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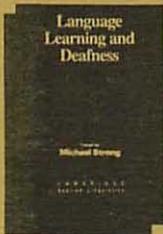


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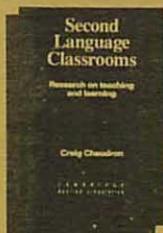
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JOURNAL



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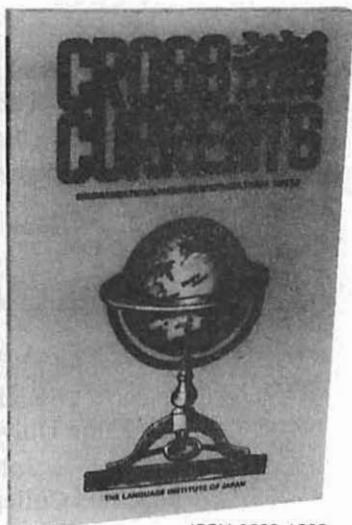
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EDITORIAL

Patrick Buckheister

This issue is dedicated to the memory of Patrick Buckheister, a former editor of *JALT Journal*, who died last year. A tribute to him appears in this issue, page 75.

International Communication Learning English in Japan, Learning Japanese Overseas

The fact that Japan is now a major economic power in the world is having consequences for language education both outside and inside Japan.

Outside Japan, and particularly in the United States and Europe, the learning and teaching of the Japanese language has traditionally been a poor cousin (albeit a necessary first step) to the study of Japanese history and literature. This situation is now changing. Oxford University and the University of London's School of Oriental and African Studies are now introducing listening tests and interviews into their final (B.A.) examinations. Harvard University has, in the past few years, developed an active and effective Japanese language program under Prof. Tazuko Ajiro Monane who is applying many of the techniques normally thought to be exclusive to communicative English language teaching.

These changes reflect the desire of Japan's major trading partners, particularly the United States and Europe, to produce a body of competent communicators in Japanese in the key areas of trade, business, finance, and engineering. In this issue of *JALT Journal* Hiroko Kataoka reports on an investigation she undertook to determine if the students learning Japanese at universities in the United States were indeed in these perceived areas of need, and if so, whether they thought they would continue with Japanese studies.

But how do governments adjust to the need to provide

speakers of Japanese? The supply of teachers is a major problem. It is not possible to retrain teachers of French (for example) to become teachers of Japanese. In the United States teachers are either ethnic Japanese, or Americans who have returned from periods working in Japan; but there are clearly not enough of them. Small teacher-training projects are starting in the United States: Worthington (1988) reports that the University of Michigan "hopes to alleviate its teacher shortage with a three-year Japanese teacher training program for 59 public school teachers." He also reports "a huge increase" in students studying Japanese. According to him, 10,974 students in 195 high schools across the United States are now studying Japanese. And there are a further 23,500 studying at college in 1986 — more than double the figure for 1980.

The provision of Japanese language education in secondary schools is, however, opportunistic rather than planned, and this is also true of Britain. If there is a teacher who has some knowledge of Japanese, and a sufficient number of students who are keen, and an enthusiastic headmaster, it is possible to study Japanese, and to take public exams in it.

At university and college level there is more evidence of national planning. In Britain, for example, against the trend of financial cut-backs in higher education, 41 *new-blood* posts have been created in the areas of Oriental and African studies specifically for vocational language training. Ten of these posts are for the teaching of Japanese. In addition, four universities have been designated *centres of excellence* for the teaching of Japanese. These are Cambridge and Oxford Universities; Sheffield University, which takes the Oxbridge students for one year and gives them language training; and the School of Oriental and African Studies of London University.

Within Japan there is increasing concern about the failure of most students to learn to communicate in English during their six years at high school. The main problem stems from

the very narrow conception of what must be learnt to be a successful user of English. In Japan, for most students, being a successful user of English means being able to pass university entrance exams. This involves knowledge of a grammar of English that few native speakers of English recognise, and none use. As a result of these exams, teaching omits considerations of situational and cultural appropriacy which are important dimensions if the goal of teaching is to enable students to communicate in English.

Four contributors to this issue address the problems of situational and cultural appropriacy from different perspectives.

Noriko Tanaka notes a failure of Japanese students overseas to use informal language appropriately. As a result, they project an image of themselves that is not flattering: they appear socially inept and impolite. Shiozawa and Rives discuss, in terms of *culture friction*, the problems of a project designed to increase high school students' contact with real English. Julian Edge suggests that, given the immense cultural gap between the foreign teacher and Japanese high school students, the best language model for Japanese students is that of their Japanese teacher of English communicating in English. John Ratliff argues for explicit teaching of cultural awareness at university level using non-judgmental approaches.

IN THIS ISSUE

Noriko Tanaka reports on a comparative study she conducted in Australia on the ways in which Japanese speakers of English differ from Australians in the way they make requests to fellow students and lecturers. She notes that although Japanese have a reputation for being polite, this politeness is not reflected in the way they made their requests in English. She argues that this failure was not just due to insufficient command of the forms of the language, but also to a lack of knowledge of what other elements were appropriate and indeed necessary accompaniments of the requesting act. She traces the causes of these inadequacies back to the failure to teach English for communication, and she makes recommendations for the teaching of English in Japan.

Hiroko Kataoka reports on a survey of 185 students of Japanese at three American universities. She investigates whether or not the students learning Japanese represent the fields (such as science, engineering and business) which are generally perceived to be the most important for trade relations between Japan and the United States. She also investigates student motivation and attrition rates for Japanese courses. Her study will be of interest not only to those who are involved in Japanese language teaching, but also to those seeking to reform language education at university and college level in order to meet national needs. This article was first published in the *Journal of the Association of Teachers of Japanese*, volume 20, number 2, November 1986. We are grateful to the author and the editors for granting us permission to reprint.

Alan Hirvela, writing about his experiences in teaching literature and language at university level in Hong Kong, advocates the use of simplified literary texts alongside the original versions. Among other advantages, this procedure puts the more literary qualities of language into clear relief by com-

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paring passages from the original with their reduced and more message-oriented simplified versions. He reports on his experiences of using this technique with short stories.

Also in this issue

Point to Point

This is a new section which we intend to be a forum for constructive comment on issues raised by articles which have appeared in previous issues of the *Journal*.

It is inaugurated by two short articles. Julian Edge, following up Nakayama (*JALT Journal 8.2*), argues that the appropriate language model for Japanese students of English is not a native English speaker (a concept which is any case very difficult to define), but the native (i.e. Japanese) teacher communicating in English. He thus addresses the problem which is fundamental to the situation discussed by Shiozawa and Rives in their conference report.

John Fry examines the problems of Diary Studies which were reviewed by Matsumoto (*JALT Journal 9.1*). He observes that in such studies there are insurmountable problems of validity in data gathering and in the reliability of data interpretation. These problems, he concludes, limit the role diary studies can therefore play in mainstream second language acquisition research. Their limitations, however, become real strengths when they are used in action research.

Conference Reports

The conference reports reflect both the variety of presentations at the JALT conference at Waseda last year and the variety of situations in which we all teach. Ratliff reports on his research and teaching of intercultural communication at a university, and includes timely reminders about non-judgmental approaches (always hard to achieve) to learning about other cultures. Shiozawa and Rives report on a discussion of the problems that both foreign teachers in junior

In This Issue

and senior high schools and their Japanese colleagues have in their dealings with one another. For high school students and near-beginner students in general, Royal-Dawson explains the value of fairy-stories and suggests ways in which they might best be exploited. Thomas and Austin, who work with adult students in an evening institute, show the value of four-hour mini-projects, explain one in detail, and give a useful list of other mini-projects that can be used with students of different levels.

Book Reviews

David Wardell reviews a book on the language backgrounds of students and the interference these backgrounds may cause in the students' learning. Brian Harrison reviews a text on medical English which teaches language and skills necessary for communicating with patients and colleagues.

Reference

Worthington, R. (1988, January 10). Japan speaking teens' language. *Chicago Tribune*, p. 17.

The editors would like to thank Kazuko Matsumoto, Gary Buck, and Hideko Midorikawa for their help in the preparation of this issue.

Patrick Buckheister

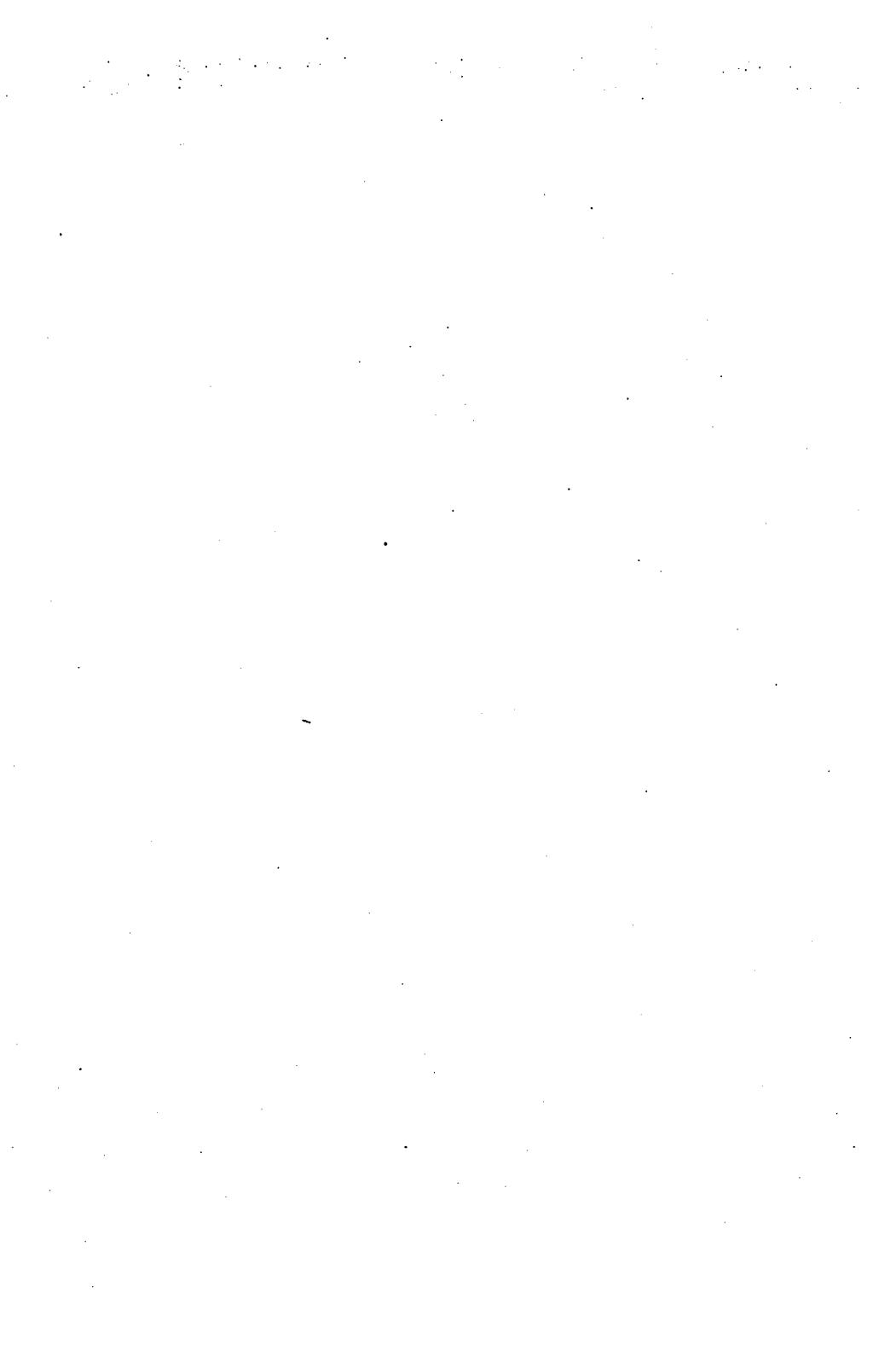
Patrick Buckheister, Assistant Professor at Eastern Michigan University and a former editor of JALT Journal, died on August 13, 1987, at the age of 35 in Ypsilanti, Michigan.

Patrick Buckheister and his wife, Donna Brigman, who survives him, became joint editors of *JALT Journal* in 1983. During their tenure, which lasted two years, Patrick initiated and oversaw the transition from an annual to a twice-yearly publication. Through energetic lobbying and cajoling, he also broadened the scope and representation of the editorial board, and extended the range of professional contacts which are vital for the continued survival of a journal such as this.

It was typical of Patrick's energy and love for his work that he took on this job while still in the process of writing his doctoral thesis. He was a man whose work was a passion for him. He gave many presentations and papers at *JALT* meetings. His deep interest in linguistics, dating back to his first degree at California State University at Fresno, and his enthusiasm for classroom research, furthered by his Master's degree in TESOL from Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, were never absent for long from his thoughts and conversation. He was not, however, a slave to his work; amongst his many other interests was a love for *aikido*, a discipline which he felt represented the best elements of Japanese society.

He earned the love and loyalty of his friends and the respect of his colleagues with his direct, no-nonsense manner. He was a man for whom life was too important to tolerate half-truths and pretentiousness.

He spent two periods working in Japan, both in Nagoya; first at Nagoya International College and then in the Nanzan School system. For all who met him and worked with him, it is difficult to believe that a man truly larger than life, who contributed so much and who clearly had so much more to contribute, is no longer with us. We extend our heartfelt sympathies to Donna and their family. We shall not see his like again.



