner of English if it has the following characteristics," after which he lists othering, stereotyping, representing, and essentializing (p. 51). He offers no rationale for adopting this approach other than to note that Said "mentions" these traits (p. 51). However, this is not the same as using these traits to determine whether a work is in the Orientalist discourse. Susser fails to address the question of whether the works he describes actually assist the West in achieving the goals of Orientalism—that is, dominating, restructuring, or having control over an Oriental society (in this case,

Japan). Hence, he fails to demonstrate that the discourse he describes is identical to the discourse of Said.

Further, to support the claim that a particular discourse permeates a given literature, we must tell our readers what proportion of a randomly-selected sample taken from that literature can be assigned to the discourse in question. This Susser fails to do. Instead, he merely cites approximately 40 works (by my count) that, in his view, provide “clear examples of the four major characteristics” (p. 54) of Orientalist discourse. Citing 40-odd works as examples tells us nothing about the thousand or more other works that have been published in this field; *The Language Teacher* alone has published several hundred ESL/EFL articles on Japan. Given the large number of works that have been published, we could easily find 40 or more examples that exhibit none of the traits mentioned by Susser. In determining whether Susser’s discourse “permeates” the literature, those 40 examples would be just as relevant (or irrelevant) as the examples cited by Susser.

Given Said’s definition of Orientalism as “a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient” (see above), we should exercise extreme caution in claiming that the authors of ESL/EFL works on Japan are engaged in Orientalist discourse. I am not suggesting that we should abstain from making such claims, regardless of their merits; rather, I am suggesting that, if we make such claims, we should be prepared to support them with evidence more substantial than that offered in Susser’s essay.

The characteristics described by Susser—othering, stereotyping, representing, and essentializing—are endemic in bad writing regardless of whether the subject of that writing has anything to do with the Orient. There is no immediately obvious reason to assume that ESL/EFL articles on Japan are any more (or less) likely to display these defects than works in any other field. In the absence of solid evidence to the contrary, it is more plausible (and more humane) to attribute such defects to the human tendency to err than it is to assume that the works displaying these defects are part of an Orientalist discourse.

## The Author Responds

**Bernard Susser**

*Doshisha Women's Junior College*

Researching and writing the Orientalism article was a valuable experience for me; I am very pleased that it has in turn stimulated *JALT Journal* readers to contribute their thoughts on the issues I raised.

Professor Stapleton objects to my use of Said's (1978/1994) "Orientalism" as a framework to critique ESL literature on Japan, claiming that it "tends to condemn legitimate tools of inquiry because of the results they have produced" (p. 79). However, if such "legitimate tools" frequently produce bad results, it may be time to send them in for repair.

Stapleton's main example is my casting doubt on "Japan's collective nature" (p. 79). My paraphrase of Befu's (1980) title, "A critique of the group model of Japanese society" somehow serves to "smother all discussion" (p. 79). However, given my statement that "groups certainly play an important part in Japanese society and education" (Susser, 1998, p. 57), Stapleton retreats to a different position, that I am questioning the "legitimacy of the construct" of the "degree of collectivity" (p. 80). He gives no specific quotation to substantiate this accusation. I agree with Sugimoto (1997), who accepts constructs such as "collectivism" and "individualism" but questions the way they have been used to describe Japanese society (pp. 2-13). Further, in their study of American and Japanese day-care centers, Fujita and Sano (1988) found that "the Japanese teachers do not interpret independence in the same way as the American teachers" (p. 85). In short, the construct itself is, if not illusive, at least elusive.

The quotation from Landes suggests that Said denounces the "pursuit of distinctive characteristics as 'essentialist'" (cited in Stapleton, p. 80). My understanding of Said is just the opposite: that essentializing is the act of ignoring "distinctive characteristics" (Susser, 1998, p. 53). I have criticized several works particularly because they ignored "distinctive characteristics" in favor of sweeping generalizations (for further examples, see Stapleton 1997, 1998).

Stapleton's next point is my "objection to the mere mention of Confucianism" (p. 80). However, my objection is to its incorrect use as a trope for "the mysterious Orient." Equally objectionable is the term "Socratic" used as a synecdoche for Western teaching methods.

Finally, Stapleton accuses me of advocating "censorship" (p. 80) by urging journal editors not to publish material which treats Japan within an Orientalist discourse. For example, if a manuscript purporting to explain "The Role of Confucianism in Japanese Education" (Stapleton, 1995) uses "Confucianism" as a cliché and does not refer to a single specialized work on Confucianism in Japan (e.g., Kassel, 1996; Maruyama, 1974; Nosco, 1984; Rubinger, 1982), it should be returned for rewriting after substantial research. Stapleton calls this "censorship," but I call it "editorial responsibility" and "the maintenance of scholarly standards."

James A. Scott's first critique is that the characteristics of othering, stereotyping, representing, and essentializing are not the same as Said's definition of Orientalism. This is true. As I pointed out in my article (pp. 50-51), Said does not give a clear definition of Orientalism; this has been noted by others (e.g., Clifford, 1988, pp. 259). The four characteristics I use in my article are derived from my interpretation of Said's argument, heavily documented with citations from his book.

Scott's second point is that I have not done a statistical sampling of the literature so cannot say that the articles I cited form a discourse. This is a unique idea; Said presents no quantitative analysis and nothing like this is mentioned in the discourse studies cited in my article. Further, the works I cited were merely egregious examples of stereotypes that could be multiplied indefinitely. For example, Scott might have a hard time finding 40 works on the Japanese character that do *not* cite the proverb "the nail that stands out gets pounded down" as evidence of the group's power in Japan.

One does not need Orientalism to criticize stereotypes, essentializing, or factual errors. I used this construct because Said's point is that the whole is more than the sum of its parts. The constant repetition and cross-citation of clichés about Japan invest them with "a kind of intellectual *authority*" (Said, 1978/1994, p. 19; emphasis added) that obstructs our work as EFL teachers in Japan.

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# **A Reaction to Gorsuch's "Yakudoku EFL Instruction in Two Japanese High School Classrooms": *Yakudoku*, Grammar Translation, or Reading Methods?**

**Charles Jannuzi**  
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In the last issue of *JALT Journal* Gorsuch (1998) cites a paper I wrote (Jannuzi, 1994). The first citation mentions my article as one that describes and comments on the *yakudoku* method (YDM). The article is next cited as one addressing the supposed deterministic "washback" effect of university entrance exams on English language teaching (ELT) at Japanese high schools. This response clarifies the article's contents.

My 1994 article makes no mention of the so-called YDM nor does it discuss, beyond a brief mention, the "washback" effect. I omitted the term *yakudoku* from my paper because in all sources consulted the Japanese scholars themselves translated *yakudoku* as a type of "grammar-translation" (see Tajima, 1978, who also contradicts Hino on whether *yakudoku* is distinct from grammar-translation). I ignored Hino's (1992) now influential use of the term because I felt he had not made a strong enough case for native *yakudoku* being essentially distinct from approaches in western foreign language teaching (FLT). Gorsuch agrees with Hino that there are significant differences between the western grammar-translation method (GTM) and the native YDM, for example, the balance of grammar with reading and translation and the direction of translation. With the YDM, some type of reading for understanding is the main goal, and translation is usually from the L2 to the L1. However, in the GTM tradition, grammar is regarded as the key skill which is supposed to enable the student to order language and translate it in either direction.

In my 1994 article I attempted to characterize the ELT that I found at junior and senior high schools in Fukui Prefecture. However, rather than use the term GTM, I opted for the term "reading method" (RM) as explained in Stern (1983, pp. 460-2). I felt it to be more accurate than GTM because most of the translation was from L2 into L1 (in agreement

with Hino and Gorsuch), but, more importantly, the translation was done almost entirely by the teacher! Is it just possible that the Japanese use of the RM might reflect—as it did in the west—a pragmatic response to the GTM and the use of written texts in FLT? The term RM is more apt than GTM because of the structural syllabus which selects the target texts, the graded language, and the overall classroom objective of learning a FL while reading for understanding.

Finally, rather than begging the question of the reality of the GTM, RM or YDM, further inquiry might prove more useful if it were centered on teaching methods and classroom activities, with reference to Stern's (1992) universalist dichotomies: interlingual/crosslingual versus intralingual; analytic versus experiential; explicit versus implicit. I think that the data will show that much EFL in Japan is entrenched in the same strategies so often linked to grammar-translation: crosslingual, analytic, and explicit at the expense of intralingual, experiential and implicit; or, in other words, what McArthur (1983) calls the "conservative position" on methods and approaches to ELT.

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## The Author Responds

**Greta Gorsuch**

*Mejiro University*

I would like to thank Mr. Jannuzi for his interest in my article. However, he implies that I have misinterpreted and misused his 1994 article in my study, and I must disagree. Indeed, Mr. Jannuzi never used the term *yakudoku* in his article, yet he described classroom activities (1994, p. 122) that bore a striking resemblance to the activities I observed during the data collection for my study. By the time I read Mr. Jannuzi's article, quite late in the project, I had already characterized the teachers' activities as *yakudoku* activities for reasons discussed below. That Mr. Jannuzi characterized these same activities as "Reading Method" activities I will also comment on below.

It is true that Mr. Jannuzi makes only brief mention of university exam washback in his article (p. 122). I included his article along with ten others (Gorsuch, 1998, p. 29) because I felt that his observations were germane to the general issue of understanding the tangled relationships of university entrance exams to high school EFL instruction. Should I have limited the citations to articles that were wholly focused on the washback effects of university entrance exams? No, I do not think so. This is a highly complex topic, and the more background information a reader can have, the better.

Determining whether *yakudoku* is actually indigenous or "unique" to Japan seems irrelevant. I doubt if any language learning activities or methodologies are entirely unrelated to each other or are particularly "unique," especially in formal educational settings. Hino stated quite clearly that the sorts of activities falling under the *yakudoku* rubric are not at all unique to Japan (1988, p. 53), and bear a close resemblance to grammar/translation methods used in many countries and to translation exercises used for FL instruction in Korea. Further, I made no claim in my article that *yakudoku* is unique to Japan. My use of the term *yakudoku* was functional, arising from the fact that the teachers I interviewed called what they did *yakudoku*. I merely observed what the teachers did and reported what they stated that they believed.

After I gathered the data, categorized it, had it examined by an independent rater, and then subjected it to interrater reliability analysis, I then turned to the literature, and found that my data most closely resembled the *yakudoku* methodology suggested by Hino (1988). Thus, the data was gathered first, then the literature was searched for interpretation, not the other way around. Of course, there is always the danger of selective data gathering and analysis in research, as suggested by Mr. Jannuzi in an earlier version of his response, but I would like to think that in the case of my article on *yakudoku*, that this did not happen.

Regarding Mr. Jannuzi's use of the term "Reading Method" for the activities he describes, after reading the definition of the Reading Method quoted in his article (1994, pp. 121-122), I checked the original source and was disappointed to find that there was not anything more there than what Mr. Jannuzi had quoted. The Reading Method definition was thus not comprehensive enough to account for what I was seeing in the classes I observed. Therefore, I could not successfully relate my data to the very skimpy model offered by the definition of "Reading Method" quoted in Mr. Jannuzi's paper.

Once again, I would like to thank Mr. Jannuzi for writing. I hope that my article on *yakudoku* and his useful comments will generate more research on actual instruction used in EFL classes.

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# Perspectives

## Procedural and Conceptual Parallels Between Student and Teacher Product-Driven Writing Projects

**Christine Pearson Casanave**

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In this paper the author describes a product-oriented approach to writing, one that applies equally to students and to teachers who write. In a project activity where the product is to be showcased in a collection of writings, the end product is visualized first, and the writing process is then conceptualized as the strategies and activities needed to reach that end. Other key similarities between student and teacher product-driven writing are that (a) writing is best viewed from a whole-language perspective; (b) error correction is necessary and purposeful; (c) public writing is inevitably assessed; and (d) writing activities and final products are multivocalic. While product-driven writing projects do not suit all teachers and students, they can be adapted and designed to suit many different contexts and purposes.

本論では、「結果としての作品」中心のライティング法 (product-oriented approach) について考察する。このライティング法は、書き手が教師の場合もあり、また学習者の場合もある。作文を文集にまとめるプロジェクト学習では、最終的に書き上がった状態を目標とし、推敲のプロセスを計画的に行うことはその目標到達に至る戦略と考えることができる。また、このライティング法では、書き手が教師の場合と、書き手が学習者の場合とに共通する重要な項目として、以下のことが挙げられる。a) ライティングを言語運用能力全体の視点から捉えることができる、b) 誤りの訂正は必要かつ意味がある、c) 読み手を想定して書かれているため、書かれたものは評価の対象になる、d) 作品集は多様な意見や価値観を反映したものになる。文集作成のような作品中心型のプロジェクトは、どのような学習場面においても実施できるとは言えないが、多くの異なる学習場面や学習目的に適合させ、取り入れることが可能である。

The point of this paper is not to prescribe how to carry out specific writing projects, or to describe writing projects that teachers and students can select from. Neither is it to recommend an array of purposes for which teachers and students should write. I leave all of these decisions, in their contextually complex specifics, to teachers and students themselves. In this paper, rather, I wish to lay out some

procedural and conceptual ideas about one way of thinking about the writing that teachers and students do when they visualize and commit to what comes at the end. This "end," this product, must be visualized by each writer and each writing teacher, and it must serve some meaningful purpose for writers, whether innovative or conventional, beyond mechanical exercises. I urge readers, therefore, not to seek answers in this paper, but to identify issues and ponder questions that may be applied to their own settings.