ABSTRACTS IN JAPANESE

1. ていねい表現：日本人英語話者の問題点

Noriko Tanaka

この研究は、4人のオーストラリア人と外国語として英語を話す4人の日本人からなる2つのグループがどのように依頼の表現を用いるかをビデオに収め、その結果を分析して比較したものである。Brown & Levinson のていねい表現の説に基づき、ビデオに収めた依頼の場面を、あいさつ、ちょっとしたおしゃべり (notice & small talk)、依頼の表現、感謝の表現、終わりのあいさつに分けて分析したところ、日本人話者は英語を話すとき、特に場面に応じた適切な表現を持ち合わせていない傾向にあることが判明した。これは現在の英語教育の弱点を示すものであると思われ、今後の英語教育のあり方について示唆を含むものである。

2. 書き下ろし教材と原作教材の統合

Alan Hirvela

書き下ろし教材の利用は外国語教師の中ではやっかいな問題となっている。特に文学教材の場合にはなおさらである。文学作品の書き下ろしを調べると、言語と文学の関係、それらの関係の中での書き下ろし作品の役割について大きな疑問が生じる。以下の記事で、筆者は、言語を教えるのに文学を利用する

という意味では、書き下ろし教材は大いに価値があると主張している。その主張の根幹には、文学作品の書き下ろしは、原典との比較に基づいて用いられるならば価値ある教授上の工夫だということである。

3. アメリカの3州立大学で学ぶ日本語学習者についての試験的調査研究の試み：日本語教育政策への示唆

Hiroko C. Kataoka

アメリカの3州立大学で日本語を学ぶ185名の学生に対し、主専攻分野、日本語選択の理由、将来の希望職種について調査した。また、これらの学生の日本語の必修、選択の区別、コース選択の放棄率についても情報を収集した。この中で特に注目したのは、理工系の学生についてである。この調査の目的は、科学技術、ビジネス、ファイナンスのような産業経済の繁栄に直接かかわる分野で日本語教育が外国語教育の対象にされているかどうか調べることにあった。

調査結果の主なものは、これらの分野の学生は専門科目の負担が大きく、大学で今以上に外国語の単位を要求されれば、日本語を取らず、より簡単な言語を取ることを余儀なくされるであろうこと、学生の多くは日本語学習の理由をほとんど理解していないこと、日本を訪れるという具体的な計画をもつ学

生は全体の僅か30パーセントにしか及んでいないということである。

4. ネイティブスピーカーとロール・モデルについて

Julian Edge

英語教育(ELT)の中で、“native speaker”, “non-native speaker”という用語が用いられているが、これらの意味と役割について再考の必要がある。学習者のロール・モデルは、対象言語(英語)を話す日本人教師であり、外国人教師はインタラクションの中で日本人教師の演じるロール・モデルの助演者になることである。

5. クラスルーム・SLA(第二言語修得)リサーチに於ける "Diary Studies" (DS) : 諸問題と今後の展望

John Fry

以下はリサーチの一方法として”Diary Studies“ (DS)に評価を加えたものである。DSは”classroom SLA research“に大いに役立つものであるが、DSの提唱者はこれより一般化すべき結論を引きだすとき、これに伴う問題点についてはしばしば、検討を省きがちである。筆者はDSに関する3つの主張点を認めたうえで、さらにこれらについて次の問題点を検討する。それらは、(a)有効なデータ収集の問題、(b)データの解釈の問題、及び(c)

DS は“non-interventional research”であるか、否かの問題である。筆者は、その短所にもかかわらず、DS を有為な研究にさせ得る 2 つのリサーチ方法と、さらに、短所を明らかな長所に変え得る 1 つのリサーチ方法 (“mainstream research”) とは性質を異にする “action research”について説明して、小論を結んでいる。

- * “classroom SLA research”とは教室授業の中で第二言語習得過程を発見するリサーチを指す。
- * “non-interventional research”とは、被験者がそれに よって影響を受けることなく進められるリサーチを指す。
- * “action research”とは授業に関する当面の問題を解決し、その改善を目的とするリサーチを指す。
- * “mainstream research”とは、第二言語習得理論に基づく言語習得リサーチを指す。

POLITENESS: SOME PROBLEMS FOR JAPANESE SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH

Noriko Tanaka

Abstract

In this study, the politeness strategies of Australians and Japanese speakers of English are compared in two tasks involving polite requests. Four Australians and four Japanese were "video-taped" making the requests. Their language and the strategies they used are analyzed using the concepts of *face*, *notice* and *small-talk* (Brown & Levinson, 1978). Initial and final salutations and the language of the request are also discussed. The Japanese speakers were more direct, and did not appear to be as appropriately polite as the Australians. The weaknesses in the performance of the Japanese are traced to inadequacies in the teaching of English in Japan. Some recommendations are made for the teaching of English for communication in Japan.

Aim of the Study

Japanese people are often said to be polite, and many of them believe it themselves. While this may be true on many occasions, they may well fail to express the intended politeness when speaking English. Expressing politeness is not easy in a foreign language. The difficulty may be caused by a lack of linguistic competence. For example, not knowing the appropriate expression for a certain situation, a non-native speaker might speak too abruptly and sound arrogant or impolite. Saying *I want to go now* instead of *I have to go now* could surprise the other person. Another cause for the diffi-

Noriko Tanaka has an M.A. in English literature from Waseda University, an M.Ed. in TESOL from Temple University, and an M.A. in TESOL from Canberra College of Advanced Education. She has taught English in senior high schools in Japan for ten years.

Politeness Problems

culty is the fact that politeness is expressed differently in different cultures. The rules "as to when to speak, when not, and as to what to talk about with whom, when, where, in what manner" (Hymes, 1972, p. 277) in our native culture do not necessarily work in different cultures. A Japanese person who says *I don't think so* as a reaction to a social compliment such as *You look gorgeous today!* could puzzle or offend a compliment giver who does not know it is a natural and acceptable reaction in Japan. Problems could also result from misconceptions about the culture in which the target language is spoken. Those who think that English-speaking people have complete freedom to express individual opinions, as quite a few Japanese think, and thus say *yes* or *no* too clearly, could be considered rude in many situations.

In order to avoid these kinds of problems, we Japanese teachers of high school English must foster the use of English appropriate to a given context and make students practice appropriate politeness strategies in social interactions. Unfortunately English teachers in Japan have not been successful in this respect. Grammatical knowledge has been too much of a goal because entrance examinations for institutions of higher education test such knowledge. As a result, the communicative aspects of the language have been neglected. Even communicative aspects which are taught do not necessarily lead to better communication. For example, students are often taught that *I wonder if you could do. . .?* is more formal and polite than *Can you do. . .?* as a request, so many of them think it is the safest form in every situation. However, the most formal sentence is not always appropriate. On the contrary, being too formal sometimes sounds strange, funny, or even rude. If one asks a close friend at the table, *I wonder if you could pass me the sugar?*, the friend would be puzzled about the overly formal request. We should teach in what kind of situation each form is appropriate.

It is time to make accurate use of polite language one of the

important goals of English teaching in Japan. To attain this purpose, some objective study is necessary to see how the cultural patterns of English speakers and Japanese differ from each other, and how English spoken by Japanese differs from that of native speakers. If we know which differences cause problems in social interaction, we can focus on the problematic points in teaching English. The aim of this study is to make a tentative exploration of these differences and to see what we should teach so that our students will be able to communicate with native speakers appropriately.

Face Theory

Brown and Levinson (1978) introduce the notion of *face* into their theory of politeness. (The notion can be interpreted as a concept similar to *kao* [face] in Japanese expressions like *kao o tateru* [literally, *set up face*], which means to save face.) They treat the notion of face as a basic want, and divide it into two kinds:

Negative face: the desire of every “competent adult member” of a culture that his or her actions be unimpeded by others.

Positive face: the desire of every member of a culture that his or her wants be desirable to at least some others.
(p. 67)

When we interact socially, we inevitably have sometimes to act in ways which intrinsically threaten the face of ourselves or other people. Brown and Levinson (1978, p. 65) call such behavior a *face-threatening act* (FTA). For example, when we make a request, we could threaten the other person's face by forcing him or her to accept an unpleasant responsibility. Or we could threaten our own face because our request might be rejected.

Factors which determine the seriousness of an FTA,

Politeness Problems

according to Brown and Levinson, are three elements which are to be found in both the speaker's mind and that of the hearer:

- 1) The *social distance* (D) of the speaker (S) and the hearer (H).
- 2) The relative *power* (P) of S and H.
- 3) The absolute ranking (R) of impositions in the particular culture. (1978, p. 79)

Strategies to save face are chosen according to the weightiness of an FTA. For example, when we think that R is high (a difficult request), and D and P are low (social parity between S and H), we can use an expression such as *Hey, Harry, I'm awfully sorry to bother you. . .*; while in the case of high P value (H is superior) and low R (request not difficult), the extreme case could be *Excuse me, sir, I'm sorry to bother you, but I wonder if you could just possibly do me a small favour. . .* (Brown and Levinson, 1978, p. 87).

The strategy is toward *negative face* or *positive face*. For example, the greeting *Hey, Harry* shows the familiarity which the S feels toward the H, which is considered *positive politeness* (Brown and Levinson, 1978, p. 106). Apologizing before introducing an FTA, *I'm awfully sorry to bother you*, indicates S's reluctance to bother H, which is *negative politeness* (p. 134).

Method of Investigation

Politeness strategies can be used differently in different cultures, and non-native speakers must know the differences in cultural patterns to avoid misunderstandings. In order to investigate these differences in English and Japanese, and to consider possible problems for learners of English, a preliminary investigation was conducted. The number of subjects was small ($n = 8$), and conclusions drawn from the results therefore are tentative.

Situations

Making a request:

1. Asking a lecturer to lend a book.
2. Asking a friend to lend a book.

These situations are likely to occur among students who are studying in an English-speaking country, and involve a number of politeness strategies necessary for such students. Theoretically, the differences of the social distance (D) and the relative power (P) in these situations should make the weightiness of an FTA different for situations 1 and 2, and the study expected to show the change of the weightiness influences the politeness strategies.

Settings

The lecturer's office for 1.

The lounge and the common room of a college, and the kitchen of a dormitory for 2.

All the investigations were carried out in Canberra in Australia.

Subjects

Group 1: 4 Australian tertiary students at the Canberra College of Advanced Education as informants for native speakers of English.

Group 2: 4 Japanese tertiary students at the Canberra College of Advanced Education as informants for non-native speakers of English.

In order to create realistic tension or familiarity, the roles of lecturer and friend were played, as far as it was possible, by real lecturers who actually taught the subjects, and by real friends who took the same tutorial or lived in the same dormitory as the subjects.

Procedure

Each subject was given a scenario to read, which indicated the situation, and was asked to play the role according to the situation a few minutes later.

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Each act was video- and audio-tape recorded.

After situation 1, situation 2 was conducted in the same way.

Scenario

Suppose you want to read a certain book, which, you think, will be very helpful for your assignment. But it is not available in the library or in the bookshop. Your friend has told you that your lecturer [another friend of yours in situation 2] has that book. So you will ask if you can borrow it. Please think what and how you would say in an actual situation. Please think of the name of the book.

Results

In order to analyze the data, the situation was divided into five parts:

- A) opening the conversation
- B) notice and small talk
- C) request
- D) thanking
- E) closing the conversation

We found that the Australian and the Japanese subjects differed in some significant ways in each part. In the following paragraphs, the above five parts are examined in detail, and general comments are made.

A) *Opening the Conversation* (Table 1)

1. Asking for permission: With the lecturer, the Japanese subjects tended to ask for permission to enter the office or bother the lecturer, using expressions such as "May I come in?" or "Can I bother you. . .?"; this was not seen in the behavior of the Australian subjects.

2. Salutation formula: The Japanese subjects tended to use

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Table 1: Opening the Conversation.

	to a lecturer			to a friend		
	ask for permission	salutation formula	address term	ask for permission	salutation formula	address term
A1 F	—	Hello	first name	—	Hi How are you?	first name
A2 M	—	—	first name	—	G'day How're ya?	first name
A3 M	—	—	—	—	Hello.	—
A4 F	—	Hello	first name	—	Hi	first name
J1 M	May I come in?	Hello	Mrs.	—	Hello How are you?	first name
J2 F	Can I bother you you for a while?	Good afternoon	Mrs.	—	Hello How do you do?	first name
J3 M	—	Hello	Mrs.	—	Hi*	first name
J4 F	May I come in?	—	—	—	—	first name

A: Australian J: Japanese F: female M: male

*The other person
said "Hi" first.

expressions of the same level of formality with both their lecturer and their friend ("Hello"), while the Australian subjects tended to vary the degree of formality according to the other person's rank ("Hello" to the lecturer, "Hi," "G'day," "How're ya" to the friend).

3. Address term: With the lecturer, the Japanese subjects used a more formal term ("Mrs. + name") than the Australian subjects (first name).

B) *Notice and Small Talk*

According to Brown and Levinson (1978, p. 108), *notice* is a positive politeness strategy which shows the speaker's interest in the hearer by taking notice of some aspect of the hearer, for example, by complimenting the hearer's clothes. *Small talk* is also a positive politeness strategy which shows the speaker's interest or friendship toward the hearer by talking about unrelated topics for some time (p. 122).

A clear contrast is seen in the results for situation 2 (asking a friend). All the Australian subjects used notice, small talk, or both with the friend. Notice or small talk used by the Australian subjects played an important role in creating a friendly atmosphere and in moving smoothly into the main topic, the request.

On the other hand, the Japanese subjects used neither notice nor small talk with the friend, and they began to make the request just after the salutation, saying something like "How are you? . . . Uh, would you do me a favor?"

C) *Request* (Table 2)

1. Reason: In comparison with the Japanese subjects, Australian subjects tended to express the reason for the request more concretely, sometimes telling the name of the places where they looked for the book ("I tried one just down in Belconnen and a couple in Civic and, uh, still no luck") or presenting a certain figure ("It's 40 dollars anyway. I couldn't

really afford it"). Lacking this kind of concrete expression, the Japanese way of giving the reason is likely to sound less persuasive to English-speaking people.

2. Information: The Australian subjects tended to use expressions which showed some uncertainty about the information that the hearer had the book ("My friend said she *thought* you had it"; "Clare told me you *might* have it"; or "Someone said that you *might* have that book"). This kind of device could save the face of the person who gave the information and it also gave an opportunity to the hearer to say that the information was wrong and to decline the request.

On the other hand, no Japanese subject used devices like these to show uncertainty. They tended to say something like "My friend said you have the book," which could sound as if they were saying, "I have proof that you have the book. Lend it to me."

3. Request sentence: The expressions used by the Australian subjects were more indirect and tentative than those used by the Japanese subjects. The Australian subjects tended to use "Do you think I could. . .?", "I thought I might. . ."? and "I was wondering if. . ." Half the Japanese subjects used "Can I. . .," which was not used by the Australians.

These results contradict the stereotypical images of English-speaking people's directness and Japanese people's indirectness. The language used by Australian subjects suggests that such stereotypes could be false. English-speaking people are not always so direct as some Japanese people think, but use indirectness and tentativeness depending on the situation.

On the other hand, the language of Japanese subjects suggests the complexity of the task of presenting a *self* while speaking a foreign language. Indirect expressions often require sophisticated linguistic ability and are difficult for non-native speakers. In this case, Japanese who usually use indirect expressions in Japanese were likely to use too direct expressions in English.

Table 2: Request Sentence (+ consideration)

	to a lecturer		to a friend	
	request sentence	consideration	request sentence	consideration
A1 F	Do you think I could borrow...?	-	I was wondering if I could have ...	-
A2 M	I thought I might see if I could borrow ...	-	I thought I might borrow... .	-
A3 M	What I came to ask about was whether or not I could borrow ...	- -	I was wondering if I could borrow... .	-
A4 F	I was wondering if I would be able to borrow ...	-	Would I please be able to borrow ...?	-
J1 M	I am grateful if you lend ...	-	Would you please ...?	-
J2 F	Can I borrow ...?	If you don't mind*	Can I borrow ...?	if you don't mind**
J3 M	I'd like to borrow ...	if you are not using it**	Can I borrow ...?	if you don't use it*
J4 f	Can I borrow ...? I will be grateful if you ...	-	I wondered if I could borrow ...	-

A: Australian J: Japanese
 F: female M: male

*If ... : before the request sentence
 **If ... : after the request sentence

4. Consideration: With the request sentence, the Japanese often said something like “if you don’t mind” or “if you don’t use it.” This tendency can be explained as a transfer of Japanese expressions such as *moshi yoroshikereba*. No Australian subjects used this kind of expression.

D) *Thanking*

1. Thank you formula: The Japanese subjects used more formal expressions than the Australian subjects, and generally did not shift register according to the relationship with the other person, while the Australian subjects shifted it within rather informal expressions. For example, most of the Japanese subjects used “Thank you very much” both with the lecturer and with the friend, while the Australian subjects tended to use “Thanks a lot” with the lecturer and “Thanks” with the friend.

2. Comment: Most of the Australian subjects made a promise or said something to reconfirm the conditions of borrowing the book, such as when to return it or how to treat it: “I’ll bring it before 9:00”; “I’ll take the utmost care”; “I’ll get in touch with you in a few days”; and so on. On the other hand, only one Japanese subject said such things: “I’m sure I’ll give it back in a week” to the lecturer, and “I’ll give you back after three days” to the friend.

E) *Closing the Conversation*

1. Reason for leaving: To the friend, half the Australian subjects gave some reason for leaving, such as “I’m a bit late for a lecture, so . . .,” while no Japanese subject gave a reason.

2. Last utterance when leaving: To the friend, all the Australian subjects used a salutation formula, such as “Bye” or “See ya later,” while the Japanese subjects tended to use expressions of thanks such as “Thank you very much” for the last utterance.

Implications of the Results for Teaching

Although this is a preliminary study and the investigation has the previously mentioned limitations, the results show that English spoken by Japanese learners is different from that of native speakers in many respects. It is usually almost impossible for non-native speakers to speak in exactly the same ways as native speakers, and it may be unnecessary to do so. However, it is important to know the cultural patterns of the target language. Without that knowledge, non-native speakers may give the wrong image of themselves and be misunderstood. Considering the results of this research, it may be said that Japanese people could be considered too formal, or stilted, not friendly, and yet somehow abrupt and pushy. In order to avoid being misunderstood like this, teachers of English should know the difficult points for Japanese learners of English and think how to teach each point.

The results of the investigation are summed up as follows:

1. Japanese learners of English tended to use negative politeness strategies in some situations where native speakers were not likely to use them (e.g. "May I come in?"; "If you don't mind").
2. Japanese learners of English did not use positive politeness strategies in some situations where native speakers were likely to use them (e.g. first name).
3. Japanese learners of English did not use explicit or emphatic expressions in some situations where native speakers were likely to use them (e.g. reasons for the request).
4. Japanese learners of English did not use negative politeness strategies in some situations where native speakers were likely to use them (e.g. indirect request sentence).
5. Japanese learners of English could not shift the level of formality or style according to the status of the other person (e.g. salutation, thank you formula).
6. Japanese learners of English tended to use more formal expressions than native speakers did (e.g. salutation, address

term, thank you formula).

These results highlight some anticipated problems for non-native speakers: results 1, 2 and 3 imply problems which are caused by the transfer of the learners' own cultural patterns which are different from those of their target language. Without conscious learning, it is difficult for non-native speakers to use cultural patterns different from their own. In other words, in teaching, we should make students aware of the cultural patterns of their target language.

Problems can occur even when students have similar cultural patterns in their own culture. Such a case is seen in result 4. In spite of the fact that Japanese people often use negative politeness strategies such as tentative or indirect ways of making a request, once they start speaking English their way of making requests tends to become inappropriately direct.

One of the reasons for this tendency is their lack of linguistic competence. Tentative or indirect ways of making a request are often more difficult than direct ones, and non-native speakers tend to avoid the former and use easier ones. In order to make learners learn such difficult expressions, it is necessary to make them accustomed to using them through sufficient practice.

Result 4, not using an indirect request, may possibly be caused by false stereotyping. Some Japanese people believe that English-speaking people speak directly in any situation. Such a belief can cause the Japanese to use inappropriately direct expressions and, as a result, to be considered impolite. It implies the importance of knowing the cultural patterns of the target language through the observation of actual use, not through a stereotyped image of the culture.

Result 5 implies that Japanese speakers of English lack the range of expressions necessary to deal with various situations. As there is not such a clear distinction of style in English as *desu-masu* and non *desu-masu* styles in Japanese, it is difficult for many Japanese to know that there are also stylistic distinc-

tions in English. Some Japanese even believe that English is an “egalitarian” language and there is no variation at all of style according to the relationship a speaker has with the other person. In fact, English-speaking people also shift expressions to show either respect or familiarity toward the other person. These misconceptions show how important it is for learners to be aware of actual patterns of the target language.

As well as making students aware of such distinctions, it is also important for teachers to help students acquire a variety of expressions. Once students get accustomed to a certain expression, they tend to use the same expression to anyone and in any situation. In order to avoid this, a lot of practice should be given to learners so that they can make themselves familiar with various expressions and choose an appropriate one according to the situation.

Among varieties of expression, the informal or intimate style of language, appropriate in talking to a friend, is often neglected in language teaching, as is implied also in result 6. Generally speaking, non-native speakers who learn the language mainly in class tend to use more formal expressions than native speakers. In a sense, it is understandable and even reasonable for language teaching to focus on a relatively formal style of language. Given limited instruction time, teachers tend to stress the formal or safer style of language. However, as the writer has experienced herself, to be appropriately informal is one of the most valuable things for many language learners. It becomes important especially when the learner stays in a country which uses the target language.

Weaknesses in English Teaching in Japan

In the previous section, we have seen implications of our results for teaching, which can be summarized into three main points:

1. We need to make students aware of the cultural patterns of the target language.
2. We need to teach students a sufficient range of expressions which could be used according to various situations: more attention should be paid to informal expressions.
3. We need to give students enough practice time to acquire the necessary communication patterns, especially those which demand high linguistic competence.

“To make students aware of the cultural patterns of the target language” does not imply making them use the target language in exactly the same ways as native speakers. The point is that they should know the difference between their native and target cultural patterns in order to avoid being misunderstood. This goal is not fulfilled by English teaching in Japan. One reason is that Japanese teachers of English generally have only limited opportunities to communicate with native speakers and do not know the cultural patterns very well. Materials also present some problems. The authorized textbooks do not give students enough access to natural communication patterns of native speakers. As the textbooks are written or recorded especially for language learners, they sometimes present overly formal or unnatural language which is not actually used by native speakers.

The second point, “the need to teach a sufficient range of expressions,” also raises some questions about English teaching in Japan. First of all, the spoken language tends to be neglected, especially at the tertiary level, where literature and reading activities are still much favored. This is also true at the secondary level, especially at prestigious schools, because entrance examinations pay little attention to spoken language.

Gradually, more attention is being paid to *English for communication*, and the present authorized textbooks try to present grammatical points in context. However, even when

language is contextualized, students cannot see clearly in what kinds of situations the presented expression can be used appropriately, because of the lack of a contrastive situation. For instance, even if students are presented with a request form like *Will you do. . . , please?* in a quite appropriate context, they will not be able to know in what other situations they can use the same form appropriately, and what other forms should be used in what other situations. Without that knowledge and the knowledge of a variety of expressions, students will use *Will you do. . . , please?* in any request situation. The result is that they could be too formal in one situation, and could be impolite in another.

The third point, "the need to give students enough practice time," is crucial for teaching English in Japan. As Japanese students have very little opportunity to use English outside class, the classroom is a very important place to practice using it, even though a classroom environment should be considered quite different from everyday ones.

However, the present situation of Japanese schools is not very favorable for this purpose. At present, English is taught three times a week in most public junior high schools, and even this is sometimes interrupted by various extra-curricular activities. For most Japanese students, who begin to learn English at junior high school, this is not nearly enough time to practice and get accustomed to important expressions. Another factor which makes it difficult to give students enough practice is class size. The average number of students in a class is forty-five. This makes it difficult for teachers to know the problems of individual students and to give practice appropriate to those problems. Teaching in a difficult situation, with limited time, teachers tend to focus upon giving basic grammatical knowledge to students, not on communicating with them in English. Therefore, the interaction between the teacher and the students tends to develop a fixed pattern: the teacher explains and asks a question, a student answers it,

and the teacher comments on the answer. Communication between students is quite limited. Moreover, such interactions are often carried on mainly in Japanese. In such a class, students have very limited opportunity to use English to express their own opinions or feelings. This situation prevents students from improving their competence for communicating in real situations.

Some Suggestions

What can Japanese high school teachers do to improve the present situation in English teaching in Japan? First, we must consider how we can make students aware of the cultural patterns of the target language. Teachers need to know the patterns themselves. Otherwise, they may mislead students with their own biased information or false stereotypes. To avoid this, teachers should have more opportunity to contact the target language culture; that is, more attention should be paid to teacher training, both in and outside Japan. Opportunities for Japanese teachers to contact native speakers are increasing, thanks to the Japan Exchange and Teacher (JET) program to employ native speakers as assistant instructors in public secondary schools [see Shiozawa and Rives, elsewhere in this issue]. However, opportunities to study abroad are all too few for Japanese teachers. Living in the target language culture and getting first-hand experience is often crucial to understanding a culture well.

Other valuable sources of the cultural patterns of the language are TV programs and films. Thanks to video tape recorders and bilingual television sets, we can record some English TV programs or films to use as teaching materials in class. Even if students cannot understand authentic materials very well, students still profit from seeing them. Such materials clearly show the situation and the behavior of the native speakers, including gestures and facial expressions, which are important elements of communication.

Next, how can students be taught a range of expressions sufficient to be varied according to the situation? In order to teach appropriate expressions, notional-functional syllabuses, such as those which Wilkins (1976) proposes, may be desirable. We should not adopt notional-functional syllabuses thoughtlessly, as their contents often presuppose specific students whose purposes in learning English are quite different from those of Japanese students. However, we should examine these syllabuses carefully and try to apply their concepts in designing syllabuses for Japanese students.

Role-play is an effective teaching technique which furnishes opportunities for students to practice expressions of politeness. Students are given a certain problematic situation (e.g. try to borrow a book from a very strict teacher; complain about the noise of the piano practice of a neighbor's child; apologize for having broken a vase at a party in a friend's house; etc.) and a role in it, and a directive to try to solve the problem. After having students play a role in one situation, we can have them role-play a similar but slightly varied situation (e.g. try to borrow a book from a close friend instead of a very strict teacher) and discuss how aspects of the communication pattern, such as style or formality, are different from that of the previous situation.

Although it may be impractical to draw from authentic materials alone in creating textbooks, some introduction to the actual use of English by native speakers will be helpful and important to show students that there are many varieties of English. It would be good to set aside some part in textbooks for introducing more informal varieties of English, which would broaden students' views of the language.

In order to make students pay more attention to the actual use of the language and the variety appropriate to a particular situation, language tests should reflect attention paid to these aspects in teaching. Testing often has a considerable effect upon teaching and learning, and it is difficult to change the

latter without changing the former. More listening comprehension and oral production tests should be introduced in entrance examinations, classroom tests, and other outside tests. Present "oral production tests," which are often carried on in the form of a question and answer about a short passage, or a speech about a certain topic, do not assess competence in choosing expressions which are appropriate according to the context. Tests for assessing such competence should be introduced. Cohen and Olshtain (1981) make some suggestions for such tests.

Next, students need enough practice to acquire necessary communication patterns. For this purpose, communication patterns between teacher and students in class should be reconsidered. As mentioned earlier, interaction in class tends to follow a fixed pattern. For example, a teacher usually asks students a question whose answer the teacher already knows. This kind of interaction seldom occurs in everyday life, and it is not interesting enough to stimulate students and create enjoyable conversation. Instead of asking "practice for practice's sake" questions, teachers should ask questions to obtain unknown information from students. For example, in teaching the form "would like," teachers can ask questions about each student's plan for the evening, such as "What would you like to do this evening, Mariko?" Not only teachers but also students should ask questions. As students are often curious to know about their teacher's private life, they will be willing to ask about it, if given a chance. Student-student interaction, as in pair work, should also be introduced more widely. Clark (1983) says that the desire for communication is the strongest motivation for children to acquire a language. This may well be the case also for foreign language learners, which implies that teachers should use actual communication as the format for language lessons.