Two basic ideas form the foundation of my message. The first is that much meaningful writing in school settings and in teachers' professional lives begins with a conceptualization (clear or fuzzy) in the writer's mind of an end product. The drive to finish a meaningful piece of writing then provides the impetus for writers to develop and practice a variety of goal-driven writing processes. This idea in itself is not so startling. In the case of student writing, it gets more complex when we transport it to the many different writing classrooms we work in, classrooms that include students of all ages, proficiency levels in English, and motivations. Some of the language educators I work with protest that their students cannot write a correct sentence, let alone a meaningful product. Such a view represents a linear approach to the acquisition of writing skills which posits that students acquire one piece of the language puzzle at a time, in some kind of rational sequence of simple to complex. The position I take here is decidedly nonlinear, because it accommodates any level of language proficiency, much as does a whole language approach to literacy acquisition (Freeman & Freeman, 1989). A whole and meaningful product can be defined for any group of learners, just as it can for any teacher who writes, and can then be used to guide the entire array of writing activities needed to get there.

A second idea underlies this paper, one that we do not see discussed much in the literature on writing. That idea concerns the fundamental similarity between the product-oriented writing that students do in their language classes and the writing that many teachers and researchers do as part of their professional lives. We tend to separate our notions of writing into that which students do and that which teachers do, perhaps because we believe that what students need to learn differs greatly from what teachers need to learn and practice in their own writing. This is particularly the case if we conflate the teaching of linguistic aspects of language with the teaching of writing. We also tend to separate student and teacher writing because we view only students' writing as formally assessed and graded. But these differences blur if we conceptualize writing from a different perspective: We can view both students and teachers as learners who develop expertise in writing by being immersed

in purposeful writing contexts. Both need to become aware of the strategic options available to them and have their writing assessed critically (whether the final "grade" is a letter or number, or an acceptance or rejection for publication). Viewing writing this way, we can postulate a surprising number of similarities in the skills and processes needed to reach our goals. I believe that teachers who write, and who perceive the similarities between their efforts and writing and those of their students, will improve the effectiveness of their writing instruction. I believe that they will also become better writers themselves as a result of their increased awareness of how the strategies and processes and conceptual aspects of writing apply to themselves.

In this paper, I discuss the two foundational ideas mentioned above, both of which can help teachers think about their own writing and that of their students in ways that blur the student-teacher hierarchy. In the first half of the paper, I note several kinds of products that teachers and students might put together as collections, then describe briefly some basic steps that must be orchestrated, guided by the visualization of where writers want to end up. In the second half of the paper, I consider some conceptual similarities between student and teacher writing, when both student and teacher are viewed as learners involved in product-driven writing projects. I look at some of the assumptions underlying what I refer to as a product-driven approach to writing projects, and suggest some ways of thinking about this approach that work similarly for both students and teachers who write. I conclude the paper with some caveats and some words of encouragement.

## The Product as Guide to Process

### *The Products*

In keeping with the message of this paper, I'd like now to begin at the end, with a conceptualization of just a few of many possible writing products. It is with a conceptualization of where writers wish to end up that all the procedural steps and strategies that come before can be laid out. In conceptualizing the end, writers and writing teachers need not concern themselves so much with devising projects that are innovative as they do with devising projects that are meaningful and purposeful for the writers. While there are many kinds of products (including electronic ones such as those described by Susser, 1993), the ones I describe briefly here are edited collections of student and teacher writings. They come from my own experiences as an editor of several college publications and student collections compiled by teachers on my own campus

and at other schools where writing is one of the focuses of more general English classes. Teachers need to imagine what their own and their students' writing might look like, of course, and to delineate their own purposes for writing.

Two kinds of student writing products will no doubt be familiar to many readers. The first consists of a collection of student writings (essays, journals, research reports, stories, film reviews, poems, cookbooks, or guidebooks) that students have worked on over time during the school term and are edited and compiled by a student editorial committee or a teacher. The second kind of student product consists of a quickly but intensely produced collection of some kind, unrevised or partially revised, such as children's reports and drawings of their interviews with a foreign visitor to their class (Kazue Hirose, October, 1997, personal communication). Both kinds of writing collections can include cover and interior hand-drawn or computer graphics, photographs, author autobiographical statements, or other additions that personalize the collection. These can be as innovative or as conventional as students and teachers wish. The student collections are distributed to all class members and teachers, sometimes to other groups of students, and to visitors to the campus (including interviewees who may be part of the project), fulfilling the goal of writing for an audience of real readers (Kuriloff, 1996).

The primary example of teacher writing products that I am most familiar with is an edited collection of articles written by colleagues on the teachers' own campus, possibly with contributions from colleagues on other campuses, and published by the university or—in the absence of funds or support—in copied form by the teachers themselves. These publications may be labeled in various ways, such as journals, monographs, or working papers. The advantage of a writing project geared to the university-supported publication is that it tends to be compiled much more quickly and with less outside critical evaluation than is the case with articles submitted to refereed journals. In Japan, this outlet for teachers' writing exists quite widely, in that university publications (*kiyou*) of various kinds are the norm more than the exception. In my experiences helping to produce such volumes designed to give teachers a collegial experience with conventional writing for professional development, we have typically sent out a call for papers on our own campus and distributed the call among colleagues we know on other campuses. Interested teachers send in abstracts (note that this first step is itself a description of the final product), and we (the teacher-editors) select those which seem appropriate for our theme-based volume. Then we meet several times during the writing process in peer-reading groups to discuss and comment on one another's drafts. Editors are responsible

for preparing a camera-ready copy. The university may or may not distribute copies to university libraries in Japan, but authors receive copies to distribute to colleagues and classes, and those of us in teacher education distribute copies to our graduate students. In today's Internet world, such collections of both student and teacher writing can also be compiled and distributed electronically.

These collections represent one place where student and teacher writers can end up. The main project work, then, is the managing and carrying out of the activities that will get writers there by a certain deadline imposed by the constraints of a school term and institutional regulations.

### *Identifying and Orchestrating the Steps*

Let me now turn to a brief discussion of some of the procedural realities involved in preparing a collection of student or teacher writings. While the details and time allotments will differ in each case, each group of teacher and student writers needs to identify and orchestrate the stages of a writing project so that the final product is completed by whatever deadline has been decided or imposed. This structuring of the tasks and processes necessitates that writers begin at the end, with the deadline date, and work backwards. The teacher, or the person who is acting as editor, plays a key role here as the manager of time-constrained activities.

To sum up the steps in the kind of product-oriented writing project that I have referred to in this paper, I list them here, beginning at the end:

- END
- Copying and distribution
  - Final product due
  - Camera-ready copy prepared
  - Addition of final details such as cover, page numbers, contents
  - Final draft to editorial committee
  - Rounds of drafting, reading, commenting, and revising
  - Rounds of topic-narrowing and resource-building
  - Topic ideas and abstracts prepared and discussed with a writing group
  - Project description and schedule distributed, participants commit to the project
- START • Project ideas formulated and negotiated

In my experience, the three stages of a writing project always require more time than I expect in the case of both students and teachers who write. First, at the very end of the process, a significant amount of time may be required to prepare a typo-free camera-ready copy, perhaps with

page numbers and a table of contents, cover designs or illustrations, and writer biostatements. Some of this work can be anticipated, and therefore prepared ahead of time, but some must wait until the last minute.

Second, rounds of peer and editor or teacher review, followed by writer revision always take longer than planned. For example, in the best of cases, turn-around time on just one set of student or collegial papers requires a minimum of two weeks: a week for the teacher, peer, or editor to read and comment, and another week for writers to revise. In my roles as writing teacher and editor of collegial publications, I have never been able to arrange it so that everyone in a student or collegial group meets these tight turn-around times, nor am I usually able to meet them myself when I am writing. What often happens is that writers do fewer revisions than they would like to do, or the final publication comes out late—if there is any flexibility with deadlines. Occasionally some writers who lag far behind the deadlines choose not to include their pieces in the final publication, a decision that neither students nor collegial writers should be penalized for. Ideally, participation in the full writing project is voluntary.

Third, very early in the writing process, topic narrowing invariably requires much more time than I expect. This is the case whether I am working with students' writing, my own writing, or that of my colleagues. Sometimes student writers, teachers of writing, and teachers who write harbor the illusion that a writing topic will reveal itself whole and intact to the writer (they hope at some point early in the writing process), and that the writer's job is simply to flesh it out. I believe this can happen, but only rarely. More commonly, a topic develops slowly as writers immerse themselves in a project, as they become more knowledgeable as result of research and collaborative experiences—locating resources from the library or Internet, writing in journals, discussing ideas with peers and teachers, and developing in the process a voice and a stance. The writers' ideas shift, narrow, and accumulate detail as writers become further immersed in a project. The topic-focusing part of the writing process must therefore be nurtured and celebrated over time, since this aspect represents the heart of the writing process in a product-oriented project.

### *Making Links and Dovetailing*

A writing project of the sort I describe in this paper cannot easily be carried out without writers' connecting the writing activities to other aspects of their student or professional lives. There simply is no time in most students' and teachers' lives to duplicate efforts that can be dovetailed with a writing project. In a writing project classroom, lessons in

reading, library and Internet use, grammar, vocabulary building, rhetorical conventions, discussion, debate, and presentation can all be connected to a writing project. In the busy lives of teachers, a writing project can be linked to issues and questions that have arisen in their own classroom teaching and research. A writing project can also be shaped to fit a school's requirements for professional activities or dovetailed with conference presentations and local workshops (and yes, added to a curriculum vitae). The point is to recognize the many possible links to valuable professional and language learning and teaching activities and to make these links work for the furtherance of both a writing project goal and related goals in the busy lives of students and teachers.

### Student and Teacher Writers as Learners: Conceptual Similarities

Having considered the procedural steps that unfold in similar ways for teachers and students who write in a product-oriented approach to writing projects, I turn now to common conceptual issues—ways of thinking about product-oriented writing activities—that apply to teachers and students who write.

#### *Whole-Language Assumptions*

Edelsky (1997) and others have pointed out that "whole-language" approaches to teaching and learning are multiple and diverse; discussions and disputes surrounding whole language are both political and pedagogical. Nevertheless, certain assumptions seem to be shared, fundamental ones being that language used in classrooms should not be fragmented into separate subskills, that language activities are inherently social and communicative, and that the ways we use and practice language should always be meaningful and purposeful.

Freeman and Freeman (1989) outline six principles of whole language, which apply equally to students and teachers—if we consider teachers as learners. They point out that "language classes should be learner centered" (p. 178). Language activities should draw on the interests and experiences of the writers. Moreover, language "is best learned when kept whole" (p. 179). Writers, whether student or teacher, need to begin the task of writing by working with whole texts, then dealing with the parts, rather than trying to build a whole from the study of the pieces. Third, they note that "language instruction should employ all four modes: listening, speaking, reading, and writing" (p. 180). This principle suggests that writers should draw on multiple sources of language data—reading, discussing, exchanging ideas, writing—as normal activities associated with the writing process. Fourth, Freeman and

Freeman remind us that the language we use in a writing activity “should be meaningful and functional” (p. 180). It is not only our students who need to be aware of and committed to a purpose in their writing; teachers too need to write purposefully. A fifth principle states that “language is learned through social interaction” (p. 181). Not only should students be talking to one another and to the teacher, but teachers themselves need to be talking with each other during the process of writing if our own learning is to advance. (See the discussion of multivocality below.) Finally, Freeman and Freeman note that “language is learned when teachers have faith in learners” (p. 182), echoing the widely held belief that people live up (or down) to their expectations. This principle applies not only to our students, but also to ourselves. Teachers need to believe that they can write and that their colleagues can too, given whatever guidance or mentoring they might need in a collegial writing group.

#### *Procedural Flexibility*

As early as 1984, Reid (1984), in identifying both the “radical outliner” and the “radical brainstormer” as potentially expert writers, suggested that what inexperienced writers need to learn is not a defined set of so-called expert writing processes (e.g., as described by early proponents of process approaches such as Flower & Hayes, 1980; Raimes, 1987; Zamel, 1982), but an array of strategies that fit their own individual and cultural styles. What seems clear now is that all experienced writers flexibly manipulate their writing processes to fit different kinds of products, purposes, and personal writing preferences. Part of the job of writing teachers, then, is to help students develop this flexibility (Reid, 1994), and the job of teachers who write is to become aware of and practice selected strategies and processes themselves. Different writing processes and strategies, in other words, will be called upon quite naturally as writers become aware of ways they can effectively achieve different kinds of goals.