Because of the common pattern of fixed teacher-student interactions in class, a teacher tends to play the role of cor-

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rector, commentator, or evaluator. The teacher in such a role often makes students nervous or even frightened, which discourages them from opening their mouths in class. In order to encourage students to communicate, teachers should change the role of "frightener" into those of careful diagnostician, interested listener, and reliable adviser. The teacher's role will approach this ideal if he or she is really interested in what each student says in English, as well as how they say it, and if students' mistakes or inappropriate use of the language is regarded as a process of acquiring appropriate use and as good data for diagnosing the process, rather than as failure.

Teachers should have this open attitude not only toward students but also toward themselves to a certain extent. Language teachers who are not native speakers of the language tend to think that it is shameful to make a mistake. Many teachers find it especially nerve-racking to demonstrate their English to their students in front of a native speaker. Of course, it is good to speak grammatically, but it is unfortunate if teachers are too afraid of making a mistake to use English themselves. Japanese teachers cannot use English like native speakers, but we should admit this fact and show students we can communicate well enough, even if our English is not perfect. Taking this risk in itself will encourage students to communicate in English without being afraid of making mistakes. Once this mood has been established, Japanese teachers of English should continue to express their opinions in English and talk with students in English as much as possible.

The importance of physical conditions should not be overlooked in our search to give students enough opportunities to practice what they are learning. Present conditions — especially the time we can spend on English and the number of students in a class — should be changed. More time should be allotted to English in the school curriculum. The number of students in a class should be at most twenty, so students will have enough practice to improve their English competence.

Conclusion

Japanese people are not furtive economic animals who talk timidly and formally with frozen smiles upon their faces. They are basically polite, considerate, and friendly people. It will be highly regrettable if they cannot present their real selves to people in different cultures only because they do not know the appropriate use of the target language. Their lack of knowledge and ability to use the language appropriately may cause not only regret, but even sharp conflict.

This paper has attempted to analyze some differences between English spoken by Japanese learners and that by native speakers and to identify possible problems for Japanese learners of English. However, the study was limited in its depth and scope. Many important aspects of communication which bear on politeness — such as intonation, pausing, posture, and so on — have not been considered. It is unwise to generalize the present results into strict rules, and the author intends to undertake further research in the field. Still, the results are suggestive of certain tendencies.

Based on the analysis, recommendations have been made for improving English teaching in Japan:

1. More attention should be paid to teacher training both in Japan and in English-speaking countries so that teachers can know the actual use of English.

2. Authentic materials and video recordings should be used more so that a sufficient range of expressions for natural communication is presented to students.

3. The interaction between teachers and students, and the teacher's role in the class, should be reconsidered so that students receive enough practice time to acquire necessary communication patterns.

4. Both the time spent on English and the class size should be changed so that more chances can be given to students to express themselves in English.

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It is necessary to take these measures in order to teach English for communication. We should both learn and teach English as a way to express ourselves as we intend; we should sound polite when we want to be polite.

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A PILOT STUDY OF JAPANESE LANGUAGE STUDENTS
AT THREE STATE UNIVERSITIES IN THE
UNITED STATES: IMPLICATIONS FOR
JAPANESE LANGUAGE TEACHING POLICY

Hiroko C. Kataoka

Abstract

One hundred and eighty-five Japanese-language students at three universities in the United States were surveyed about their major field of study, why they chose Japanese, and their career expectations. Information was also collected about whether they were taking Japanese as a required or as an elective subject, and the attrition rate of the course. Special attention was paid to students of engineering and science and technology. The purpose was to discover if the provision of Japanese language education was targeted at "critical" fields of business, finance, and science and technology. The results, amongst other things, indicate that students in the critical fields have work-load problems; that increasing language requirements may drive students away from Japanese to easier languages; that many students have only vague ideas about why they study Japanese; and that only 30% had concrete plans to visit Japan.

Interest in learning the Japanese language has grown in the United States in recent years, as reflected in the steady increase in Japanese language-learning activity. Nationwide enrollments have expanded 40% between 1980 and 1983

Hiroko Kataoka is professor of Japanese at North Carolina State University. She is the director of the Televised Japanese Language Program, which she initiated in 1984 and which is supported by grants from the Japan-U.S. Friendship Commission and the Matsushita Foundation. She also is the organizer of the Southeastern ATJ and has articles appearing in *Foreign Language Annals* and *Nihongo Kyoiku*.

(Brod, 1985). This trend represents a qualitative shift in the nature of Japanese language study as well as a quantitative change. Traditionally, Japanese language offerings were limited to institutions that had Asian Studies programs; students who enrolled in Japanese language courses were limited to Asian Studies majors and social sciences and humanities majors with specializations in Japan or East Asia. Japanese language programs today, however, host students in other fields as well. (See Kataoka, 1982, for one example.)

The trend probably reflects Japan's rise to international prominence in business, finance, science and technology, making it the non-communist world's second strongest economy. Japan's success in competing with the United States has prompted the concern in the U.S. that too few professionals in critical fields possess Japanese language proficiency. In addition to articles citing the importance of providing American business people with proficiency in Japanese (e.g. Kawade, 1981; Honig & Brod, n.d., "Brokers Intensify," 1982), a number of specially convened conferences have taken up the issue of the need for Japanese language expertise in the sciences and engineering, including the early 1984 House Subcommittee on Science, Research and Technology hearings on the Availability of Japanese Scientific and Technical Information (see also Gillmor & Samuels, 1983; Morse & Samuels, 1985).

Despite these changes, those studying the Japanese language still occupy a remarkably low percentage of all foreign language enrollees — some 2% in 1983 (based on figures in Brod, 1985). There are problems in the system that must be identified if the number of effective Japanese language users in the United States is to attain a level commensurate with the importance of the U.S.-Japan relationship.

With these large-scale trends and problems in mind, I decided to investigate the following corollary issues for the language teaching profession:

1. Do the students in Japanese language courses currently represent

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the various fields in which Japanese is considered important?

2. Do individual students' motivations reflect the current Japan-related concerns in the United States? That is, are students who enroll in Japanese language courses aware that knowledge of Japanese may enhance their career opportunities? If there are considerations other than career, what are they?
3. Although a need has been voiced for more specialists in various fields who have knowledge of Japanese, no clear plan for increased recruitment of students has emerged other than increased language requirements (i.e., mandatory language study). Does that policy offer an effective way of recruiting students into Japanese courses?
4. If those involved in such fields as business, technology, and the sciences really want to be able to use Japanese for their work purposes, their proficiency level has to be high. However, the attrition rate in Japanese classes is between 80 and 90% in the first two years of instruction (Lambert, 1983; Massey, 1977), which limits the number of students who attain proficiency in Japanese. What, then, are the reasons for attrition? Conversely, why do students continue language study? Gaining proficiency requires a number of years. At what stages in their college careers do students start studying Japanese?
5. Science and engineering are areas of growing concern, given not only Japan's advances in biotechnology and electronics, but recent high-technology trade tensions as well. Engineering and science majors have started studying Japanese, but their numbers nationwide appear to be quite small (Coleman & Samuels, 1985). What are the special characteristics of these students? Does this group differ from those in other fields in terms of their motivation for studying Japanese, their performance, and their proficiency expectations? Are they more likely or less likely to continue language study than students in other specialties?

In order to explore these issues, I conducted a survey among students at three universities: the University of Michigan (MI), the University of Florida (FL), and North Carolina State University (NCS). I chose these universities because all three are large state institutions, and yet they have completely different backgrounds in terms of Asian Studies programs: MI has an excellent East Asian Studies Department that is

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large and well established; FL has a rather new and small Asian Studies program which is not as well known as the program at MI; and NCS has neither an Asian Studies program nor established Japan-related courses, but it does have a new Japanese language program with offerings up to fifth year Japanese, making it the largest in the southeast.

I prepared and sent copies of a self-administered questionnaire to MI, FL and NCS. The questionnaire was administered at the three institutions during the last week of instruction in the fall semester of 1983, among students who attended class the day the questionnaire was distributed. The rate of return was 74% for MI and 100% for FL and NCS. The total sample size, was 185, of which MI represented 98, FL 33, and NCS 54.

The sample includes students from first to fourth year Japanese levels at NCS, first to third year at MI (with one fourth year independent study student), and first and second year students at FL. (FL has only first and second year Japanese language courses.)

1. Students' Backgrounds: Who Studies Japanese?

The most striking feature of this sample is the diversity of specialties that appeared: the 162 students with declared majors represented 67 fields, from accounting to zoology. Asian Studies, which used to be the main field among those who studied Japanese, accounted for only 16% of the sample. Students in humanities and social sciences (including Asian Studies) accounted for 43% of the sample; thus more than half of the students studying Japanese had majors other than the "traditional" fields for Japanese language study. Within the "non-traditional" group, engineering and sciences supplied the largest number of students: 25% of the entire sample came from these fields. Students from business and economics accounted for 13% of the sample — a rather small number, considering that *business Japanese* is almost a key word in today's Japanese language education.

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This overall ratio of students in each field, however, was not uniform among the three institutions. As Table 1 shows, the number of students in humanities and social sciences combined (including Asian Studies majors) was about one half of the students at MI and FL, while it was only about one fifth at NCS. Over 60% of the NCS students represented engineering and sciences, compared to only 7% and 19% of MI and FL, respectively. In addition, MI had quite a few students (16%) who had not declared their majors yet. These differences among the three institutions were statistically significant.

Table 1
Majors of Students Studying Japanese

	MI		FL		NCS		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Asian Studies, Humanities, & Social Sciences	51	53	16	50	10	19	77	43
(Asian Studies	23	24	5	16	0	0	28	16)
(Humanities & Social Sciences	28	29	11	34	10	19	49	27)
Economics & Business	12	13	6	19	5	10	23	13
Engineering & Sciences	7	7	6	19	31	61	44	25
Other	26	27	4	12	5	10	35	20
(Other & Double Majors	11	11	2	6	5	10	18	10)
(Undecided)	15	16	2	6	0	0	17	10)
Total*	96	100	32	100	51	100	179	101

chi square = 60.64, p < 0.001

(*Total percentage may exceed 100 due to rounding.)

The large ratio of engineering and science majors studying Japanese at NCS reflects overall enrollments in those majors; approximately 70% of all students enrolled at NCS during the

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fall semester of 1983 were in engineering and sciences, compared to 30% at FL and 25% at MI (figures which include medical students at both institutions). Although Japanese language courses draw students proportionately to the enrollment pattern of the entire university at NCS, humanities and social sciences majors at FL and MI were over-represented in their Japanese language courses. This is probably due to Asian Studies majors and minors that increase the percentage of humanities and social science majors among Japanese language students.

2. Motivations to Study Japanese

2.1 *Analysis of Career-related Motives*

Students were asked to select one item out of 14 as their most likely reason for having started studying the Japanese language. Appendix A presents the list of 14 alternatives. At all three institutions, the item that received the largest vote was "to enhance career opportunities," 23% of the entire sample.¹

Table 2

Responses to Question, "Is Japanese language study related to your career goal at all?"

	MI		FL		NCS		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	58	59	18	55	22	43	98	54
Maybe	31	32	9	27	17	33	57	31
No	9	9	6	18	12	24	27	15
Total	98	100	33	100	51	100	182	100

chi square = 6.81, not significant at $p \leq 0.05$

Elsewhere in the questionnaire, students were asked specifically if they thought Japanese language study was related

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to their career goals. Table 2 shows that more than one half of the students thought that their Japanese language study was definitely related to their career goals; those who thought it "may be" related to their career goals accounted for almost another one third of the sample. When the two responses were combined, 85% of the entire sample (145 students) felt that Japanese was related to their career goals at least to a certain extent.

Table 3

*Students' Perceptions of the Ways in Which
Japanese Language Study Relates to Their Career Goals
(Absolute Numbers)*

	MI	FL	NCS	Total
I need Japanese as a research tool.	17	1	1	19
I want to be employed by a Japanese employer.	0	2	1	3
I want to work in Japan. (It does not matter whether my employer is Japanese or not.)	19	2	12	33
Whoever my employer may be, I want a job that requires the Japanese language as an important skill.	10	3	2	15
Japanese skill may become handy as an addition to the training in my own field.	35	16	21	72
Other	3	0	0	3
Total	84	24	37	145

* Restricted to those who answered "yes" or "maybe" to the question of whether Japanese language study is related to career goals.

(Chi square test rejected due to expected frequencies <5 in 9 of 18 cells.)

These students do not see the Japanese language as their primary skill in the job market, however. Table 3 summarizes the students' responses when they were asked to indicate how the Japanese language was related to their career goals. About

one half (72 out of 145 students) checked "Japanese knowledge may become handy as an addition to the training in my own field." Almost another one fourth of the 145 students indicated that they wanted to work in Japan.

Table 3 also displays some differences among the three institutions in students' answers regarding specific perceived connections between Japanese and career goals. About one fifth of the 84 MI students who thought Japanese was related to their career goals said they needed Japanese as a research tool, compared to only one student each at NCS and FL — an understandable contrast, since 24% of the entire MI sample were Asian Studies majors.

Although two thirds of the 24 FL students chose "Japanese skill may become handy as an addition to the training in my own field," only two of the FL students indicated that they wanted to work in Japan, compared to about a third of the 37 NCS students and almost a fourth of the 84 MI students in the table. The large proportion of NCS students wanting to work in Japan may be due to the fact that there are numerous Japanese high-technology manufacturing operations in the Research Triangle (an area bordered by the university), as well as the N.C. Japan Center's new honors internship program, which sends selected students of the Japanese language to work in companies in their own specialties in Japan.

2.2 *Other Motives for Studying Japanese*

The item that claimed the second most frequent response overall among the 14 reasons given for beginning Japanese study was "interested in Japanese culture." In this instance NCS differed from MI and FL. Although one fifth each of the MI and FL students chose "interested in Japanese culture," one fourth of the NCS students chose "linguistic curiosity."² "Interested in Japanese culture" was third-ranked in frequency among the NCS students. About one

tenth of the NCS students also chose the item "wanted to do something different": when the "curiosity" and "something different" responses were combined, they accounted for 30% of the NCS students — a proportion exceeding those choosing the career-related answer. Only 10% of MI and FL students chose either of these items.

The responses of almost a third of the NCS students, that they started Japanese language study because of curiosity and because they wanted to do something different, contrast with the reasons that one normally anticipates for starting Japanese language study; one expects something more specific (such as academic or career goals), or a strong liking and interest in the culture. The "curiosity/different" response may be especially true in new programs and programs without supporting Asian Studies offerings — hence the difference between NCS and other institutions. The NCS response lends some support to the observation that more and more students are taking Japanese for vaguely articulated reasons (Kataoka, 1982).

Students' intention to visit Japan, an underlying source of interest in studying Japanese, may also have been influenced by the presence and size of an Asian Studies program on their campus. Over one third of the MI students had concrete plans to go to Japan, compared to slightly over one quarter of the FL students and less than one fifth of the NCS students. (In the entire sample, about 30% of the students said that they had concrete plans to go to Japan.) Moreover, half of the NCS students were intending to go for career-related work, whereas over half of the FL students and two fifths of the MI students were going to go as students.

Despite the seeming lack of commitment in starting language study with such vague motives, these responses had no relation at all to performance. There were no statistically significant differences in grades received (or anticipated) in Japanese language courses by students when broken down by their reasons for studying Japanese.

3. Foreign Language Requirement — What Does It Mean for Japanese?

Mandatory foreign language course requirements are a major issue in foreign language education in the U.S. The President's Commission for Foreign Language and International Studies (1979) recommended greater foreign language requirements; the previously mentioned Congressional hearings on Japanese scientific and technical information also contained a recommendation to increase foreign language requirements in order to expand the number of qualified Japanese language users among scientists and engineers. The three-university study, however, found no indication that compulsory foreign language requirements had increased enrollments in Japanese language courses, nor that they had kept students enrolled. Other reasons had attracted students to Japanese language courses rather than rules passed down to the students by the administration.

Among the three institutions surveyed, only 3.5% of the students chose the item "foreign language requirement" as their most likely reason for choosing to study Japanese (out of the 14 given possible reasons). The highest percentage of students who chose that answer occurred at FL, with 9%. NCS had no one choosing this item as the foremost reason for starting Japanese language study.

In a different part of the questionnaire, students were asked about the relationship between their foreign language requirements and Japanese language study. (The question and its corollaries are reproduced in Appendix B.) It was found that 44% of all the students studying Japanese had *no* foreign language requirement in their curricula at all; phrased otherwise, nearly half of the students who were studying Japanese did so on a completely voluntary basis.

In response to the same questionnaire item, the number of students who had a foreign language requirement but who were not using their Japanese language credits to fulfill it

was an unexpectedly large 22% of the sample. This means that two thirds of the entire sample were studying Japanese regardless of their foreign language requirement. Furthermore, about 21% of the students indicated that they would have studied Japanese even if they had had no foreign language requirement, although they were using credits earned in Japanese to satisfy their foreign language requirement. This leaves only 13% of the students who were studying Japanese because of a foreign language requirement. Among them, only four students (2% of the entire sample) said that they would not have taken Japanese if there had been no foreign language requirement, and 18 students (10% of the sample) said that they might have taken Japanese without a foreign language requirement but they were not sure.

One might argue that few students were studying Japanese to fulfill their foreign language requirement because the foreign language requirement policy was not strong enough; if the rule were strengthened, more students would enroll in Japanese language courses. There are indications, however, that greater foreign language requirements would send students to *other* foreign languages, especially those perceived as easier to learn than Japanese.

I sampled NCS students from other foreign languages and compared them with those studying Japanese at NCS. The sample was taken randomly from French, Spanish, and German courses during the spring semester of 1984, one semester after the Japanese sample was collected. The sample was confined to students in 101 and 201 courses for all four languages. The subsample sizes were 47 for French, 47 for Spanish, and 27 for German. The questionnaire used for those languages was exactly the same as the one used for the Japanese study.

Table 4 summarizes the responses of the students in the four languages to the questions about language courses requirements. Mandatory minima are clearly *not* the reason for students enrolling in Japanese. In addition, most of the students

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taking French and Spanish classes held majors within the School of Humanities and Social Sciences, the only School that had a foreign language requirement at NCS. (Two departments in another School require one year of language, but that language must be German.)

The results of this modest comparison makes sense in terms of the quality of the typical student's strategy in response to a requirement. Students who do not have much interest in foreign language study but enroll merely because of a foreign language requirement will not take a Japanese language course, because they believe it to be much more difficult for them than Spanish or French (which it is). This does not mean that a foreign language requirement is useless; enforcing such a requirement, however, will not increase enrollment in Japanese language courses.

Table 4
Relationship between Language Study and Foreign Language Requirement by Language Currently Studied at NCS (Percentages)

	French N = 47	German N = 27	Japanese N = 48	Spanish N = 47
"Requirement" chosen as initial reason for studying the language (separate questionnaire item).	53%	15%	0%	40%
Using credit from this course for requirement; would/might not have taken the course if no requirement.	50%	33%	2%	55%
Using credit from this course for requirement, but would have taken this course regardless.	33%	19%	11%	19%
No requirement/not using this course for requirement.	17%	48%	87%	26%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Some may think that more students from such fields as engineering and sciences would start studying Japanese if they were given a foreign language requirement, because they would see the value of Japanese even if it were a little harder than Spanish. This, again, is unlikely because students from such fields normally have very heavy study and lab schedules that do not allow time for language study, which is also time-consuming. If such students were required to take foreign language courses, they, too, would probably enroll in language courses that they believed to be easier in order to protect their grade point average in their majors.

4. Attrition and Continuation

In order to analyze attrition through a one-time survey instrument, students were asked whether they intended to continue language study or not. Students were then asked through a closed-ended series of questions what their reasons were for continuing or discontinuing.

In the aggregate, a uniformly large percentage of students across institutions and grade levels expressed the intention to continue. Around 80% said that they intended to continue Japanese study during the subsequent semester. There were 33 students who indicated that they would quit Japanese language study the next term and provided one or more reasons for their decision. (An additional four students replied that they would discontinue but did not give reasons.) The distribution of their reasons for quitting is presented in Table 5.

The survey results do not support the widespread belief that most students discontinue Japanese because they do not perform very well and get discouraged, or are afraid that their Japanese grade will lower their overall GPA. Although those who intended to continue earned or expected slightly higher grades (3.32 where A=4) than those who didn't (3.01), there was no statistically significant difference in the earned

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or expected grade between those who intended to continue and those who did not. When asked to choose and rank order the given 11 possible reasons for discontinuing language study, only two out of 33 who were discontinuing checked, "I am not doing as well as I wanted to. Low grades in Japanese hurt my GPA" as the most likely reason, and no one chose "I am not doing as well as I expected to. I am not concerned about my GPA, but I am discouraged" as the most likely reason. (When the top three choices were combined, only eight students out of the 33 who intended to discontinue chose either of these items.)

Table 5
*Reasons for Discontinuing Japanese Language Study
(Most Likely Reason Only)*

	N	%
Graduation/Transfer	7	21%
I am graduating this semester.	4	
I am transferring to a different college.	3	
Course Load/Conflict	15	46%
I have so many other courses to take that I won't have time to study Japanese.	14	
I have a time conflict--I have to be taking my major course during the time Japanese class meets.	1	
Poor Performance	2	6%
I am not doing as well as I wanted to. Low grade in Japanese will hurt my GPA.	2	
Achieved original goal.	2	6%
Fulfilled foreign language requirement.	1	3%
Other	6	18%
Total	33	100%

These results do not automatically mean that poor performance is unrelated to attrition, because this sample did not include students who dropped out before the time of the survey. The early weeks of the term witness considerable attrition; at NCS eight students out of 46 dropped the course during the first two weeks of the fall semester in 1983. Those students — who were not sampled — may have enrolled with an overly casual assessment of the difficulty of learning the language and then quickly discontinued because of poor performance.

Students *are* more likely to discontinue language study because of competing demands from their major fields, which are too demanding to allow the time and energy required for good grades in Japanese. Those students may be performing well, but feel that Japanese study takes up so much time that continuing it interferes with their major courses. The item that the largest number of discontinuing students (14 out of 33) checked was, "I would like to continue but I have so many other courses to take that I won't have time to study Japanese." If we combine the first three reasons given for discontinuing, 22 students (two thirds) gave this reason. Two other related answers ("I have a time conflict — I have to be taking my major course during the time Japanese class meets" and "I have used up all my free elective credits") were chosen as one of the first three reasons by about a fourth of those who intended to discontinue.

The demands of major course work probably account for the high drop-out rate among engineering and science students (about 30%, in contrast with the overall percentage of 20), despite the fact that they constitute the best performers in Japanese.

A lesser but nonetheless important reason for discontinuing was either graduation from college or transfer to a different institution. In the data collected, seven students checked one of these items as the most likely reason for discontinuing.

This source of attrition cannot be avoided as long as a large percentage of students start studying Japanese in their junior or senior year. In the survey sample, one third of the first year classes were juniors and seniors. These students must have begun studying Japanese either knowing that they would not attain fluency, or thinking that they could attain fluency in one or two years.

The 148 students who indicated that they intended to continue Japanese study during the subsequent semester were asked to choose and rank order their reasons for continuing Japanese. Of these, 131 provided usable responses.

I grouped the responses into categories that represent ten types of motives for continuing study: enjoyment; career benefit; interest in culture; circumstantial reasons (Japanese relatives, lived in Japan, etc.); academic major; foreign language requirement; challenge; habit; past performance (good grades); and other. The first three categories accounted for about two thirds of the first-ranked reasons given (83 cases). The most frequently given response fell under the category of enjoyment; 36 students (over a fourth of all responses) indicated that they were continuing language study because the course was interesting or because they enjoyed the class.

The second and third most represented categories, respectively, related to career concerns and interest in Japanese culture. Almost a fourth of the continuing students (29 respondents) indicated career reasons for continuing, and another 18 cited an interest in Japanese culture. These categories include a substantial number of students who arrived at these motives for continuing *after* they had begun Japanese study. Of the 29 who were continuing Japanese for career-related reasons, 13 (almost half) had gained that awareness since enrolling; of the 18 who were continuing for reasons of interest in culture, six (a third) experienced an increased interest in Japanese culture that was strong enough to become their primary motive for continuing language study.

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The importance of career considerations for continuing Japanese is underscored by the relationship between intention to continue and the perception of a career connection with the Japanese language study. A significantly greater proportion of those students citing a relation between their career goals and Japanese study were going to continue language study, when compared with students claiming no relationship between language study and career plans: as Table 6 indicates, students with no career connection in mind had twice the proportion of drop-outs.

Table 6

Relationship between Japanese Language Students' Perceptions of Career Value in Japanese and Intentions Regarding Language Study Continuation

(N = 181)	Intention		
	Continue	Discontinue	Total
Language study relation to career plans seen (yes/maybe)	88%	12%	100%
No relation seen (no)	74%	26%	100%

It has been shown that achievement is a big source of motivation for higher achievement (e.g. Skinner, 1956; Savignon, 1976), and Japanese language study is probably no exception. Those students who said that they would continue earned (or expected to earn) an average grade of 3.32, a truly high average. However, our students do not necessarily continue *because* they are making good grades. As I noted earlier, the mean grade of the continuing and discontinuing student groups were statistically indistinguishable. Moreover, only two students indicated that getting a good grade was the most likely reason for their continuing. Obviously some other reasons mentioned earlier — such as having an interesting, enjoy-

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able class, or the more practical reason of preparing oneself for a better career — were more important to our students.

5. Engineering and Science Majors' Special Characteristics

Since Japan-related programs in science and technology are particularly important at NCS, I conducted some comparisons between students in sciences and engineering and the other students in the sample. (There were 44 students in science and engineering fields and 135 in others, for a total of 179 students with known majors.) Engineering and science majors were less likely than students in other fields to see career-related benefits in their language study — a rather surprising finding, given the recent publicity for Japan's technical achievements. To the question "Is Japanese language study related to your career goal at all?" nearly 30% of the engineering and science majors answered "no," compared to 10% of those in all other fields. Sixty-two percent of the other students answered "yes" to this question, while only 35% of the engineering and science majors did. (See Table 7.) These differences were statistically significant.

Table 7

Comparison of Engineering and Science Majors' Responses with All Others to the Question, "Is Japanese language study related to your career goal at all?"

	Engineering & Science		All Others		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	15	35	82	62	97	56
Maybe	16	37	38	29	54	31
No	12	28	13	10	25	14
Total*	43	100	133	101	176	101

chi square = 12.54, p<0.01

(*Percentages may exceed 100 due to rounding.)

Similarly, the ratio of engineering and science students who chose to "enhance career opportunities" as their most likely reason for starting Japanese language study was actually smaller than the percentage for those in other fields (21% vs. 26%), although the difference between the two groups was not statistically significant.

The initial reasons of engineering and science students for studying Japanese were as diverse as those for students in other fields: the only dissimilarity of note was that engineering and science majors were more likely to indicate vague reasons such as curiosity and wanting to do something different (21% vs. 15% of other students). I interviewed a few NCS students in engineering and science majors to further explore their motivation for enrolling in Japanese language courses and found that many of those students study Japanese for a change of pace or for "relaxation" — an attraction of language study unheard of before science and technology students started enrolling in Japanese courses! Such vague motivation among science and engineering students appears not only in their reasons for studying Japanese; they also had lower motivational intensity as measured by a motivational intensity scale patterned after Lambert and Gardner (1976). Three items out of five in the scale showed significantly lower scores for these students, as Table 8 shows.