#### *Purposeful Attention to Details*

Two common beliefs have emerged out of process approaches to writing: Expert writers do not get themselves bogged down in the mechanical aspects of editing and proofreading as they write, and teachers have a responsibility to help students learn to postpone error correction until late in the drafting process. As support for this latter view, many studies of error correction have demonstrated that teachers may be wasting time correcting grammar errors on students' compositions because grammatical aspects of students' writing seem to im-

prove more from regular practice than they do as a result of having errors corrected (see the detailed critical review by Truscott, 1996).

But error correction has other purposes besides the elusive one of improving writers' linguistic accuracy. Other more functional goals exist, ones routinely employed by published writers and experienced student writers who are preparing a piece of writing for presentation to a public readership. Published writers not only focus their work of revising on large chunks of text where "re-vising" actually implies re-seeing. They also pay close attention to details of their writing correcting small errors assiduously, some as they write. Others edit and proofread only at final stages before sending a piece out for review and possible publication. Students, particularly graduate students, may also be required by their professors to turn in carefully proofread final papers. While this attention to the details of writing should not be confused with larger issues in composing, it is a normal aspect of the writing process of experienced writers.

In student writing projects such as those I refer to in this paper, students who correct errors in their writing before finishing a class publication are doing so for the personally meaningful purpose of producing a polished final product that will be shared with other readers. A polished piece of writing communicates effectively to readers not just because language refinements have helped clarify meaning but also because the readers' concentration is not marred by interruptions caused by surface infelicities. Moreover, a polished piece of writing stands as a representation of one's self, something to take pride in before a public audience. In the case of student writers, the pride that results may contribute to improved motivation, confidence, and interest in writing, all thought to be factors that help explain writing quality (Hirose & Sasaki, 1994, p. 219). The same arguments for the motivating influence of seeing one's own polished piece of writing in print can be made for teachers' writing.

Error correction, then, is not viewed as a perfunctory activity or a language acquisition exercise, but as a normal activity that all writers do at one stage or another to advance a piece of writing to a stage at which it will be presented to a public audience. Other kinds of writing, such as "freewriting" (Elbow, 1973) and journal writing (Casanave, 1994), are equally important in the overall picture of writing. The main purposes of these may be for writers to develop fluency, ideas, expressiveness, and "natural" (i.e., uninstructed) language development through practice. In these cases, error correction is generally avoided altogether, whether writers are students or professionals.

*Inevitable Assessment*

A successful product-driven writing project for both students and teachers is driven by much more than the writer's hope for a good grade or for a new item on a curriculum vitae. It is driven by the writer's belief that he or she has something worthwhile to say to an audience of real readers and that writing to communicate to those readers will help clarify and extend the writer's own thinking and knowledge. Meaningful writing in the way I am conceptualizing it can often be undermined by our need to give students grades in traditional ways (Huot, 1996; Leki, 1990) or to fill out our own curriculum vitae. Still, it is inevitable that the public writing that students and teachers do will be assessed in one way or another. Students receive grades, if not for an individual piece of writing or collection of writings, at least for the class for which the writing was done. Students are clever and are not tricked by well-meaning teachers into believing that a piece of writing contributes nothing toward a grade.

Teachers do not receive grades as such for their public writing, but they are assessed nevertheless. The assessments might be quite formal, a report written by a tenure, promotion, or hiring committee or a written review of a piece of work submitted to a journal for possible publication. Though there are no letter grades, the results of such assessments on teachers' writing can have far-reaching consequences for a teacher's career. Teachers no doubt have more choices about whether and what they will write. Nevertheless, some teachers, like students in a required class, may find they need to write for publication in order to get or keep a job, whether they are interested in writing or not.

If assessment is inevitable, and if direct measures of writing are to be used in the process of evaluation (Hamp-Lyons, 1990, 1991), one potentially valuable solution is to develop a portfolio for each writer that represents a collection of work over time (Black, Daiker, Sommers, & Stygall, 1994; Yancey, 1992). Just as teachers who write have a collection of their best published and unpublished writing that they can draw on for career advancement, students too can compile their work into portfolios as a way to track their development as writers and to showcase their best work. Edited collections of student writing can then be considered "class portfolios" in that they indicate the end product of students' development as writers during a given period, such as one semester or one school year. Teachers' edited collections can be considered "collegial portfolios" in which the culmination of each teacher's current knowledge, thinking, and writing skills is represented by the finished pieces that appear in the collection.

Ideally, both students and teachers will write because they choose to, not because they are forced to. However, teachers who are committed to the notion of "meaningful writing" need to recognize that grades and curriculum vitae represent a very real and meaningful, though institutional, aspect of the academic lives of students and teachers and cannot be ignored. Managing the potential conflict between writing that is personally or institutionally meaningful requires ongoing vigilance and effort.

### *Writers as Learners in a Multivocalic Endeavor*

By blurring the distinction between teacher as knower and student as learner, we can conceptualize all writers as learners. A well-designed writing project, one that can potentially motivate even reluctant student and teacher writers, will involve writers in topics they wish to learn more about, whatever their current level of expertise. The writers-as-learners are thus faced with the challenge of finding a voice that communicates ownership of a topic and a stance of authority even though they are in the process of learning. Achieving this balance between self as learner and self as authority, when one is not claiming full expertise, remains one of the most difficult aspects of writing for a public forum.

One way that student and teacher writers can conceptualize the development of a balanced voice is to recognize that the voice that is showcased in a piece of writing is really a collection of voices. It is blended from a writer's past and present social encounters with friends, family, teachers, and colleagues, and from interactions with other authors via reading materials. It can even be considered a blend of voices that has resulted from a writer's "conversations" with his or her many selves. According to Bakhtin (1986), this borrowing and blending of voices cannot but be otherwise. All writing is heteroglossic, in which context and multiple participants, real and envisioned, within and outside of texts, shape all textual and spoken utterances. As summarized by Hardcastle (1994, p. 42):

"The social relationship between the participants shapes the utterance and is shaped by it. The reactions of the listener are integrated in advance, . . . [and] the verbal materials employed always bear the marks of previous social encounters. . . . Every utterance, then, is related to previous utterances."

Embracing the inevitable multivocality of the activity of composing as well as of a finished piece of writing can help all writers recognize that having "conversations" with textual resources and consulting with others, not working alone, is an acceptable and desirable way for writers-as-learners to develop their own voices and to contribute to their evolving

expertise. In both classrooms and collegial writing groups, then, writers-as-learners draw actively on context and experience, read widely, and seek out discussions with others.

### Some Final Thoughts

In this paper, I've described a way to think about one kind of writing to which both students and teachers might devote some portion of class time and professional life over a semester or a school year. I've highlighted some procedural and conceptual aspects of a product-driven writing project, where the visualization of a collection of writings, designed for presentation to the public, guides what comes before. I've posed the idea that the distinction between what students and teachers do as writers can profitably be blurred. This blurring can allow teachers to apply their own developing awareness of writing processes and concepts to their teaching and thus help students develop a similar awareness and an increased sense of control, involvement, and pride of accomplishment.

Still, a writing project that results in a publication of some kind may not be suited to everyone, nor is the time required to carry out most such projects available every semester or school year. Some teachers have classes that are much too large to allow for much editing and polishing of student writing, or they have classes where some students' motivation is low because the class requires all students to participate in activities they did not choose. Some teachers are caught up in the teaching of language, by choice or by circumstance, or they may not support whole-language approaches to teaching. Furthermore, some teachers themselves do not like writing or see the need to write, or they may lack a committed collegial writing support group, without which collegial writing projects can only reach fruition with difficulty. In such cases, teachers may choose not to do a writing project at all, or to devise a less labor-intensive project for themselves or their students. If teachers do subscribe to the basic ideas expressed in this paper, many adaptations of writing projects can be devised that suit their own contextual constraints and purposes.

If teachers decide to design a product-oriented writing project for themselves or their students, tenacity and a sense of vision are required to see it through to the end. This tenacity emerges from a deep commitment to the value of a writing project and from a certain amount of intellectual and physical energy, which not all of us have on a consistent basis. Lacking these, teachers can still commit to a product-oriented vision even for the daily or weekly writing activities they may do with

students, and for the daily and weekly jottings and journal writings they may do for themselves. The point is to visualize an end, then figure out how to get there. This means projecting how the daily and weekly efforts—the accumulation of small pieces—can ultimately fit together for a larger purpose, one that includes the gratifying experience of sharing the results of these efforts with a public readership.

#### Acknowledgments

*An earlier version of this paper was presented at JALT 97, Hamamatsu, Japan. I would like to thank the anonymous reviewers of the JALT Journal, whose comments helped me continue the ongoing process of rethinking my ideas about writing, and my students at Keio University SFC and Teachers College Columbia University in Tokyo who have helped me do the same.*

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# Intercultural Communication Concepts and Implications for Teachers

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This article explains the concept of intercultural communication (IC), discusses the need to treat intercultural communication classes as a specialty in foreign language education, and examines some of the conceptual frameworks that are useful for teaching IC in Japan. The author focuses on the premise that intercultural training is ultimately transformative and that cognitive training alone is not enough to help students reach the goal of intercultural competence. In addition, this paper examines teacher competencies necessary for IC training in Japan and presents examples of experiential activities that can be implemented in the IC classroom.

本論では、まず異文化間コミュニケーション(以後IC)を定義・説明し、外国語教育カリキュラムの中にIC授業を取り入れる必要性について言及する。次に、日本においてICを教える際に有用と考えられる概念的な枠組みについて考察する。IC教育は、個人の感情や価値観等の多様な内容にかかわるので、単に異なる文化を学習者に認知的に理解させるだけでは、十分な異文化適応能力を養成することはできない。本論では、上記の内容に加え、日本におけるIC授業を担当する教師の教育能力、IC授業で実際に利用できる授業活動の例についても言及する。

**M**ore and more, we are hearing the term intercultural communication (IC) used in the language teaching field. Universities are beginning to offer IC classes, and textbooks that are ostensibly for IC training are being published. But just what does this term mean, and how does “intercultural communication” as a field of study differ from merely adding international and cultural components to our language classes?

The development of intercultural competence involves both language and intercultural skills. Language teachers often overlook the task of developing intercultural skills, whereas interculturalists often overlook the task of developing language competence. Since language helps shape our world view and is a construct that aids the development of

culture, language and culture are inextricably intertwined and therefore should be understood holistically insofar as possible (Fantini, 1995). Therefore, it is necessary for language teachers to familiarize themselves with the conceptual frameworks that can be used to guide students to intercultural competence.

Language departments and language teachers must consider a variety of issues. For example, how can we, as educators, constantly improve our own intercultural competence? How can IC training best be incorporated into language programs? Aren't we doing a disservice to students who must live in and compete in a global environment if we do not adequately prepare them to communicate with those who are culturally different from them? Can this preparation be accomplished solely through language courses, without a firm grasp of communication theory and an understanding of how culture affects the communication process? Can or should language teachers who have had no formal training in the theoretical/experiential methods of IC be expected to teach it?

### **Intercultural Communication Defined**

Many of those teaching IC courses both in the United States and overseas have had no formal training in IC as either undergraduate or graduate students (Beebe & Biggers, 1986). In Japan, numerous course designs and syllabi are grouped under the rubric, "Intercultural Communication." There are also many books being published with the words "intercultural communication" in the titles. Upon examination, however, they often compare two cultures in a culture-specific manner or attempt to give students an oversimplified taste of cultural differences. While these texts and courses have varying degrees of usefulness, they are not teaching IC *per se*.

The term intercultural communication refers to the process of communication that takes place between people of different cultural backgrounds, whether they are from different countries or different subcultures within the same country.

A common misconception is the difference between the meanings of the terms intercultural communication and comparative culture. Comparative culture courses, for example, comparing the similarities and differences between the United States and Japan, should be distinguished from those teaching IC. IC education is not comparing culture A to culture B, although some of this does take place. Instead, it focuses on how culture affects the communication processes between people from different cultural groups and should include comparisons of people from groups A, B, C, D, E, and so on.

As a field of education and research, IC encompasses the study of non-verbal as well as verbal behaviors, theoretical cultural constructs, and perceptual frames of reference. Although there is naturally a broad overlap, the distinction between interpersonal communication and IC is that IC treats *culture* as having a major influence on the communication process (Hoopes & Pusch, 1979). Just what takes place when people from different cultural backgrounds interact? How is communication accomplished under optimal circumstances? What are the variables that can contribute to miscommunication, and how can they be minimized? How does the difference in cultural mind-sets and habits affect these interactions? This is what the field of IC explores.