In addition, science and engineering students' achievement expectations in all four skills (speaking, listening, reading and writing) were lower than those of other students, both for their recall of their grades when they started language study and for the point in their course work when the survey was conducted. These differences were statistically significant at $p \leq 0.05$.

Similarly, fewer of these students had concrete plans to go to Japan (see Table 9) and, although the difference was not statistically significant, their rate of intention to discontinue was higher than other students'.

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Despite all these seemingly negative conditions, however, the grades in Japanese that engineering and science majors had earned (or, among first-year level students, expected to earn) were the highest for any category of major (although the differences were not statistically significant). This fact supports the previous assertion that types of motivation or reasons for studying Japanese are not related to performance.

Table 8

*Differences between Engineering and Science Majors
and Other Students in Motivational Intensity Scale Items
(Agreement = 3; Range of +3 to -3)*

	Engineering & Science	All Others	Interpretation: Strong Motivation =
If Japanese were not taught in my college, I would not bother learning it.*	+ 0.61	- 0.98	→ - 3.0
Compared to other students in my Japanese class, I think I do less studying than most of them.	+ 0.05	+ 0.24	→ - 3.0
I work harder on Japanese than on any other course in college.*	- 0.81	+ 0.22	→ + 3.0
I actually think about what I have learned in my Japanese class very frequently.	+ 1.91	+ 1.76	→ + 3.0
After I finish college, I will probably continue to improve my Japanese.*	+ 1.51	+ 2.23	→ + 3.0

* Statistically significant difference at $p \leq 0.05$.

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Table 9

*Comparison of Plans for Japan Travel between
Science and Engineering Majors and All Other Students*

	Engineering & Science		All Others		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
"Do you plan to go to Japan?"						
Yes (concrete plan)	6	14	48	36	54	31
Yes (no concrete plan)	33	77	82	62	115	66
No	4	9	2	2	6	3
Total	43	100	132	100	175	100

chi square = 12.07, p<0.01

These students in science and engineering majors were more apt than others to study the language out of their own initiative: 89% of the engineering and science majors were studying Japanese either without any foreign language requirement or without using the credits they had earned in Japanese to fulfill their requirement, compared to 57% of the other students. (This difference was statistically significant at $p \leq .001$.)

The 27 science and engineering students who intended to continue Japanese language study during the subsequent semester were more likely than other students to cite their enjoyment of the class as a reason for continuing. Over a third of these science and engineering students gave as their first reason for continuing the language a response falling in the enjoyment category, in contrast to less than a fourth of all the other students. The continuing science and engineering students were also much more likely to gain a sense of benefit to career goals from Japanese study *after* they had begun the course; about one out of five (5/27) chose "I wasn't aware how important/useful Japanese might be for my career goals when I started, but now I am" as their strongest reason for

continuing, in contrast to only one out of 13 (8/102) among all other majors.

**Discussion:
Implications for the Language Teaching Profession**

The United States has much at stake in its relationship with Japan, but the number of Americans with Japanese language proficiency has yet to reach a size commensurate with such importance — particularly in the most dynamic areas of contact between the two countries: science, technology, and commerce. American colleges and universities should respond by recruiting more students into their Japanese language programs, but this study suggests that such recruitment efforts should be made more in the areas where people with ability in Japanese are needed. As seen earlier, it is possible for a Japanese language program to draw students in majors roughly in proportion to overall enrollment figures, although enrollment figures do not necessarily correlate with fields where Japanese expertise is needed: today such people are sought particularly in business and technical fields, but the ratio of students in Japanese from these fields is still relatively low. These recruitment activities should include information on career-related benefits. Since many of the students who started studying Japanese did so thinking it would enhance their career opportunities, enrollment might increase accordingly if more students were made aware of the fact that Japanese is important — especially in business and technical fields. This study casts doubt, however, on the proposal that we augment Japanese enrollments through expanded foreign language requirements.

Other implications of this study extend to our approach to the classroom and to the content of our classes. We may have to re-examine our own expectations of what our students ought to “look like”; we can no longer assume that most of our students — and our most promising students at that — will

be Asian Studies majors and related academic neophytes. Some of our best students will have vague reasons for studying Japanese. A sizable number will enroll without a firm hope of even setting foot in Japan. Japanese is no longer the specialized commitment that it once was. Students now represent a broad variety of fields, and they begin studying Japanese at any point of their college career as if Japanese were no different from any other course offerings. Nor is an Asian Studies program necessary in order to have a respectably sized language program, since the program can draw students from a wide variety of departments.

This, in turn, means we should seriously consider modifying the character of our Japanese language courses, particularly in the lower levels, to accommodate students from various backgrounds. We teachers ought to be aware that the most important driving force for a large number of students is their enjoyment of the class itself — something we all know, but which somehow is easy to forget. Teaching our classes in the best way we can and making them more enjoyable may be the best way to maintain a high continuation rate.

Another implication of the study's results is that we should not demand unreasonably heavy work from our students, especially when many of them represent fields which are already demanding. This does not mean we should grade students too uncritically or let them get away with slipshod performance; it simply means that we should not be unreasonable in terms of speed or expect students to do all the work at home when we could be utilizing class hours more effectively. Since science and engineering students' curricula do not allow intensive language study, offering them non-intensive courses or special intensive summer programs combined with maintenance courses during the school year would facilitate their participation in learning Japanese. The better students in critical fields such as commerce and technology should also receive scholarship and fellowship aid as well as participate

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in special exchange programs to encourage their continued Japanese language learning. Although the creation of such new programs may appear to take place at a policy-making level beyond most of us, we have a valuable role to play in advocating, designing, and executing such programs.

Even with such important supporting programs in place, we should be prepared to face attrition not only among poor students but also among good students. When students having very demanding majors like engineering or the sciences enter our classes, many of them will find Japanese extremely time-consuming and will not want to continue regardless of how well they are doing in class or how hard we try to make class enjoyable and interesting.

There is also a need for some teaching materials for those students who may not go to Japan but who want or need to use Japanese in the U.S. Although most of the students did indicate in the questionnaire that they planned to go to Japan at some time, only 30% of them had concrete plans. This means that quite a few students will never go to Japan but may have a chance to use Japanese in the U.S. Some such situations should be introduced (for example, picking up Japanese visitors at the airport or inviting Japanese people to dinner) so that all the students may be encouraged to feel closer to the language. Such materials can still incorporate a lot of Japanese culture. At this point, some supplementary materials made by individual teachers may suffice.

In addition to exposing our Japanese language students to illustrations of how Japanese can be a strong added skill for future career goals, we should also introduce Japanese culture to the students as much as we can in the context of the language class. Some 15% of the students in this study decided to continue Japanese language study because they became more aware of its importance for career or because they became more interested in Japanese culture *after* they began studying the language. The importance of career-related

motives for studying Japanese is also illustrated by the greater tendency to continue Japanese language study among students who see a career connection with the language.

The survey results presented here are exploratory, so the implications and suggestions based on their analysis can be no more conclusive. I do believe, however, that they offer some insight into the challenges that face teachers of the Japanese language and the hope of a dynamic and progressive response to the changing nature of language students' needs.

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Appendix A
*Responses for Question Concerning Initial Reason
for Enrolling in Japanese*

- related to my major
- enhance career opportunities
- have relatives and/or friends who speak Japanese
- foreign language requirement
- interested because I had lived in Japan
- my own cultural background, heritage
- retaining Japanese knowledge already gained
- preparation for trip to Japan
- linguistic curiosity
- challenge
- wanted to do something "different"
- other students told me they liked their Japanese class
- interested in Japanese culture
- other

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Appendix B

***Questionnaire Item Concerning Individual Student's
Foreign Language Requirements***

Is there a foreign language requirement in your individual academic program?

- () no → Please go to question 9.
() not applicable
() yes

How many credits and courses are required?

_____ credits; _____ courses

Do you intend to use or have you used the credits earned in your Japanese language course(s) to satisfy your foreign language requirement?

- () no → Please go to question 9.
() yes

If there had been no foreign language requirement in your program, do you think:

- () you would definitely not have taken Japanese language initially.
() you might have taken Japanese, but you are not sure.
() you would have taken Japanese regardless of the requirement (your studying Japanese has nothing to do with foreign language requirement).

Notes

1. This figure is almost twice the 12% of students in Kataoka's 1979 study of 402 students at 27 institutions throughout the U.S. who wrote in an open-ended question that they had started studying Japanese for career purposes.
2. The large proportion of students selecting "linguistic curiosity" probably reflects a flaw in the survey instrument rather than students' linguistic intellectual bent: the question did not offer a simple "curiosity" response alternative, so students chose "linguistic curiosity" as the closest approximation, as later discussion with some of them revealed.

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INTEGRATING SIMPLIFIED AND ORIGINAL TEXTS

Alan Hirvela

Abstract

Among language teachers, the use of simplified texts is a complicated matter. This is particularly true with respect to literary texts. In examining simplified forms of literary texts, serious questions arise about the relationship between language and literature and the place of simplification within that relationship. This article asserts that simplified texts are of considerable value within the context of using literature in language teaching. The main contention is that simplified texts are a valuable teaching device when used on a comparative basis with original literary texts.

The history of literature as a tool in language teaching is a long and complex affair punctuated by vigorous debates over the appropriateness of literary texts in second language learning. Until the 1940s, as Stern (1983) notes, "The training of language teachers in the university was oriented towards literary scholarship and fostered a command of the language as a practical skill" (p. 155). He goes on to explain that, "It was not until the early years of World War II that linguistics was recognized as an important, perhaps even as the most important, component in a language teaching theory" (p. 156). From that time onwards, linguistics in its many forms has been the foundation on which teacher training, curriculum planning, and course design have built. Meanwhile, the role and status of literature as a tool in ESL teaching diminished

Alan Hirvela teaches language and literature courses in the English Department at The Chinese University of Hong Kong. His primary research interest is the use of literature in language teaching.

steadily. In some cases, the reaction against literature was so strong that literary texts and the study of literature disappeared entirely from ESL curriculums.

Widdowson (1984) identifies the crux of the case against the use of literature in language teaching:

It can be argued that literature contributes nothing to the utilitarian objectives of language learning. The current obsession with needs analysis and cost effective accounting which parades as pedagogy lends weight to this argument. Literature has no practical uses and so it is useless.

Recently, however, there are indications that literature is quietly reclaiming a respected role in language teaching (Spack, 1985; Kramsch, 1985). This is an encouraging development, especially for those who share Brumfit's (1985) concern about the "trivialization of language teaching" (p. xi), and in particular the reliance on ESL teaching materials that, while useful, may lack substance and meaning.

On the other hand, while literature's prospects seem to be on a slight rise, the same cannot be said of simplification. As Vincent (1986) states, in recent times "the basic idea of simplifying literary, or any text, for the foreign reader has been under review, if not attack" (p. 212).

Vincent, an advocate of simplified texts, provides a cogent summary of the objections to such texts:

The essential feature of simplification is reduction, and this can result in loss. The original book is shortened, the number of characters, situations, and events cut, the vocabulary restricted, and the use of structures controlled. More significantly, perhaps, any unusual use of language — colloquialisms, idioms, metaphor, allusion — tends to be ruthlessly expunged, and any ambiguity or uncertainty in the text resolved. (Vincent, 1986, p. 211)

West (1950), another exponent of simplified texts, has made the point that such texts, whatever their virtues, can sometimes destroy a learner's motivation by taking away the essence of the original version and leaving in its place a flat, hollow, uninspiring substitute.

Anyone who has worked with simplified texts knows how accurate these criticisms can be. As with the quality of original texts, however, the quality of simplified texts varies considerably. There is no fixed process for simplifying a text, nor is the audience for such texts a completely unified body possessed of precisely the same language abilities. Though the process of simplification is often done conforming to certain strictly defined limits (number of words known by the target group, in most cases), there is no guarantee that the end result is satisfactory. Consequently, the scale and impact of the drawbacks Vincent and West have pinpointed will differ considerably according to the individual text under review and the circumstances in which it is used. Clearly, though, simplified texts are, by their very nature and purpose, subject to certain limitations which understandably challenge their effectiveness as language teaching aids.

At the same time, however, simplified texts have some intrinsic virtues. The most obvious among these is the accessibility such a text provides for less sophisticated or developed readers. Texts that would otherwise be too daunting to comprehend are made manageable through the stripped down language and modified grammatical structures contained in a simplified version. This, in turn, can produce a sense of achievement in the struggling or unsophisticated reader.

Carter (1986) has written of the importance of finding a 'way in' to a text, and of appreciating the 'literariness' of the language used by the author. Simplification, as will be discussed later, meets both these needs. Carter and Burton (1982) have discussed the benefits of a text that is "slowed down" through a careful approach to language, and here, again, simplification provides a means for doing just that. That is, the effect of a simplified text is much like that of a native speaker of a language slowing down his speaking speed to allow for the potential comprehension difficulties of the second language listener. The "slowed down" language becomes

more accessible through this process. In addition, Nash (1986) has pointed out the advantages of paraphrasing — a form of simplification — in terms of increased awareness of the special qualities of the original language in the text.

In short, simplification can, under the right circumstances, both provide greater insight into the language used in an original text, and enhance a student's ability to appreciate literature in a second or foreign language.

Before examining the use of simplified texts in more detail, it is necessary to draw attention to perhaps the greatest obstacle to any serious discussion of simplification. This is the problem of "either-or" thinking. All too often, teachers decide, or simply assume, that they must use *either* an original *or* a simplified form of a text. It is the contention of this article that there is an effective and valuable middle ground between the either and the or positions. That middle ground consists of a comparative approach in which *both* the original and simplified texts are used in concert with each other. This may be called an *integrated-simplification technique*. The fundamental principle underlying this technique is that simplified texts are used *in conjunction with* original texts through a comparative process in which salient features of the original work are highlighted by a close look at their alternative versions in the simplified text. By comparing the language, techniques, and structures used in both versions, a window or opening into the beauty and complexity of the language used in the original text, or of the communicative properties of the plain, direct language used in the simplified form, can be created. Effective use of this opening can provide extensive insight into language used in both a literary and/or a conventional mode, depending on the aims of the course and the teacher. Thus, simplified texts are integrated into the process of studying language through literature.