Researchers and educators in IC are now working to help people develop *intercultural competence*. This is the ability to communicate with people of other cultures by minimizing the potential for conflict and misunderstanding. One of the key components of this is gaining what is referred to as "cultural self-awareness." Culturally self-aware people learn to recognize the effects that culture has on their perceptions and values. Thus they can work to shift their frames of reference in new situations in order to accommodate different cultural perspectives.

### Conceptual Frameworks of Culture and Intercultural Communication

Many important concepts that support the IC field come from the anthropological research of Edward Hall. Hall's work on what he referred to as "the hidden dimension" (Hall, 1966) laid the foundations for the modern field of IC. Specifically, Hall explored the various cultural uses of space, time, and how culture influences communication. In fact, Hall says that culture *is* communication (Hall, 1976). He means that everything about us communicates; we cannot *not* communicate. Since so many things about us are culturally determined, our culture thus becomes our mode of communication.

#### *Conceptualizing Time*

Although elucidating the many paradigms used in teaching cultural concepts is beyond the scope of this paper, an in-depth example of one such construct and the impact it can have on an intercultural encounter is illustrated below.

Hall's (1976) model for the cultural uses of time identifies two types of organization: monochronic (M-time) and polychronic (P-time). Although there is an overlap between M-time and P-time characteristics in cultures, and the model itself is not perfect, the M-time and P-time framework helps us to conceptualize various approaches to time.

Most cultures utilize predominantly one style or the other as conceptualizing and organizing frames for activities. In an M-time culture, such as the United States, we find time valued as a commodity. "Time is money," "Don't waste my time," and so on are linguistic metaphors that shape Americans' worldviews. Americans see time as something to be spent, saved, conserved, or used constructively.

In polychronic, P-time based cultures members see time as intangible. Most Middle-Eastern, Latin, and Asian cultures utilize P-time as a cultural frame. Human relations, rather than adherence to a particular schedule, are most important. There is little perception of "wasting" time in these cultures, as time is seen as fluid and unending. People are in step with natural rhythms, rather than ruled by an artificially imposed time-consciousness.

Many polychronic cultures are also collectivist-oriented; that is, groups are important and human relationships are highly valued. Monochronic cultures tend to be more individualistic, and goals and schedules take precedence over relations between people.

Japan exhibits both polychronic and monochronic characteristics. Business or professional meetings often last far longer than would be tolerated in the time-conscious West. However, the time used is not considered wasted (although some members of Japanese culture will complain about this to a sympathetic Westerner), as this use is intended to promote harmony and good feelings among the group members.

Why is understanding this framework important? Here is an application of how this different time-orientation can affect perception and communication cross-culturally. Last year this author was employed as a cross-cultural consultant by an American firm that was holding contract negotiations with a large Japanese trading company. At a business meeting in Tokyo, all participants were requested at the behest of the Japanese side to sign the notes from the meeting in order to facilitate clear communication on what had been discussed/decided at the meeting. However, Mr. Tanaka, one of the members of the Japanese side and a minor player in the negotiations, had left the room earlier but requested to be called back to sign at the end of the meeting. This frustrated the Japanese manager who was running the meeting because he felt that it was not important to have Mr. Tanaka's signature. But in order to save the man's face, we waited for over 20 minutes for him to return and sign the meeting notes so that we could all receive our copies. The Americans had been completely unaware of these undercurrents of frustration, due to the lack of overt display on the Japanese side and the language barrier.

On the train on the way back to our hotel, the vice-president of the American company said, "I realized today who one of the most impor-

tant people at X company is: Mr. Tanaka." When I asked him in surprise why he thought this was so, he said that since we had waited for 20 minutes for him to sign the notes, he must have been an important member of the other side. He was quite surprised when I explained what had actually taken place and that the waiting had been merely a matter of letting Mr. Tanaka save face. One of the keys to the misperception was the time factor. For a Westerner, time is a commodity, and it only gets "spent" on people who are important. Therefore, through his own cultural lens, the vice-president assumed that anyone who was worth a 20-minute wait must be rather important. Without someone to explain and correctly interpret the situation, this misunderstanding could easily have led to some problems at future meetings. This is but one example of the many ways our unexamined cultural assumptions can affect our interactions.

### *Culture as "Software of the Mind"*

Other culture-general and communication-specific constructs come from Hofstede's (1980) four dimensions of cultural variability. He categorizes cultures as collectivist or individualist, large or small power distance, masculine or feminine, and high or low uncertainty avoidance. These constructs allow us to define cultural perceptions and other variables in a quantifiable and understandable, though necessarily oversimplified, manner. Hofstede calls culture the "software of the mind" and asserts that we cannot achieve intercultural competence without understanding this software and how it interacts with other software.

Japan is identified as having a collectivist (group-oriented) culture that tends to value the harmony of the group over the rights of the individual. Likewise, Hofstede classifies Japanese culture as "high uncertainty avoidance," which means that Japanese people in general feel more comfortable with specific cultural boundaries of behavior in which to operate. Following established precedent is more comfortable than being spontaneous. This is one explanation for why Japanese students are reticent about giving their opinions in class and tend to be afraid of being "wrong." The United States and some European countries, for example, which are seen as low uncertainty avoidance cultures, in general feel more comfortable with spontaneity and new ideas.

### **Goals of Intercultural Communication Education and Training**

Ideally, IC course content should incorporate both intellectual learning and experiential learning. Experiential learning is usually facilitated through the use of simulations, case-studies, small group discussion,

and field-based contact. Suggested course objectives might include increasing participants' understanding of how culture influences communication and their ability to explain cultural similarities and differences in communication; understanding of cultural issues that affect intercultural effectiveness and their knowledge of ethical issues involved in communicating with someone from a different culture or ethnic group; understanding of the role of communication in intercultural adaptation and improving their IC skills; and knowledge of how to transcend cultural and ethnic differences to build community (Gudykunst, Ting-Toomey & Wiseman, 1991).

The culture-specific approach is useful for participants who are moving to the target culture and need specific training in its language and customs—for example, students who are going to study overseas or participate in a homestay program.

However, most successful IC training encompasses a *culture-general* approach. That is, rather than teaching only about specific cultural traits, a wide variety of cross-cultural frameworks are covered. Since we don't know what cultures our students will eventually encounter, our purpose is to teach our students *how to learn* about cultures. To do this, we need to teach cultural similarities and differences; how to recognize and transcend racism, prejudice, and discrimination; and cross-cultural variables in non-verbal behavior, values, and belief systems (Milhouse, 1996). By using specific examples from a variety of different cultures from around the world, students learn to identify broad cultural frameworks that they can apply in future situations.

One of the basic premises of this training, as stated earlier, is that in order to communicate and interact effectively with members of another culture, one must develop cultural self-awareness. This begins with the understanding that each of us is the product of a particular culture, and our thoughts and beliefs are influenced by a cultural filter. This filter screens all we see, feel, and communicate. While this would appear to be obvious, it is not. Culture is taken for granted. We "know" things about the world and we assume everyone else "knows" them too. Certain things "go without saying." We unconsciously expect others to share our beliefs about our personal uses of space and time, what is clean or dirty, what is acceptable or unacceptable. All of these things are culturally imprinted and affect our interactions with others.

Growing up within a particular culture programs us to think a certain way, but most of us are unaware of how deep within ourselves these influences reach. Optimally, achieving intercultural competence allows us to go beyond the limitations of our singular world-views. "If you want to know about water, don't ask a goldfish," is a popular saying in

the intercultural field. In other words, it is difficult to see our own culture objectively, because there usually is no reason to do so. Most of us are completely blind to our cultural imprinting, and learning how profoundly this imprinting influences our experience of the world is the first step toward integrating it.

### Cognitive, Affective, and Behavioral Components of Intercultural Communication Education

Cognitive aspects of the IC curriculum should include and expand upon some of the theories of culture mentioned previously. Of course, communicative patterns and theories can also be introduced. The difference in communication patterns, not language itself, is often the cause of misunderstandings in intercultural interactions.

For example, Japanese communication patterns tend to be circular, and therefore the message is more contextualized and subtle. Japanese communicators expect their listeners to be sophisticated enough to realize the existence of *tatemae* and *honne*, the superficial message and the real one, and distinguish between the two. In interactions between Japanese and people from English-speaking countries, Japanese will often refrain from saying "no" directly, even when speaking in English. Instead, he or she will usually employ a vague sentence like, "I'll think about it." People familiar with Japanese communication patterns understand that this is the Japanese way of politely but indirectly saying "No." Conversely, in Euro-American linear communication patterns, the focus is on "the point" (Althen, 1988). "What's the point?" "Get to the point." "He made a pointed remark." Americans are comparatively direct in their communication, and generally expect others to be as well. (Again, however, this varies by degree depending upon the individual speaker's gender and cultural background, and the circumstances.) For example, in a business situation with Japanese, Americans will likely assume a positive response to be forthcoming after the Japanese side "thinks about" their proposal, because a direct negative response was not given. When this is not the case, an American may interpret the behavior of the Japanese side in a negative way, because communicative expectations were not met.

A third communication pattern is evocative communication used in some African cultures. This style utilizes storytelling to illustrate the point to be made, rather than directly addressing a particular point. The purpose is to evoke a feeling of empathy in the listeners. When people of such varying communication styles gather together, it requires a mutual understanding of cultural patterns to ensure that com-

munication is effectively facilitated. Miscommunications between peoples of different cultures are often caused by differences in communicative styles and expectations.

An awareness of non-verbal communicative style is also important for effective intercultural communicating. Gestures, touching, and smiling all convey messages that are culture-specific. Some cultures expect displays of emotion; others are uncomfortable with them. Some cultures encourage a wide range of volume and tone in speech, and others do not. When we are faced with a cultural style that is different from our own, we can become confused, disoriented, and even hostile. We must learn to adapt our communication patterns to those of others. To do so, we must first learn that there are different patterns, and second, what those different patterns are. This can be done cognitively in a classroom through lecture and study, but real understanding requires experiential techniques to bring this knowledge into the affective and behavioral realm.

Understanding the underlying conceptual frameworks of communication and culture from an intellectual standpoint is a good starting place for intercultural training, but it does not end there. What sets intercultural training apart from other fields of study is that, at its best, intercultural training is transformative (Paige & Martin, 1983). Instructors help students to alter their thoughts, feelings, and behavior by transcending their cultural boundaries. We are asking students to make psychological shifts away from the dualistic "us and them" ways of thinking to a more inclusive and accepting state. Through a better understanding of ourselves and others, we can cross the boundaries of language, culture and communication that divide us and experience a sense of true community, an awareness of ourselves as interconnected beings sharing the same planet.

### Skills/Strategies for the IC Classroom in Japan

Although there are many minorities in Japan, (the large ethnic Korean population, *burakumin*, Ainu, Okinawans, and various non-Japanese residents, as well as handicapped, homosexuals, mixed-race citizens, *hibakusha*, and the aged) they are not always recognized as such. Japan is therefore often categorized in a very general way as a "monocultural" society, and many Japanese see themselves as such as well (Creighton, 1997). Thus, Japanese in general are at a disadvantage globally due to a lack of experience in dealing with different races and communication patterns. This makes IC training especially desirable and appropriate in Japan.

The issue of gaining self-awareness particularly needs to be addressed in the intercultural classroom. The Intercultural Self-Disclosure Scale (Seelye, 1996) is a useful tool that helps students identify what topics and in what depth they are willing to self-disclose. This can be administered to students and then used as a basis for discussion. Barnlund (1975) described the differences between Japanese and American communication patterns, and his scales comparing the self-disclosure and body contact of the two cultures are relevant even today. My students found them fascinating, and when we talked about body contact in particular, students had a lively discussion about whom, when, and in what circumstances they would allow someone to touch them.

Gudykunst (1994) adapted a scale of individualistic and collectivist tendencies. When I administered this to several IC classes, the students overall scored higher in individualistic tendencies, contrary to the commonly held perception that Japanese display more collectivist tendencies. This led to some interesting discussions about the changing values of young Japanese, how they differ from earlier generations, and whether or not their results would be the same in five years when the students are out in Japanese society and under more pressure to conform. Using self-rating scales allows students to become thoroughly involved in the process, and they really seem to enjoy learning more about themselves. This is absolutely necessary as a precursor for learning how to communicate effectively with others.

This involvement can be achieved in a variety of ways. Usually, it is facilitated by using case studies, small-group discussion, interviews, or movies. The goal is to nurture students' ability to empathize with other groups. There are many experiential activities that can help students to shift their perspectives. Role plays and simulations are becoming increasingly available. The simulation game *Barnga* (Thiagarajan & Steinwachs, 1990) is one activity that helps students to experience firsthand the frustration involved in cross-cultural interaction. This clever card game simulates the experience of going to another culture where the cultural rules are different from the ones the students expect. Students sit around tables in small groups and are given decks of cards and instructions on how to play the game. Unknown to each of them, however, they are given *different* sets of instructions. After the students read and understand the instructions, the teacher removes them and the game begins. It is played silently, and students are left to try to communicate non-verbally (simulating the lack of a common language) but confusion gradually mounts. The facilitator calls time and then the "winners" and "losers" rotate to different tables and the play recommences. As the play continues, frustration, exasperation, and sometimes anger mount. No one is clear about what is happen-

ing, but at the same time each student is quite sure that he or she understands the rules, and all of the others playing the game are confused! Finally, after about 20 minutes or so, students are gathered together to debrief. This gives them an opportunity to let out the frustration they felt about the others who were not playing by the "correct" rules, their expectations not being met, and their inability to communicate with the other members. Students who have yet not figured out what happened are finally told that they each had different sets of instructions. The facilitator then helps them discover how these same types of reactions occur in real cultural interactions. Because participants are sure they are playing the same "game" and are sure they understand the "rules," it is the other person who is wrong, impolite, or has no common sense. It is an excellent, powerful tool because it actually generates the same kinds of frustrations that occur in real situations, as opposed to simply talking about them. As a variation, I sometimes allow English majors to speak English only about halfway through Barnaga to give them an opportunity to try to straighten out a cultural misunderstanding in English. This gives them a good sense of what it can be like to speak another language in a stressful situation, which we often encounter in another culture. It also gives each of them a great understanding of just how adequate or inadequate their language skills are!

An extremely important component of experiential exercises is the debriefing process. The debriefing is a discussion, facilitated by the trainer, to help students make sense of their experiences, validate their feelings, and integrate their new thinking patterns. Without this all-important aspect of the activity, students will be unable to fully comprehend the meaning and purpose of the activity, and much of the experience will have been wasted. To this end, I always debrief in the students' native language. Although I often use materials in English for IC classes for English majors, the lecturing and discussion is conducted primarily in Japanese, because it is important that the students understand the *concepts* being presented, and they are allowed to ask questions and give opinions without being hindered by a language barrier.

Interviewing is another useful technique. Although interviewing is difficult in Japan because few ethnic groups are represented, the subcultures mentioned previously could be utilized. Some intercultural educators in Japan have their students interview their elderly relatives to find out their perspectives on changes in Japanese society and how things used to be. This helps young people understand why the elderly have a different viewpoint.

As a final project, my students had to interview an elderly person or a member of another subculture and write about that person's life in the first

person in English. I stressed that they must already know the person, as I didn't want them accosting strangers on the street and asking personal questions. We also talked about the need to respect others' privacy and anonymity, if necessary, particularly if they were interviewing a person who was an ethnic Korean or *burakumin*. The majority of the students chose elderly members of their families, and the students and older folks both benefited, as my students found out more about life during the war, and for most of them, it was the first time that they had discussed such things with their grandparents. Many of them said that their grandparents had welcomed the opportunity to talk about their experiences with their grandchildren. There was an amazing depth of personal revelations in my students' papers. It was particularly poignant that several of the grandmothers talked of how they envied today's young women, who are able to go to school, travel to foreign lands, and choose their own marriage partners. One grandmother talked of how she walked through bombed-out areas looking for food for her malnourished baby. A grandfather told of his experiences in a Soviet prison camp. Another grandfather told his granddaughter of his guilt and anguish over the "comfort women" problem, as he himself had thought that these women were working of their own free will during wartime. Many of the elders told their granddaughters that they could not believe that some young women today were prostituting themselves (*enjo kosai*) to have money for clothes and cellular phones. This activity was the most highly rated of all the class assignments by the students in their end-of-the-year questionnaire, and many thanked me for having given them the opportunity to talk with their grandparents in such an intimate way. It was far more successful than I had imagined it would be, and I highly recommend it as an activity to help students really see things from another person's perspective. In particular, the fact that the students wrote it in the first person seemed to facilitate this.

Researchers have shown that there are cross-cultural differences in how students respond to training. Since most of the research to date has been conducted with American groups in the United States, some techniques must be adapted for use in other cultures. For example, it has been shown that Japanese do not respond in the same manner to debriefing as Americans do. Whereas American students will usually be quite aggressive in verbalizing their thoughts and observations in large groups, Japanese rarely are. Instead, Japanese students tend to like small group discussion, and they also have been shown to favor a more extensive debriefing, slowly mulling over their observations with their fellow students in small groups outside of class (Kondo, 1993). Some Japanese feel threatened by simulations. Since simulations are unfamiliar, they also leave the participants open to psychological risks. Simulations are active rather than passive;

they challenge participants to utilize knowledge and information to make decisions, solve problems, and so on. Students from high-uncertainty avoidance cultures like Japan or Korea expect teachers to lead classes and are not used to aggressively participating in their own learning. Students from low-uncertainty avoidance cultures, like the United States or Russia expect to be aggressive and active in the classroom (Hofstede, 1986). Also, there are some warm-up techniques presented in experiential books that require participants to have physical contact as part of the exercise. These types of activities are inappropriate in the Japanese classroom, because of the relative lack of touch in general between members of Japanese culture. Rather than establish comfort among members of a group, this type of activity actually increases their discomfort. Different learner expectations influence the outcomes of various pedagogical strategies, and these expectations need to be considered prior to implementation.

Another technique that is extremely useful is to use examples of actual intercultural misunderstandings, sometimes referred to as "critical incidents." There are a number of resources for these; a particularly good one is *Multicultural Manners: New Rules of Etiquette for a Changing Society* (Dresser, 1996). After the students learn theoretical constructs, they can be put into small groups and given some examples of intercultural misunderstandings. They are then asked to describe and give an explanation of what happened, applying the theoretical concepts they have studied. In many cases, they cannot fathom the reasons for the problems, but the very process of thinking about the situations gives them practice in perspective shifting and developing flexibility and critical thinking skills. This is the whole point of the exercise.

Movies can be used successfully in the IC classroom as well. *Witness*, with Harrison Ford is useful to illustrate a particular subculture (the Amish of Pennsylvania). IC teachers have also used *The Joy Luck Club* (Chinese-American subculture) with much success. The students should be encouraged to apply the theoretical constructs they have studied to describe and discuss the cultural differences they see in these films and discuss what types of cultures are portrayed, the communication involved, and so on. *Mr. Baseball* and *Gung-Ho!* focus on differences between Japanese and Americans, and *Children of a Lesser God* portrays deaf culture in a realistic manner.

#### Directions for Educators

In conclusion, I would like to stress that the field of IC should be recognized as the separate specialty that it is. Language teaching should ideally include cultural components, so that we aren't graduating "fluent

fools" (Bennett, 1993). Teachers who wish to teach IC as a content class need to develop their knowledge and skills in this area, and language departments or cultural studies departments at universities need to recognize that it is indeed a specialty that deserves its own niche within these departments. Educators who are considering graduate schools would be well advised to consider a master's degree in IC, as universities in Japan are now beginning to look for people with such credentials. Paige and Martin (1983) have identified certain competencies necessary for intercultural training: a high degree of self-awareness; recognition of one's skills limitations; sensitivity to the needs of learners; the ability to respond to problems that culture learners encounter; awareness of the ethical issues involved in intercultural training; an understanding of conceptual/theoretical frameworks in IC; program-design skills; and research/evaluation skills.

IC training is a necessity for students to achieve intercultural competence. Through an IC course, students should gain self-awareness (What are my values? How do I conceptualize and structure my "reality?") and culture-general knowledge (What kinds of cultures are there? What other ways are there of self-conceptualization?) and learn skills that will help them to communicate effectively with persons from other cultures.

For people who already have credentials in another field, there are professional programs available to increase knowledge and skills in IC. The Summer Institute for Intercultural Communication (SIIC) is an excellent resource. Weekly summer sessions are offered by top educators in the intercultural field in Portland, Oregon, under SIIC's auspices. Professional groups, such as SIETAR (the Society for International Education, Training and Research) Japan or SEITAR International also offer opportunities for professional networking and skill building. Contact information for the above can be found in the Appendix. Perhaps a new N-SIG is needed even within JALT. Recent JALT conferences have had few workshops about IC, but the ones offered have been full of people eager to learn more and share what they are doing with other people in the IC area.

In our ongoing efforts to improve the field of language education, it is our duty as educators to keep up with the latest trends and research. As the world becomes more integrated and interconnected, the need for successful communication across borders, whether they divide countries or cultures, increases. The Internet is making the world even smaller and more accessible, but the potential for cultural miscommunication actually increases as we communicate more and more with people outside our own borders. An awareness of how different our perceptions are is absolutely essential for us and for our students. We must remain in

the forefront and continue to learn, grow, and help our students to identify and transcend their cultural limitations, even as we attempt to transcend our own.

#### Acknowledgments

*I would like to express my thanks and respect to colleagues who spend their summers at SIIC conducting workshops; especially Dr. Janet Bennett, Dr. Michael R. Paige, and Dr. Stella Ting-Toomey, whose workshops I have been fortunate to participate in. Special thanks also to Dr. Yutchi Kondo, who has provided me with valuable insights into Japanese responses to intercultural training. And finally, to the editors and reviewers of JALT Journal, whose valuable feedback greatly improved this manuscript.*

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#### Note

1. While acknowledging the diversity of people living in the United States, "Americans" in this paper refers to the general cultural characteristics of white European-Americans.

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(Received October 31, 1997; revised June 26, 1998)

#### Appendix: Professional Organizations

Intercultural Communication Institute  
(Host of the Summer Institute for Intercultural Communication)  
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Portland, OR 97225 USA  
Tel: 1-503-297-4622  
Fax: 1-503-297-4695 e-mail: [ici@intercultural.org](mailto:ici@intercultural.org)

SIETAR Japan  
c/o Kokusai Business Communication Kyokai  
Sanno Grand Bldg.  
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# Reviews

*Second Language Learning: Theoretical foundations.* Michael Sharwood Smith. Essex, UK: Longman, 1994. 265 pp.

*Reviewed by*  
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Sharwood Smith suggests developing your own understanding of second language acquisition (SLA) theory based on its history. However, the author is not interested in all SLA theory. The primary focus of this book is on grammar theory, especially Chomskyan linguistics and Universal Grammar. Thus all other areas, "for practical purposes . . . are not accorded attention due to them in this book" (p. 137). Once you accept this stricture, regardless of your own views as to whether or not factors outside of grammar play a role in assisting or hindering SLA in general or grammatical development in particular, you can appreciate this book as an introductory text to the history and foundations of second language linguistic theory.

Sharwood Smith's analysis of SLA theory covers the late 1960s through 1992. Chapter 1 defines the text's important concepts. Much later the reader discovers that the book is organized around four dominant themes, (1) knowledge; (2) control; (3) learnability; and (4) modularity (p. 172). It would have made the book more understandable if these concepts were given their own sections in Chapter 1. Another seven chapters historically analyze SLA theory, emphasizing grammar. Finally, in Chapter 9, implications for future research and practical conclusions are developed.

The historical overview begins in 1967 with Corder, Selinker, and Nemser's studies of the learner's internal linguistic system, "Interlanguage" (IL), as it exists apart from fluency. Much of the book's later sections treat the learner's system as a relatively durable internal state rather than a temporary and changing condition judged from the viewpoint of fluency.

Chapters 2, 3, and 5 trace and compare various IL hypotheses prevalent during the 1970s. Chapter 4 offers guidance for new SLA researchers, using grammar-related examples. Chapters 5 and 6 primarily emphasize the emergence of four issues which, for the author, represent the most important concerns of SLA research: (1) variability of acquisition and performance; (2) conscious and unconscious learning; (3) functions of various grammatical forms; and (4) the characteristics of the

learner's IL knowledge. It would have been helpful if the relationship of these four issues to the four general themes of control, modularity, learnability, and knowledge had been clarified. Chapter 6 also begins to correct what Sharwood Smith calls the misunderstanding of Chomsky, a task he undertakes in the remainder of the text.

Chapter 7 introduces the basic ideas of Chomskyan grammar. Children, it is argued, must be predisposed to look for various features in the input data—the language they are exposed to. These predispositions lie behind what Chomsky has called Universal Grammar (UG). Grammatical parameters, then, allow for one or more variant. To make things easier, it is claimed that, in certain cases at least, particular options are assumed by the child (p. 134). Most of the chapter is a discussion of “markedness” as a way of explaining the advantages of adapting L1 linguistic theoretical definitions for describing second language development. The remaining three pages before the summary are devoted to lexis, phonology, pragmatics, and discourse analysis.

Chapter 8, the longest chapter, is titled, “The Role of UG in Second Language Learning.” The fundamental question which UG must address is “where do successful second language acquirers, who clearly create novel utterances, get the necessary information for them to bridge the information gap and acquire those principles [of L2]” (p. 145)? It appears that UG represents the most important role of the subconscious.