Simplification, Language, and Literature

Widdowson (1979) has described simplification as a 'learning strategy.' That is, simplification is not used merely to make things easier for second language learners (though that is a worthy goal in itself). Rather, when applied more comprehensively, simplification can be used in very concrete ways to increase or sharpen students' language awareness when it is perceived as a *tool* in language teaching.

But what does simplification mean? To quote Widdowson again: "I want to define simplification as the process whereby a language user adjusts his language behaviour in the interests of communicative effectiveness (Widdowson, 1979, p. 196). Further, he says, "In language teaching, simplification usually refers to a kind of intralingual translation whereby a piece of discourse is reduced to a version written in the supposed interlanguage of the learner" (Widdowson, 1979, p. 185).

Simplification, then, is the product of a carefully constructed attempt to rearrange discourse so as to match the linguistic needs and abilities of learners at a specific place in their language development.

Carter has noted that "in the teaching of a foreign language, opportunities should be sought for more extensive and integrated study of language and literature than is commonly the case at present" (Carter, 1986, p. 110). Implicit in this assertion is the notion that there is an intricate link between language and literature as teaching aids. A closer look at that link (which the integrated-simplification technique serves very effectively) is in order.

According to Brumfit and Carter (1986, p. 15), "Literary texts provide examples of language resources being used to the full, and the reader is placed in an active role in working with and making sense of this language." Along the same lines, Chapman points out that, "A work of literature is not only an imaginative representation of life. It is also an auto-

nomous linguistic structure, offering itself for scrutiny in terms of verbal selection and ordering" (1982, p. 51).

McKay (1986, p. 191-192) reinforces this point: "Literature presents language in discourse in which the parameters of the setting and role relationship are defined. Language that illustrates a particular register or dialect is embedded within a social context, and thus there is a basis for determining why a particular form is used. As such, literature is ideal for developing an awareness of language use."

These remarks remind us that literature, with its specialized and meticulously crafted use of language, is an abundantly rich source for the study of a host of important linguistic elements contained in a literary text. The powerful, emotive language used in such texts is there before us waiting to be harvested, and our job as teachers is to find appropriate tools for the harvesting. What is needed is an effective instrument to make the harvesting possible.

By focusing on the language used in both an original and a simplified literary text, then, we can help learners concentrate on very specific uses and constructions within the carefully controlled linguistic environment of literary expression.

To take this one step further, and to proceed to the use of simplified texts, consider Widdowson:

... [T]he study of literature is an overtly comparative one, since not otherwise can it be practised as an aspect of language learning in a more general sense. This principle can be put into practise by considering examples of literary discourse alongside conventional uses of language to demonstrate the differences in the way the language system is realized for communicative purposes. (Widdowson, 1975, p. 83)

Widdowson's idea of looking at literary and conventional language use side by side is where simplified texts fit into the picture. Learners are simultaneously provided with passages using the more sophisticated language of a literary text and the modified equivalent of that language in the simplified text.

With these two different versions placed next to each other in the manner of slides being alternated beneath the magnifying lens of a microscope, learners can easily and effectively move in whatever direction the course or teacher dictates. If it is a literature course, the language used in the original text can be analyzed very usefully as literary expression by being juxtaposed against an alternative non-literary version in the simplified text. In this way the literariness of the language and the literary functions such language performs can be highlighted and appreciated fully.

If language awareness is the goal of the course, the use of strikingly different renderings of the same idea serves as an excellent tool for language study. As Carter (1982, p. 11) observes, "Literature is an example of language in use, and is a context for language use. Studying the language of a literary text *as language* can therefore enhance our appreciation of aspects of the different systems of language organization." Or, as Littlewood (1986, p. 179) points out, "Literature now becomes a vehicle for the learning of differences between language varieties." The original and simplified texts, when examined jointly, provide insight into these 'systems of language organization' and 'language varieties.'

An added value of the use of simplified texts is that it both cements and illustrates the link between language and literature, a relationship that is useful and important to understand in second language acquisition at more advanced levels. It cements the link by showing, through the comparative process, specifically *how* language is used at different levels to convey meaning, feelings, images, etc. (i.e., the elements of literary expression). It illustrates that link by providing us with concrete examples of the varied ways in which those elements can be expressed. Thus, the comparison made possible by this technique enables learners to penetrate into the deeper realms of a literary text, where the real linguistic and literary treasures are to be found.

One potential difficulty must be noted here. Comparison works best when the contexts being compared are, in some sense, the same. If the subjects of the texts being compared differ, learners are deprived of a meaningful or clearly stated basis for the comparison, and the benefits of the exercise are likely to be extremely limited. If the purpose of the comparison is to make clear the differences between literary and conventional discourse, students must have a solid and effective means by which to observe those differences. The use of simplified, equivalent texts provides such a means for focused, useful comparison.

As a final comment on how the use of simplified texts enriches the link between language and literature, we can consider Moody's perspective:

The English language, we know, is very rich in alternatives, and it is well to ask ourselves in considering each of these why it is "so and not otherwise." Sometimes it is useful to consider what alternatives could have been used, and whether any of them would have been more suitable. Then we can begin to value the effect of the one that the writer has actually used. (1968, pp. 22-23)

That is precisely what the use of simplified texts enables us to do.

The Appropriate Use of Simplified Texts

The technique is simple, and yet it has quite a number of exciting possibilities, depending upon the interests and creativity of the teacher.

Generally, the most useful way to apply this technique is to compare systematically equivalent sentences and paragraphs in the simplified and original texts. The focus of this side-by-side type of comparison depends upon the aims of the teacher. This can, of course, be done in class orally, and can stimulate some very interesting and useful class discussion — with the added benefit of allowing learners more opportunities to practice their spoken use of the language. This process can easily

be expanded from its simplest level of teacher-class discussion to group discussions, individual or group presentations, etc.

A more involved application is to ask students to do comparisons of textual passages, scenes, or whole texts in writing. This can take the form of guided exercises where students draft answers to very specific questions, or they can be asked to write essays discussing whichever elements of the comparison the teacher prefers.

Whatever application is used, it is vital to give careful thought to the *aims* of the comparison prior to launching into it. This is largely because of the varying quality of simplified texts, discussed earlier. Some texts, for example, may be too simplified for the purposes of the exercise. Since simplification is often done with specific grades or levels of learners in mind, the language and organization of the simplified text must be examined carefully in advance so as to match the needs of the learners using the technique. This, in turn, necessitates a clear grasp of the abilities, and the weaknesses, of the students in the course.

An effective analysis of the simplified text to be used requires a corresponding understanding of the original text selected for study. For instance, the themes of the original must be examined thoroughly in order to appreciate their representation in the simplified text. Furthermore, we must ask: How archaic, symbolic, complicated, or idiomatic is the language and/or the grammar of the original? Factors like these are important because they provide insight into the nature of the comparison to be made.

All the texts studied through this method in my course have been short stories. This is partly because, as noted by Moody (1971), Marckwardt (1978), and Hirvela and Boyle (in press), short fiction tends to be the most popular literary form among ESL students. Then, too, such texts require less time for outside reading and preparation, an especially important point when the students must read both the original

and simplified versions of the story. Short stories also tend to be highly concentrated in terms of plot, number of characters appearing in the story, and theme. This makes it much easier for students to identify the essential literary features of the text and thus enhances the process of comparison.

It should be pointed out that other literary forms are not really amenable to either simplification or, consequently, to this technique. True, a great many novels have been simplified, but so much so that there is little basis left for comparison (it is possible, for instance, to see 200-plus page novels reduced to several pages in the simplified or adapted form, rendering any comparative process quite unreliable). Poetry, by its very nature, cannot really be simplified within the same literary form or genre. To be sure, poems are simplified through paraphrasing in prose form; however, comparisons of these vastly different representations of the text would be difficult (though quite interesting for those willing to take on the task). As for drama, the nature of this genre once again makes simplification in any form a difficult, and perhaps unnecessary, matter.

With whom should this technique be used? I believe that, under the right circumstances (or rather in the hands of the right teacher), the technique could be used with learners of nearly any level of ability in the target language. This would especially be the case if language awareness is the goal of the exercise. For less proficient learners, comparing a tough original text with a simplified version might be helpful in terms of demonstrating the communicative properties of the kind of language used in the simplified text. However, I believe the kind of students I have worked with — upper intermediate and advanced learners (on the university level) — are the ideal group for a methodology of this type. For one thing, their ability to comprehend both versions of the text creates more room for comparison of the different forms of the story. Also, students at this point in their development are in a much

better position to express, verbally or in writing, what they are discovering as they make their comparisons. Finally, such students tend to be better versed in both literature and language (their own, if not that of the target language), thus broadening the scope of the comparative process. That is, instead of focusing strictly on more visible linguistic differences between the texts, as would be the case with less proficient learners, a teacher can examine more complex linguistic functions or various relationships between language and literature in the texts.

What are the specific purposes of this technique? What are the students expected to gain from it?

Since I have used the technique in a combined language/literature course, I have applied it toward increasing both “literary awareness” and “language awareness.”

“Literary awareness” refers to recognizing and understanding the literary elements of the text, such as characterization, imagery, setting, scene, etc. These elements, which are not normally found in other forms of discourse, are an important part, collectively, of the deeper recesses of a language, in the sense that language is used in very particular ways to express them. Therefore, the language of the two texts is compared to see how literary conventions are developed via linguistic means. This method draws attention to these conventions, and therefore increases students’ awareness of them.

This technique can work particularly well when using older original texts featuring language, structures, and styles that are not commonly found in contemporary literature. Such texts allow for more space between the original and simplified versions, and that gap is the source of considerable benefit to students when explored properly. This is equally true whether the comparison aims at increasing literary knowledge or language awareness.

Examples:

“The Gift of the Magi” and “The Country of the Blind”

An essential feature of O. Henry’s short story, “The Gift of the Magi,” is the use of the Magi — figures from the Bible who symbolize deep wisdom and understanding — to convey a moral message about the importance of giving rather than taking. The story itself describes the simple yet profoundly moving sacrifices a young married couple make in order to buy Christmas presents for each other.

The original ending of the story is written as follows:

The magi, as you know, were wise men — wonderfully wise men — who brought gifts to the Babe in the manger. They invented the art of giving Christmas presents. Being wise, their gifts were no doubt wise ones, possibly bearing the privilege of exchange in case of duplication. And here I have lamely related to you the uneventful chronicle of two foolish children in a flat who most unwisely sacrificed for each other the greatest treasures of their house. But in a last word to the wise of these days let it be said that of all who give gifts these two were the wisest. Of all who give and receive gifts, such as they are the wisest. Everywhere they are the wisest. They are the magi. (Porter, 1945)

O. Henry’s version is alternately subtle, humorous, didactic, and personal in nature (note the use of the first person point of view and the familiar way in which the audience is addressed). Linguistically and thematically, this ending is both complicated and highly stylized, a combination that would render it difficult for many second language readers to fully comprehend. However, an understanding of the techniques the author has used can be very helpful for ESL learners. We therefore need to find a ‘way in’ to his text. A comparison with two simplified endings of the story will enable us to do just that. This is the ending in the *Pocket Classics* text:

The Magi were wise men who brought gifts to the Christ Child. They were the first to give gifts at Christmas time. In a way, Della and Jim were like the Magi. They sold their greatest treasures to buy gifts for one another. It didn’t even matter that the presents

were useless. For with the combs and watch chain, they gave each other their love. And that was the wisest gift of all. (Porter, 1984)

This is a very modified version in which the lesson of the story is still present, but in the form of a straightforward style devoid of the charm, subtlety, and personal involvement of the author/narrator in O. Henry's text. A key difference occurs in the reduced emphasis on the Magi, who serve as an important image in O. Henry's text. The absence of these elements, and the effect their removal has on the reader's appreciation of the text, is something that can be examined with considerable benefit in the ways described earlier in this article. Conversely, the more direct, communicative use of language in the simplified text can be studied for its own virtues. Stripped of O. Henry's literary style, the simplified version relates the same essential message in a simpler, more conversational style that students may well be encouraged to emulate in their own writing.

The ending used in the *Oxford Progressive English Readers* text provides a further basis for useful comparison because it takes a very different approach to the process of simplification. In this version all references to the Magi have been removed. The title has been reduced to "The Gifts," and the story ends with the husband suggesting that he and his wife put away their gifts and have supper. At no point in the story is the message stated directly for the audience. How this approach compares to those in the other two texts makes for very interesting and profitable discussion. Is it the same story after simplification? Is it a better story? In what ways has the language changed from one text to another? Questions such as these, which we can explore under the controlled conditions provided by the text, enables us to take students to the heart of language and literature study.

The beginning of this same story is also worth examining for a closer look at the integrated-simplification technique. Here is O. Henry's version in the original text:

One dollar and eighty-seven cents. That was all. And sixty cents of it was in pennies. Pennies saved one and two at a time by bulldozing the grocer and the vegetable man and the butcher until one's cheeks burned with the silent imputation of parsimony that such close dealing implied. Three times Della counted it. One dollar and eighty-seven cents. And the next day would be Christmas. (Porter, 1945)

O. Henry's opening paragraph does more than just communicate essential information. In addition, we are given a hint of the great dedication of Della, Jim's wife. We sense the paucity, but also the great value in non-material terms, of the money she has managed to save. A meaningful but vexing process whereby one scrimps and saves laboriously over a long period of time in pursuit of a noble goal is revealed to us, adding a rich texture to the bare facts of the story and suggesting the deeper context and tone of the tale we are about to read.

That situation is changed completely when we look at the simplified version in the *Pocket Classics* text:

Three times Della counted her money. One dollar and eighty-seven cents! That was all. And tomorrow would be Christmas day.