Turning to cognitive psychology, the author explains its relationship to SLA research in the following words: “Learning theorists need linguistic theory to be able to define the linguistic aspects of the learning problem” (p. 5). Linguistic theory, it appears, means primarily Chomskyan linguistics. However, in devoting so much of the text to the Chomskyan model, other cognitive models have been unnecessarily sacrificed. For after all, “in a broader sense, it [interlanguage studies] is part of cognitive science” (p. 5). Thus Sharwood Smith uses only McLaughlin's information processing model (p. 113), which he criticizes for denying language learning as a separate form of knowledge distinct from other forms. Summarizing such models, Sharwood Smith notes, “It would seem, then, that the information-processing model would be more helpful in understanding the development of control rather than the development of grammar-as-competence” (p. 115). However, the excellent review by Schmidt (1990) of a range of learning models offers one that would satisfy many of Sharwood Smith's concerns. This is Baars' model, which is readily adaptable to Sharwood Smith's “modularity hypothesis” suggesting that the mind is composed of a number of semi-autonomous systems and subsystems.

Sharwood Smith introduces the final chapter, “Implications and Applications,” with reference to the often “contentious relationship” between class-

room teachers and theorists that introduced Chapter 1: "Ideally, second language researchers should, first and foremost, pursue their investigations without paying attention to the concerns of teachers" (p. 5). Most of the chapter is devoted to developing and examining whether the acquisition of performance skill takes place in a manner which is open to external manipulation. Here external manipulation is considered to be the intervention of grammar-correcting structures and evaluation considerations.

This would have been an appropriate time to consider other alternatives such as task-based learning. Task-based programs are more than grammar to the extent that the syntax facilitates the performance of the task. However, since Sharwood Smith has defined the boundaries for this discussion and the conditions for applying cognitive models of learning, this alternative is excluded.

Task-based curriculum describes objectives such as practice in communicative structures to ensure accurate exchange of information. But this is not "nice-to know" information. Grammar structure is included in the learning goals of the task only if it is necessary for task achievement. Apparently Sharwood Smith avoids this discussion because it is classified as curriculum design, not acquisition theory. If this is the case, however, then it is a mistake to separate curriculum design from its generative theory.

As the final chapter consists of broadly generalized hypotheses, almost anything can be included for discussion, even the areas such as sociolinguistics which were described as lying outside the focus of the book. Yet the implications of two hypotheses cycle us back to the beginning of his text. From the reader's and teacher's point of view, while realizing the new territory that is being explored in SLA linguistics, we expect some definite achievements and landmarks after finishing the text. The author summarizes the journey this way:

What, then, does learner language research have to say to language teachers? . . . It would simply be dishonest to make a neat set of confident claims about what it can "offer" the practitioner apart from confirming the fact that SLA is complex and not fully controllable by either teacher or (conscious) learner (p. 172).

This kind of statement is appropriate at the beginning of the text but surely we have learned more than this by the end of the text.

A nice addition to the glossary and index, making this work suitable for a college text, is a set of discussion questions at the end of each chapter.

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In the introduction to *Theory and Practice of Writing*, Grabe and Kaplan express their hope that "this volume will be regarded as an ideas supermarket in which readers are welcome to shop" (p. xi). More in line with the mega-supermarkets found in most American cities, this text serves as a broad overview of the anthropological, historical, sociological, linguistic, and pedagogical approaches to the "technology" known as writing.

Beginning with the most basic question of "why do people write?" Grabe and Kaplan provide an anthropological/historical/linguistic examination of the human propensity for written record keeping. Going back 6,000 years to the first documented history of the written word, Grabe and Kaplan explore the possibility that the tendency to write, unlike the tendency to speak, may not be biologically determined. While most normally developed individuals learn to speak, only half of the world's current population has acquired the ability to read and write at a functional level, and one fifth is considered non-literate. Grabe and Kaplan assert that the ability to write is not naturally acquired and is, in fact, a "technology, a set of skills which must be practiced and learned through experience" (p. 6). This, they argue, is a crucial consideration when studying the development of writing abilities: "The way people learn to write is essentially different from the way they learn to speak, and there is no guarantee that any person will read or write without some assistance" (p. 6).

This notion is further complicated by the fact that the act of writing itself must be divided into two distinct categories: telling or retelling, and transforming. While telling or retelling involves the simpler skills of recalling and reiterating, transforming involves the far more complex skills of "writing for which no blueprint is readily available" (p. 4). In the United States when the first freshmen Compositions courses were introduced at Harvard in 1874, the standard academic expectation for writing in English became defined as a three-part essay consisting of an introduction, body, and conclusion. Yet, while most institutions assume that the skills for transforming have been thoroughly conveyed by the time a student reaches the tertiary level, Grabe and Kaplan have found that this is more often not the case, with the majority never progressing beyond the more rudimentary skills of telling or retelling. This is particularly relevant for L2 learners who have not had the same opportunities for practicing academic writing. Grabe and Kaplan also argue that teachers of writing need to recognize

that learners may have a set of writing skills that have been highly valued in other contexts. As Grabe and Kaplan point out, "the central issue in literacy development is not the development of uniform cognitive skills, but the recognition that there are many different literary practices, of which only a few are likely to be valued by a given educational system" (p. 14). In other words, it is essential that the study of writing itself be seen as a study that is socially contextualized.

For a study of writing in the social context of Japan, for instance, Grabe and Kaplan discuss the work of J. Hinds, who compared the organizational methods of writing in English and writing in Japanese. While the standard in English writing is the three-part essay, the standard in Japanese writing is *Ki-Shoo-Ten-Ketsu*, a form which has its origin in classical Chinese poetry. According to Hinds, one major difference between the three-part essay and the *Ki-Shoo-Ten-Ketsu* framework occurs in the third element, *Ten*. Here the writer is required to develop a sub-theme which would be considered a major topic violation in the standard three-part English essay. A second difference occurs in the final element, *Ketsu*, which represents the conclusion; however, "by English standards, such a conclusion appears almost incoherent" (p. 188). Further, Hinds has found that while English writers are thoroughly familiar with a strictly deductive and inductive method of reasoning, Asian texts tend toward a method of reasoning he terms "*quasi-inductive*" (p. 189). Following this method of quasi-inductive reasoning, Japanese writers tend to bury their thesis statements. According to Hinds, Japanese readers do not expect the thesis to be explained at the outset and are better at contextualizing a topic than English readers. He notes that Japanese is a "reader-responsible" language; that is, "readers are expected to work to fill information and transitions, and a writer who does all the work for the reader is not as highly valued" (p. 190). In order to effectively teach L2 writers to write in a manner consistent with the expectations of the target language, these socially different approaches to writing need to be further researched and understood.

In addition to citing research by Hinds, Grabe and Kaplan provide a virtual cornucopia of leading research ideas by prominent theorists in the chapter titled "Writing Process Research and Recent Extensions," which gives an overview of current trends. Included in this chapter are extensive discussions of the Flower and Hayes model and the Bereiter and Scardamalia model, as well as a criticism of these approaches. The Bibliography consists of a full 45 pages, providing an excellent reference source.

While this theoretical approach to writing occupies the first half of *Theory and practice of writing*, the second half focuses on methods of teaching writing from the beginning to the advanced levels. These methods include curriculum planning, tapping student interest, responding to and giving

feedback, as well as a variety of exercises for classroom use. These exercises clearly described and Grabe and Kaplan have made them further accessible by providing a quick reference guide. Among the exercise ideas for the beginning level are working with pictures, establishing a writing corner, and using a dialogue journal. Intermediate level exercises include autobiographies and biographies, surveys and questionnaires, and portfolios. Advanced level exercise ideas include exploratory writing, exercises distinguishing fact from opinion, and teacher-student conferencing.

These hands-on methods are valuable for practicing teachers of writing, but I found them somewhat simplistic when compared to the more technical and theoretical discussions in the first half of the book. While the first half seems directed toward a highly academic examination of the methods and effects of the writing curriculum, the second half is a more general approach to basic classroom management. Yet this is not necessarily a detrimental characteristic. Referring to Grabe and Kaplan's original wish that their book be regarded as an "ideas supermarket," both aspects of the book serve the purpose of providing an overview of the vast variety of elements inherent in the theory and practice of writing.

*Grammatical and Lexical Variance in English.* Randolph Quirk. London & New York: Longman, 1995. 220 pp.

*Reviewed by*  
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This collection of journal contributions, reconsidered essays and re-written lectures is concerned with the phenomenon of variance in English grammar and vocabulary across regional, social, stylistic, and temporal space. Quirk's text presents the results of recent and ongoing research on variance in the English-speaking world and will interest who are concerned with teaching, with language policies at the official level, with English language teaching standards here in Japan and with applied linguistics in the broadest sense.

Professor Lord Quirk, F.B.A., is not shy about airing his opinions and convictions; he rightly considers the sporadically-debated proposal that Japanese educators should settle for the "relaxed and clearly insulting goal" of mastering a simplified "Japanese English," or *Japlish*, to be both disgraceful and grotesque. But in truth Quirk's own visits to Japan have been both brief and busy, and his knowledge of everyday educational realities in contemporary Japan seems woefully superficial. With

how many Japanese learners of English has Quirk actually spoken for more than a few minutes, one wonders.

The Japanese learner of English steers undaunted or apprehensively as best he or she can between the Scylla of archaic *Mombusho-Eigo* (Ministry of Education English) speech forms ("You ought not to speak ill of her or say such things to her") and the Charybdis of nonsensical semi-literacy ("Do Photo!" "Beautiful Human Life Plaza," "Life is a Sport," "Beer's New").

Worse, some native-speaking English teachers in Japan appear to have adapted policies Quirk evidently considers sinful to the point of treason; he refers to the *Four Seasons Composition Book* (Pereira & O'Reilly, 1988) which, *inter alia*, is said to inform learners that "If you can make yourself understood . . . that is good enough," the authors evidently embracing the view that such learners' spoken efforts constitute a "respectable variety of English," (p. 31). This opinion, although lamentably pessimistic, must necessarily command respect among those who have encountered Japanese teachers of English quite incapable of stringing the simplest spoken sentence together in that language. Amid this dire confusion, the astonishing thing is that any Japanese learner manages to make sense of English at all.

To quote Quirk on ideal standards in language teaching; "It is neither liberal nor liberating to permit learners to settle for lower standards than the best, and it is a travesty of liberalism to tolerate low standards which will lock the least fortunate into the least-rewarding careers" (p.29). The debate about Standard English in the Anglophone world is intermittent but impassioned; the Kingman Report of 1988 in Britain unleashed a storm of noisy and often ill-informed debate, much of it led by snobbish reactionaries writing in the Tory press or people with an all-too-evident political agenda in favor of the lowest common denominators of ethnic-group solidarity and/or proletarian and regional speech patterns. As Quirk quotes the report, it plausibly concluded that an adequate command of Standard English was "more likely to increase the freedom of the individual than diminish it" (Kingman, 1988, p. 3).

In the United States, the so-called liberation linguistics debate has centered on the issue of Black English, now semi-officially known as Ebonic or Ebonics. A contribution in *TESOL Quarterly* (Goldstein, 1987) suggested that young Hispanic-speakers in New York City should be taught the lively Black English of the streets around them ("I don't have none, dude.") rather than Standard English. Jeremiah-like, Quirk bewails the sad fact that such an opinion was read, and probably totally misinterpreted, by educators around the world. (This seems remarkably similar to the upper-class Victorian social taboo that certain things should simply *not* be discussed in front of the servants.)

Any educated and perceptive person who has traveled a little is aware

that there exists, to coin an appellation, a Standard Mother-tongue Educated English which is virtually, but not quite, a cognate language in Canberra, Ottawa, Dublin, London, Chicago, Edinburgh, Singapore, Cape Town, and Wellington. The book Quirk published with Greenbaum, Leech, and Svartvik (1985) adequately established that a single, educated, and universally acceptable variety of English can be described as a unity while still catering for the purely local and regional features which occur, to varying degrees, outside this vast common core. In *Grammatical and Lexical Variance* Quirk adds that common folk with their common sense insist on being taught correct standard usage, and he waspishly observes that the language elite invariably express their skepticism about standard English in precise standard English, not in Anglo-Caribbean or demotic prole-speak; "Disdain of élitism is a comfortable exercise for those who are themselves securely among the élite" (p. xx).

These are perilous times. Even the most highly-esteemed of educators are prone to hideous errors of judgment in Quirk's eyes; one H. Coleman, writing in *The Language Teacher*, mused aloud that "language behavior which at first sight appears to be flawed may in fact be a manifestation of a new, though as yet unrecognized, variety of English" (Coleman, 1987, p. 13). This is rather like saying a bright three-year-old's theological musings "may in fact be a manifestation of . . ." the first stirrings of the latest of the world's great religious insights. True, they *may* indeed, but the odds would seem poor to a professional gambler.

Quirk has harsh words for the celebrated B. B. Kachru, who has been publishing prolifically, elegantly, and eloquently on Indian English for a quarter-century, and yet there is *still* no published grammar, dictionary or even phonological description to which teachers or learners in India could turn for normative guidance and from which pedagogical materials could be derived. The late Indira Gandhi, Swiss-educated and from a wealthy patrician background, was appalled at what she perceived as the declining standards of English in India and was quite horrified at the idea of India establishing its own debased Babu standard (p. 39).

Two brief, and related, chapters of surpassing excellence are entitled "Linguistic Variance: Nature and Art" and "Orwell and Language Engineering." The English novelists George Orwell and Anthony Burgess invented imaginary simplified forms of English in two pessimistic novels set in an imagined future, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and *Nineteen Eighty-Five*. The nuances of the two languages are different; in Orwell's ghastly vision, Newspeak extinguishes free thought because independent thought cannot be adequately expressed with the available vocabulary. Orwell appears to have derived Newspeak in part from Ogden's *Basic English* (1932) and in part from Hogben's *Inter glossa* (1943), an exercise in linguistic engineer-

ing which sought to out-Basic Basic English itself. The *SLORC* junta in Myanmar (Burma) appear to be loyal if totally humorless Orwellians; Burmese-language and, surprisingly, English-language posters decorate Yangon (Rangoon) with exhortations to work hard and obey the ruling despotism unquestioningly. Equally, in 1977 Tripoli, the capital of Libya, had bilingual Arabic-English posters evident everywhere with such cheery commands as the one to "*Purge the country of deviationists.*"

In Anthony Burgess' threadbare syndicalist *Tucland the Brave* (the nation's name is derived, with malevolent glee, from the Trades Union Congress), the language, Workers' English, abbreviated as *WE*, is cheery and proletarian, and—a typical Burgessian quip—is taught on the telly by "the very humorous and erudite Mr Quirk." *WE* is, moreover, deliberately imprecise and delectably sprinkled with mild obscenities inserted as meaningless intensifiers; "Right, that's *that* bleeding wotsit sorted, then. Know what I fucking mean, mate?"

Quirk notes with scrupulous regard for accuracy that Workers' English, Burgess' invented language, corresponds precisely to two modern languages dictated to the *vulgo* by the clever ones on high, Putonghua in the People's Republic of China and Nynorsk in Norway. A comprehensive bibliography gives helpful clues for further reading. The unembarrassed Quirk, with or without collaborators, appears eleven times.

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*The Communicative Value of Intonation in English*. David Brazil. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. xiii + 188 pp. Audio cassette, 63 min. (approx.)

Reviewed by  
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David Brazil (d. 1995) was one of the bright lights of the University of Birmingham's School of English. *The communicative value of intonation in English*, first published in 1985 in that university's English Language Research series, was his *magnum opus*. In their foreword, two of his colleagues call it "the most detailed statement of the theory of Discourse Intonation" (p. v). The book addresses the crucial importance of intonation choices made by speakers in concrete situations, choices which are not bound to other issues of grammar or semantics. Commercial publishers, claiming "it did not 'contribute to the debate'" on intonation in the 1980's, at first refused to print it. Cambridge University Press overcame such qualms and published Brazil's (1994) ELT textbook based on discourse intonation. Since the approach is not yet widely known enough to be conventional, those considering use of Brazil (1994) would do well to become familiar with *The Communicative Value of Intonation in English*.

Like other features of language, intonation is a series of paired options, many of which are available to speakers in a given context. The choice of one (and not the other) of a given pair communicates something of the speakers' intention or point of view. The purpose of the book is stated quite clearly:

I start with the assumption that the first task of the student of intonation is to set up a framework within which the finite set of meaningful oppositions can be identified and characterized, and I seek to do no more than this in a single volume (pp. ix-x).

To help the reader focus efficiently on ("emic") minimal-pair contrasts and to avoid considering all the endless ("etic") possibilities in actual discourse, there many short examples given in the text and on the audio tape. They are repeated on the tape only when the repetition is assigned a new example number in the text. Asterisks indicate the first use of Brazil's own technical terms (p. xii); and Appendix C (p. 183) is an alphabetized list of those terms with the page of first occurrence in the text. A glossary would have been more helpful, since the terms are not always defined the first time they appear and there is no index to facilitate location of later uses.

Just as it would be impossible to discuss pronunciation without con-

Brazil to develop terminology appropriate for discussion of intonation, and this may be his most lasting contribution. The terminology is not transparent and takes some time to learn, but seems, at least to this native speaker, to describe the way English actually works. Fundamental concepts, such as the "tone unit," planned by the speaker and interpreted by hearers holistically "as a complex contour" (p. 3) similar to what others have called 'sense groups,' 'breath groups' and tone groups" (p. 5), are quite helpful. Some concepts may be difficult to relate to their realizations, especially for non-native speakers. As an American, I sometimes found the British-accented intonation unpredictable and the terms, "referring tone/proclaiming tone" (p. 69) easier to grasp in the abstract than to apply to examples. Nevertheless, I had far fewer problems in these areas than with anything else I've read (or heard) on the subject.

One thing I found immediately appealing was the (imperfect) analogy between punctuation in written discourse and the choice of "key" (initial pitch) of a "pitch sequence" (pp. 120-124). I remember being told as a child that a comma meant a breath or a short pause and a period a longer pause when reading aloud. This is analogous to pauses separating tone units in spontaneous speech (p. 6). Brazil "could plausibly speculate that punctuation practices are based on an incomplete apprehension of how pitch sequences relate to each other in the spoken language" but refrains from pursuing this beyond noting that a high key is like the separation of meaning represented by a period, a low key to the equivalence represented by a colon, and a mid key to the additive quality of a semicolon (pp. 123-124). Instructors who focus on reading may find this book surprisingly useful, especially if their students are of a high enough level to interpret written English text in a meaningful way.

All teachers of English should take the following advice into account.

The teaching of languages unavoidably depends upon the presentation of specimens: teachers provide, and students repeat, specimen words, specimen phrases, and specimen sentences. It is easy to recognize the intonation of oblique [noncommittal] orientation in much of the language that results . . . Pedagogical as well as other considerations make it essential to take note of how hearer-sensitive intonation choices differ from those motivated by a limited engagement with the language item. (p. 142)

This explanation of David Brazil's insights well rewards those who accept the challenge of understanding it. It is a must for anyone working in the field of English pronunciation and useful for all who teach ESL/EFL.

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*How the Mind Works*. Steven Pinker. New York: W. W. Norton, 1997.  
660 pp.

*Reviewed by*  
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In *How the mind works*, Pinker addresses the question, How are we able to perform as we do and what are the sources of our abilities? His major thesis is that our behavioral capabilities are the product of an innate endowment given us via evolution. The brain contains structures called "modules" which are physically specific. Each module has a particular operational program. The networking of these programs enables our behavioral capabilities.

How does this work in practice? The modules receive input from the external world. The mind (which Pinker defines as that which the brain does) makes assumptions about the input based on its innate programs and constructs a world view. We then perform actions or think thoughts accordingly. Cognitive scientists stress that all physical/mental activity is treated by the mind as information. Hence their term "computational mind" as a cover term for the brain's performance. Pinker admits that the computer analogy is a weak one, but suggests that it is handy.

Pinker emphasizes that this view is not deterministic. It is the very fact of innateness that gives us the seemingly infinite competence we enjoy. But there are some major fallouts. The traditional distinctions made by social science, philosophy and religion between contrasting features such as nature/nurture, and mind/body go down the drain. Culture, philosophy, and religion cannot be considered as fundamental behavioral determinants since they are also the products of the same innate programs.

What then, of notions such as "will," "self awareness," and the like? Pinker suggests that either we simply do not have sufficient information to deal with such constructs or we do not have the cognitive ability in the first place (and he personally opts for the second position). Our lack does not deter us from working out a theory of how the mind works, for "will" and "sentience" seem to have no causal referents.

The brain, Pinker points out, attained its present evolutionary state some two million years ago. Not much has happened since. It evolved to deal with the problems that our ancestors faced, not traffic jams, big government, and so on. This should not surprise anyone familiar with the principles of evolution. All bioforms have baggage that is of no direct benefit to the organism, and this is tolerated as long as the cost of toting it around does not outweigh the cost of its upkeep. Under "baggage" Pinker includes art, music, philosophy, religion, and culture. None

of these, he suggests, have any direct bearing on behavior nor do they have any evolutionary benefit. They exist not because we find them necessary for survival but because they allow us transgressions of our limitation without penalty.

This book is important for anyone interested in human behavior since culture and language are but forms thereof. It is thoroughly documented, amusing, and cogently argued. It writes finis to the romantic notion that we arose from the primordial muck to nuclear enlightenment simply because we are the darlings of creation.

*On Becoming a Language Educator: Personal Essays on Professional Development.* Christine Pearson Casanave & Sandra R. Schecter (Eds.). Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1997. xxi + 243 pp.

*Reviewed by*  
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If your book budget is so small or depleted that there is only a single academic book you can afford to read this year, *On Becoming a Language Educator* should be it. Casanave and Sandra Schecter have nurtured something unique, a "page-turner" of professional development. You will find yourself sneaking back to it during the day and staying up nights as I did, until you have shared every one of these "personal essays" at least once. Acquired only months ago, my copy is worn as a family bible. I continue to go back to the nineteen contributions as one would to parables—to renew and extend the insights they provide.

Among a surfeit of studied formalisms, this warm, engaging, provocative volume truly stands out. Casanave and Schecter have managed some astounding feats in editing the collection. They adapted the narrative form and the recent trend of biographical confession to the service of research in professional development; they coaxed a group of universally known professionals on the language landscape into confiding their personal lives

in a way that illuminates their professional ones; they touched this reader (and others) with a magic dust that has nourished self-reflection and recognition of the larger and enduring issues in my own life as a teacher.

The authors are as familiar as the specialties diverse. Even more notable is the vehicle of their discourse—intimate family backgrounds, personal experiences as learners, and the historical and political contexts of their times. These educators speak unabashedly of their doubts, the successes and failures of their lives, their sense of themselves within the fields they have chosen, the games they play as professionals. They are candid about the dilemmas they have faced and the changes their efforts have wrought. Each essay is imbued with a strong sense of journeys taken and journeys yet ahead. Of course, this strikes up in the reader a similar stocktaking, and perhaps the realization that even as mature, experienced teachers we must still progress to further professional growth.

The first theme explores sources of identity, merging the writers' roots with the evolution of their teaching philosophies. Each author taps family history and values, generously, recounting seminal childhood experiences, particularly those in the classroom. Edelsky's effort begins the anthology by connecting her father's strong sense of social justice, her mother's distaste for pretense, her disturbed aunt's artistic exuberance and her Jewish family's marginality with her commitment to whole language. Foster probes her experience in Catholic and graduate education and her African-American background to examine writing instruction. She lauds the commitment of her nuns to every student's academic success and to providing explicit standards and objectives for the students. The oral traditions of her home community become a basis for good pedagogy.

Beginning with a charming recollection of the six tablemates she met on her first day of school as a Chinese-speaking girl in an English classroom, Lily Wong Fillmore takes us on a tale of migrant schooling for the diverse population of children in California's Pajaro Valley. Her challenges as a student and as an unprepared volunteer teacher of migrants lead to reflections on peer tutoring, educational neglect and bilingual methodologies. Peter Paul's revealing retelling of his family's struggle with a hearing-impaired child, his own challenges as a severely impaired learner facing the ideological and educational dilemmas that separate speech-reading and ASL schooling, not only introduce us to issues in deaf education but also furnish insights for reading instruction with hearing learners. Jim Cummins rounds out the theme, tapping his formative years in Ireland and his later academic career to probe a wide gamut: language maintenance in Ireland, policy conservatism of the Roman Catholic Church, and coercion and subjugation in language policy.

The second theme offers conflicts which have constructed professional identities. Norma González examines the tension between the categorization necessary for ethnographic research and the multiplicity of human experience, drawing on her Mexican ethnicity and work investigating language socialization in Tucson's Mexican community. The well-known juxtaposition of Ph.D. candidate and advisor, so rarely discussed, candidly occupies David Shea's essay, which unpacks the important topic of student-teacher power relations through the chronicle of his own dissertation project. Editor Sandra Schecter offers fresh commentary on the antagonisms between teacher and researcher roles. She champions the pleasures of teaching (and acknowledges the greater authority wielded by researchers) as she documents her transformation from teacher to researcher and the nostalgia she feels for the former.

The importance of teaching is reinforced by the third theme, wisdom gained in the classroom. Vivian Paley's essay is filled with dialog—real exchanges in the classroom and imagined conversations with colleagues. Her beautiful and touching article urges closer reflection on classroom talk and journal writing to sort out what we and our students do there. Also moving is Trudy Smoke's look at some student characters she has known in classes—what she learned from them and what they learned about themselves through their writing and immersion in education. Jill Sinclair Bell shares her journey from literacy researcher to student of Cantonese, becoming her own research subject. Her moods and realizations as she studies under her Chinese teacher's distinctive method are illuminating. Tom Scovel renders a short portrait of himself as a dreadful language learner, which he believes has made him a more curious and committed acquisition researcher.

The darkest portion of the book takes up seeing "the profession." John Fanselow uses a postcard metaphor (and an actual incident involving a Nigerian-based Peace Corps volunteer's postcard) to delve into the dilemmas of being a teacher trainer—providing models and practices as a mentor while seeking to free teachers of preconceptions and constraints—and to offer some solutions he has found. Alan Strand writes from the middle of his sabbatical year, taking us on a raw journey through disappointments and frustrations, the "professional tragedy" of his English-teaching career, ending with the blunt realization that he would rather teach economics.

Denise Murray faces a dilemma similar to Fanselow's. She expresses disquiet at the contradictions between her two facets: reformer and activist prescribing direction for the profession, and nurturing facilitator giving students the inductive freedom to find their own solutions and meanings. Finally, editor Christine Casanave punches a large hole in the pose demanded of academic writing. In examining the approach-

able work she loves to read and the obtuse technotalk that alienates her, she shares her own method of writing, wrestles with the seduction of academe and concludes by calling on her own courage to reject incomprehensible "expert" writing in favor of writing for meanings which will connect with the audience she envisions.

The book closes with a look "backstage" at three essays, one of which never reached publication. Denise Murray's story of editorial negotiations and David Shea's e-mails with an editor uncover the emotions, misgivings and labor that these intimate confessions required. Judy Winn-Bell Olsen's e-mails show her hesitation, her search for a suitable personal topic, and finally, her conclusion that it is too embarrassing and too intimate to make authorial decisions about. She abandons the writing task.

These short stories will inevitably resonate with experiences and thoughts we ourselves have. Norma González' great-grandmother Yara is a character like my own Italian-speaking grandmother. I saw myself in Schecter's description of one teacher after a successful class: "She's so psyched that she feels a need to come down before driving home." I truly connected to Vivian Paley's observation on students, "They are our colleagues in this endeavor." Without meeting them, I feel these authors have become my friends. My sense of community with teachers of language has been enriched by discovering that so many of our backgrounds, principles and goals are diverse, yet similar too.

*On Becoming a Language Educator* makes a wonderful I-Ching. Through it each reader finds a different message, a personalized prescription for daily and professional life. I hesitate to limit future readers by critiquing the collection extensively. Still, the subtext of power relations whispered in my ear throughout. In many stories the characters strive to gain power against institutional domination and conservatism to secure a competent education. Students and teachers negotiate the terms of their endearment; teachers and researchers struggle to share academic authority. Professionals confront the monolith of academe.

The making of identity involves finding a legitimate place to stand on this globe of life. Every story is suffused with contemplation and observation about wresting the power to secure learning, a profession, a pedagogy of teaching, to make an identity and stand with it. I realize acutely the crucial way I view education as a source of personal strength and individual purpose. I love my work all the more for what I have read here.

*On Becoming a Language Educator* may well be the most valuable book you read this year; it will certainly be one of the most enjoyable volumes in your library of professional development—one you will be sorry to have overlooked. So don't. Unlike that annoying electronic chain-mail, you should send this book to everyone you know.

*Realms of Meaning: An Introduction to Semantics.* T. R. Hofmann. London: Longman, 1993. xv + 339 pp.

*Reviewed by*

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This book is not quite like other books on semantics. Firstly it works with a wide definition of what could be included in the field of semantics. Secondly it makes deliberate attempts to engage and involve the reader in the subject matter, and thirdly it seems to be written for learners who are not native speakers of English. This review looks at each of these points in turn. This is a book not about how to teach languages (although the author has comments to make on the learning of languages), but about how to describe the system that lies behind semantics and its relation to logic. It is therefore a text of interest to teachers of courses in semantics, and to people who wish to be better informed about the nature of the language. It does not assume any previous knowledge of semantics. The book examines how meaning is expressed both through lexis and through grammar.

The first chapter of the book focuses on basic issues such as the nature of language, the nature of communication, and the nature of meaning. Chapter 2 looks at the ideas of markedness and blocking, and provides important groundwork for the later chapters which focus on particular parts of the semantic system. Chapter 3 examines opposites and negatives including negative prefixes, negation in sentences and double negation. Chapter 4 on deixis examines one of the more patterned areas of language, focusing in words like *this* and *that*, and *here* and *there*. This chapter very clearly shows the fascinating system that lies behind this group of words. Hofmann suggests that the similarity in patterning between quite different languages “suggest the idea that human beings might all have the same [semantic elements] from which to build words . . . It is reasonable to suspect that we all have the same building blocks of articulate thought, for we are all human beings” (p. 71). This is indeed the theme of the book—there is a small group of semantic elements that underlie the important semantic systems of all languages. Hofmann sees learning these as a way to make a quick start on learning another language. Chapter 5, called Orientations, looks at subject-orientation and speaker-orientation, and their effect on requests. Chapter 6 examines modal verbs.

(usually indicated by an adverb), and the time of the event, it is possible to make sense of choices in the tense and aspect system of English. The description is fascinating and thought provoking. It is not however checked against examples that actually occur in normal use of the language to truly test the strength of the description. Somewhat naively, it is also assumed that if the system is right, "English students should not have any more trouble" (p. 119). This indeed is the major weakness of the book. In occasional asides the author makes ill-judged comments on areas that largely lie outside the scope of the book. A similar notable comment firmly within the scope of the book is "it is probably not worth reading anything on semantics more than fifteen years old" (p. 14). This would exclude all the items listed in the further reading at the end of the chapter!

Chapter 8 examines the limits to events, covering states and stativity, volition, punctive and durative—perfective, imperfective, iterative and generative. Chapter 9 looks at the semantic elements that lie behind prepositions, Chapter 10 examines reference and predication, Chapter 11, sentence structure. The later chapters of the book range over discourse and pragmatics. The final chapter, Afterwords, touches on topics raised in earlier chapters—paraphrastic systems, meaning, fuzziness and prototypes, field, use and reference, theories of meaning, and a "usage" theory of meaning.

Hofmann clearly wants the text to be accessible and interesting. It is deliberately written in simple language with an avoidance of jargon wherever possible. There are plenty of diagrams to illustrate and clarify points in the text. Each chapter begins by posing questions about the reasons for the acceptability and unacceptability of example sentences. These questions are accompanied by a diagram indicating the focus of the chapter. The writer says in the preface, "Most of the facts of English presented here derive directly or indirectly from teaching English to non-natives, from seeing mistakes commonly made and noting how to avoid them" (p. xiii). The model of the reader then is largely someone who is not a native speaker of English and the book carefully takes account of this. Within each chapter there are interpolated questions with answers provided at the end of the chapter. They seem to have the aim of allowing readers to check their understanding, breaking the chapter into manageable chunks, and keeping the practical purposes of the theory clear. Each chapter ends with list of keywords (the technical vocabulary that needs to be remembered), suggestions for further reading, and two to four pages of exercises for the reader to work on. Answers to the exercises are provided at the end of the book. The questions and exercises largely involve deciding what is different be-

tween sentences, why some sentences are unacceptable and how to correct them. Although there are examples from a variety of languages, the writer's familiarity with Japanese and French means that many examples are from these languages. It is not difficult to imagine a course based on this book exciting and engaging students. The writer's enthusiasm for the subject and his desire to communicate so that he is well understood is apparent in every page of the book. *Realms of Meaning* is a readable, interesting and wide ranging introduction to semantics for serious students. It brings them to grips with the important issues in this field in an engaging way.

# Information for Contributors

All submissions must conform to *JALT Journal* Editorial Policy and Guidelines.

## Editorial Policy

*JALT Journal*, the refereed research journal of the Japan Association for Language Teaching (*Zenkoku Gogaku Kyokai Gakkaï*), invites practical and theoretical articles and research reports on second/foreign language teaching and learning in Japanese, Asian, and other international contexts. Areas of particular interest are:

- |                                           |                           |                                                         |
|-------------------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. curriculum design and teaching methods | 3. cross-cultural studies | acquisition                                             |
| 2. classroom-centered research            | 4. testing and evaluation | 7. overviews of research and practice in related fields |
| 5. teacher training                       |                           |                                                         |
| 6. language learning and                  |                           |                                                         |

The editors encourage submissions in five categories: (1) full-length articles, (2) short research reports (*Research Forum*), (3) essays on language education or reports of pedagogical techniques which are framed in theory and supported by descriptive or empirical data (*Perspectives*), (4) book and media reviews (*Reviews*), and (5) comments on previously published *JALT Journal* articles (*Point to Point*). Occasionally *JALT Journal* will issue a Call for Papers for theme-based issues. Articles should be written for a general audience of language educators; therefore statistical techniques and specialized terms must be clearly explained.

## Guidelines

### Style

*JALT Journal* follows the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association*, 4th edition (available from APA Order Department, P.O. Box 2710, Hyattsville, MD 20784, USA). Consult recent copies of *JALT Journal* or *TESOL Quarterly* for examples of documentation and references.

### Format

*Full-length articles* must not be more than 20 pages in length (6,000 words), including references, notes, tables and figures. *Research Forum* submissions should not be more than 10 pages in length. *Perspectives* submissions should not be more than 15 pages in length. *Point to Point* comments on previously published articles should not be more than 675 words in length, and *Reviews* should generally not be longer than 500-750 words. All submissions must be typed and double-spaced on A4 or 8.5"x11" paper. The author's name and identifying references should appear only on the cover sheet. Authors are responsible for the accuracy of references and reference citations.

### Materials to be submitted

1. Three (3) copies of the manuscript, with no reference to the author. Do not use running heads
2. Cover sheet with the title and the author name(s)
3. Contact information, including the author's full address and, where available, a fax number and electronic mail address
4. Abstract (no more than 150 words)
5. Japanese translation of the title and abstract, if possible (less than 400 *ji*)
6. Biographical sketch(es) (no more than 25 words each)
7. Authors of accepted manuscripts must supply camera-ready copies of any diagrams or figures and a disk copy of the manuscript (RTF or ASCII)

### Evaluation procedures

All manuscripts are first reviewed by the editorial board to insure they comply with *JALT Journal* Guidelines. Those considered for publication are subject to blind review by at least two readers, with special attention given to: (1) compliance with *JALT Journal* Editorial

Policy, (2) the significance and originality of the submission, and (3) the use of appropriate research design and methodology. Evaluation is usually completed within three months.

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Papers submitted to *JALT Journal* must not have been previously published, nor should they be under consideration for publication elsewhere. *JALT Journal* has First World Publication Rights, as defined by International Copyright Conventions, for all manuscripts published. We regret that manuscripts or computer disks cannot be returned. In the interests of facilitating clarity, the editors reserve the right to made editorial changes to accepted manuscripts.

#### **Full-Length Submissions, Research Forum, and Point to Point Submissions**

Please send submissions in these categories or general inquiries to:

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#### **Perspectives**

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Nicholas O. Jungheim, Associate Editor  
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#### **Reviews**

The editors invite reviews of books, tests, teaching systems, and other publications in the field of language education. A list of publications which have been sent to JALT for review is published monthly in *The Language Teacher*. Please send submissions, queries, or requests for books, materials and review guidelines to:

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# JALT 98

全国語学  
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David Little Trinity College Dublin, Ireland  
Kei Imai Daito Bunka University, Tokyo

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## JALT Journal 日本語論文投稿要領

JALT Journalでは、日本語で執筆された第二言語・外国語教育についての論文を募集いたします。第二言語教育／学習研究の文脈を踏まえ、しっかりした研究計画に基づいている、実践への応用の可能性を示した理論的・実証的研究や理論的裏づけを持った実践報告などで、教育、教授法、応用言語学などの今日の問題を扱ったものを歓迎します。

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## JALT Journal 第20巻 第2号

1998年11月1日 印刷

1998年11月10日 発行

編集人 サンドラ・フォトス

発行人 ジーン・ヴァン・トロイヤー

発行所 全国語学教育学会事務局

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印刷所 コーシンシャ株式会社

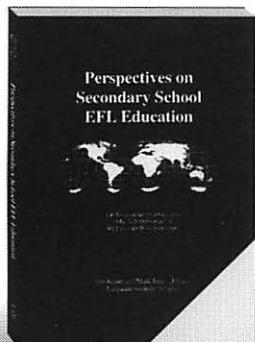
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A Publication in Commemoration  
of the 30th Anniversary of  
the Language Institute of Japan

Jim Kahny and Mark James, Editors  
Language Institute of Japan

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ISBN4-9980656-0-2 ¥2,000

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