This version concentrates solely on the facts — and only some of them. What is missing is any sense of how hard Della has worked to save the money, and how she suffered emotionally as she struggled — against the grain of her kind, accepting personality — to bully the merchants from whom she shopped so as to save money for her husband's Christmas gift. We have no notion of where the money came from or how its collection reflects on Della herself. The underlying tensions and meaning of the story are not even remotely hinted at.

This is not to say that the simplified version is bad. Rather, it is useful for us because it is communicative instead of creative, and the gap between these two very different approaches to communication can be of extreme value to teachers in exploring the important linguistic and thematic contrasts between the two passages. By studying that gap, we can

show learners crucial differences between different types of discourse.

To illustrate the technique a little further, let's look at an example from the classic H.G. Wells short story, "The Country of the Blind." The plot of this story is simple yet intriguing. A mountaineer, Nunez, is cast by accident into a remote, legendary valley where blindness has reigned among all the citizens for several generations. The mountaineer, fully expecting to dominate the villagers because of his eyesight, is instead humiliated by them and, in the process, is taught vital lessons about himself and life. Like "The Gift of the Magi," the story takes the form of a parable.

To use a story effectively with this technique, careful selection of passages is essential. To make maximum use of the technique, passages that are linguistically valuable as well as thematically interesting work best. The following sample from "The Country of the Blind" was chosen on the basis of these criteria. The passage concerns a crucial moment in the story where Nunez, the mountaineer, tries to explain the full value and beauty of eyesight to his blind fiance from the valley, someone for whom he is prepared to have his eyes surgically removed. But as he explains what would be lost through the sacrifice of his eyes, his own mind is subtly turned against the whole idea of the operation and of joining the society of the blind people. The original version of this scene conveys the shifting of his attitudes, and the existence of his poetic soul, very movingly:

There are the beautiful things, the beautiful little things – the flowers, the lichens among the rocks, the lightness and softness of a piece of fur, the far sky with its drifting down of clouds, the sunsets and the stars. And there is *you*. For you alone it is good to have sight, to see your sweet, serene face, your kindly lips, your dear, beautiful hands folded together. . . It is these eyes of mine you won, these eyes that hold me to you, that these idiots seek. Instead, I must touch you, hear you, and never see you again. I must come under that roof of rock and stone and darkness, that

horrible roof under which your imagination disappears. . . No; you would not have to do that? (Wells, 1967)

When we read Wells' text, we are transported into the soul of Nunez, and we see how deeply and lovingly he clings to sight. At the beginning of the paragraph, Nunez is describing the virtues of eyesight; by the end of the paragraph, he has talked himself into holding onto his eyes. Furthermore, we see his deep-rooted bitterness against the village leaders, who insist upon the removal of his eyes, and we are thus moved into the growing conflict within Nunez's mind. Within that one paragraph he is alternately a passionate, inspired lover and an angry, possibly violent, rebel prepared to do battle against those he resents.

This is how the same scene is described in the simplified text provided in the *Oxford Progressive English Readers* series:

My world is sight. There are the beautiful things, the beautiful little things – the flowers among the rocks, the sky with its moving clouds, the sunsets and the stars. And there is *you*. It's good to have sight if only to see your beautiful face, and your dear, beautiful hands. . . (Toyne, 1974)

This text, while very communicative and effective for the less advanced reader, conveys none of the burning intensity of Nunez's passion or conflict, nor does it reveal the gradual but forceful change in his attitude toward his situation. Furthermore, the lovely diction in the Wells passage is missing in the simplified version.

A comparison of these passages will demonstrate the extra dimensions possible in language when it is stretched to its further limits. Through careful analysis of the two texts, students can be shown that it is not merely the added descriptive detail in Wells' version that gives it the depth lacking in the simplified text. Structure and diction have been used together to communicate subtle changes in thought and feeling within the character. Exploring how Wells did that, and how the simplified text didn't, will give students a greater

sense of the linguistic and thematic flexibility possible in the use of the language they are learning.

Evaluation

In general, my students have responded quite positively to the approach. The fact that the simplified texts used have been quite short and easy to read has meant that the student work-load has not increased significantly, thus allowing students to put considerable energy into the exercise. Furthermore, selective use of the approach seems important. Using the approach for every story studied in the course is not a good idea, as the students do find the approach fairly demanding. Then, too, to only study texts on a comparative basis casts the original texts in an unnatural light. Students have responded best to the technique when it was used from time to time, and for particularly difficult original texts. They have indicated that answering questions in writing has proved very helpful. They have also reported that texts studied in the conventional manner are approached with greater attention to detail (linguistic and literary) following the use of the approach. That is, the approach helps them to examine other original texts more actively or attentively.

Probably the most interesting response thus far has been to an experiment in which the students used the approach in contrasting ways with two O. Henry short stories, "The Last Leaf" and "The Gift of the Magi." The former story was read in its original form first, followed by the simplified text. The process was then reversed for the latter story. Upon completing the study of both stories, the students were asked to state and discuss, in writing, which reading sequence they preferred. Not surprisingly, most of the students indicated that they preferred reading the simplified text first. This, as expected, enabled them to enter the original text with a solid working understanding of the story itself, and it allowed them to pay immediate attention to specific linguistic and literary

features that otherwise would have been noted only in a subsequent reading, if at all. Comprehending the story was no longer a concern; thus they were free to appreciate the many structural elements of the original text. In short, they engaged the original text in a more informed position. This, of course, is precisely how ESL teachers hope their students will read an original text in English.

However, although students preferred to read the simplified text first, they liked the original text more. The convenience afforded by the simplified text was greatly appreciated, but the students recognized and reacted against the absence of more interesting linguistic and literary features. Some characterized the simplified text as "empty," saying that it was useful but devoid of substance. Seeing the simplified text in these terms greatly enhanced their appreciation of the sophistication contained in original literary texts. Hence, both their language and literary awareness were enriched by this use of simplified texts.

Taken together, these reactions suggest that this comparative method should be used prudently and with very careful attention as to which original texts should be studied in this manner. Furthermore, assigning the simplified text first is the most workable reading sequence from the students' point of view. However, I would urge that a more balanced approach be used, with the two reading sequences being alternated. Comparing very carefully selected portions of text is also essential if the approach is to be really effective.

Conclusion

There are, of course, many ways in which second language learners improve their ability to use that language, just as there are many different stages in their language development. Our task as language teachers is to help learners move from one stage to another. To do that, we need to give them a specific

sense of what lies ahead of them at the next level, so that they know precisely what it is they are aiming to do, or to know, next. The technique I have described, by allowing for comparisons of different levels of language use in very concrete terms, offers learners vivid examples of where they are coming from (simplified text) and where they are going (original text). Through detailed study of equivalent passages presented in alternate forms, we can gradually and carefully move them to the next stage in their ability. We allow them to see for themselves the next target in the climb up the acquisition ladder, and we give them a very useful tool in making that climb.

The many benefits of the integrated-simplification approach are available, however, only when teachers make careful use of the technique. This requires a clear understanding of:

- (a) what the students are expected to learn through the approach;
- (b) the essence of, and the differences between, the original and simplified texts being used; and
- (c) an appropriate setting for, or means for the application of, the technique.

That is, which application of the approach will work best in light of the needs of the learners using the approach? Teachers must examine this question carefully to avoid entering into the process of comparing blindly or haphazardly.

Simplification has its limitations, and they need to be understood by advocates of its use as a language teaching aid. However, simplified texts are, by their very nature, highly communicative versions of more sophisticated texts, and as such they have considerable value as teaching tools when used in a carefully constructed relationship with an accompanying original text. Sometimes they can be used to introduce, or to prepare students for, a more difficult original text. At other times they can be used to shed light on important features of an original text through careful comparison of both texts.

Simplified and Original Texts

When used in these ways, and on the level appropriate for the learners being taught, this combination of alternate texts is a highly useful instrument in language teaching, whether the focus is on second language literature study or language awareness.

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NATIVES, SPEAKERS, AND MODELS

Julian Edge

Abstract

The use in ELT of the terms "native speaker" and "non-native speaker" needs to be rethought. The author argues that the model for learners is the native teacher communicating in the target language. The role of the foreign teacher is to support that model in classroom interaction.

In August 1987, I was fortunate enough to be invited to Tokyo by the British Council to teach on two seminars for Japanese teachers of English in Junior and Senior High Schools. Three things have been on my mind since I left. First, I was very impressed by the enthusiasm and ability of the teachers I worked with. Second, I was a little unsettled by some aspects of a *native speaker/non-native speaker* distinction that I came across. Third, I thought that the short *JALT Journal* article by Nakayama (1987) reviewing Smith's (e.g. 1983) philosophy of English as an International Language was a very useful contribution to our thinking when we try to balance the potential contributions to language teaching of the native teacher in any country and the (usually foreign) native speaker.

Julian Edge has taught English since 1969. He was awarded his Ph.D. by Birmingham University in 1986 for a thesis concerning an application of discourse analysis in teacher education. He now teaches on the M.A. in Applied Linguistics for ELT at the University of Durham (School of English, Elvet Riverside, Durham DH1 3JT, England).

of the language being taught. In this short article, I also hope to make a small contribution to the same topic. As my acquaintance with Japan has been so brief, I shall draw on my own experience elsewhere and leave readers to make their own decisions about the relevance of what I have to say to their own situations.

As Paikeday (1985) points out, the term *native speaker* is frequently used but seldom defined. One relatively uncontroversial definition might be based on the accident of birth and growing up; that is to say that a person is a native speaker of the language that he or she learnt first as a mother tongue. In fact, this is already problematical, because although many of us grow up in monolingual societies, most of us do not. Furthermore, many children learn first a language that is the mother tongue of only one, or of neither of their parents, but let us leave that aside.

There is another usage of *native speaker* which is often confused with this first sense. This is the usage common in linguistics meaning something like: "*someone gifted with special and often infallible grammatical insights*" (Paikeday, *ibid.*, p. 1). Paikeday's argument, which I would wish to support, is that this creature is in fact a type of linguistic unicorn, well known in the myths and legends but impossible to relate systematically to a group of living beings. This *native speaker* is one of a set of idealised abstractions, along with the *homogenous speech community* and *formal syntactic competence* which are found necessary by some theoretical linguists. There is no reason for us to suppose that we can select people according to an accident of birth and thereafter rely on their grammatical insights. Conversely, there is no reason not to trust the grammatical insights of someone who has reached an appropriate level of ability in a language, whatever the accident of their birth. Let us, then, restrict the definition of *native speaker* to its *accident of birth* sense and look further at how the term is used in language teaching.

In a country where a language does not play an established social role, it is often said that a *native speaker model* is needed. The argument is that as there is no established local variety of the language, a standard model should be used in order to increase the likelihood of international intelligibility. A further refinement is to accept that although the *model* will be that of a native speaker, the target which the local learners will actually be asked to achieve may well deviate from this model.

There seems to be some logic in this in a linguistic sense, but there is again a danger of a linguistic abstraction being confused with actual people. When I stood in front of a class of Turkish schoolchildren, there was clearly only a very restricted sense in which I could act as a model for them in social, cultural, emotional, or experiential terms, with regard either to their past or their future. The person who could act as such a model would be a Turkish teacher; and, if we believe that reference to the social, cultural, and emotional experiences, awareness, and aspirations of our pupils is important in learning, then this is the ideal model.

As far as the linguistic model is concerned, there are two points to consider. First, following the argument about learning models above, the best model for the students is not a foreigner speaking his or her native language, but the native teacher effectively communicating in a foreign language. Second, the role of the foreign native speaker in such a situation is to partner and support the native teacher in his or her communication. I should like to discuss these two points further.

Without going into detail about the various possible positions, I think that there is a consensus among language teachers at the moment that there are times to concentrate on encouraging fluency, and times to concentrate on encouraging accuracy. If we really believe that, it needs to be demonstrated in the way that native teachers view their own use of the foreign language. Students are not insensitive; if they see

that the teacher is embarrassed about making formal mistakes in the language, then they will very well understand that it is accuracy, above all else, that counts. Similarly, they will understand that fluent communication is valued if they see their teachers enjoy using the language, use whatever communication strategies come to hand, and are as accurate as they can — when they have time to concentrate on accuracy. For teachers of a language foreign to themselves, as for learners, there are times to concentrate on accuracy and times to concentrate on fluency. A teacher who is presenting an item of structure to a class needs to concentrate on being accurate; a teacher who is telling the class a story needs to concentrate on telling that story in an exciting and involving way.

The appropriate language model, then, is the native teacher enjoying the language and, wherever possible, being seen to use the language to communicate with foreigners. This makes enormous demands on the native teacher. One of the reasons why teaching is such an exhausting trade is that we repeatedly have to open ourselves up in front of large groups of people in the knowledge that we might be challenged, criticised, proved wrong, laughed at, talked about, disliked, or even despised. That applies to all teachers. The threat to personal security experienced by someone teaching “communicatively” a language which they themselves have learned at school must be many times greater.

This leads us to the question of an appropriate role for people involved in teaching their native language in someone else's country. In their partnership with the native teacher, the essential element of that role is not to provide a model of correctness but to support the native teacher's attempt to model communication with a foreigner. This is the relevance of Smith's (1986, p. 32) comment cited by Nakayama:

... [N]ative speakers need as much help as non-natives when using English to interact internationally. There is no room for linguistic chauvinism. (1987, p. 159)

One hopes that anyone who has the education of school-children in their hands will have had appropriate training and be involved in their own development as teachers. As far as the teaching of English is concerned, it seems more and more important that this training and development should help us escape from the essentially nationalistic world-view of *native speaker/non-native speaker* and get us involved in furthering an internationalist perspective in which users of English are simply more or less accomplished communicators.

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DIARY STUDIES IN CLASSROOM SLA RESEARCH PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

John Fry

Abstract

This short article is an appraisal of *Diary Studies* (DS) as a research method. DS have a contribution to make to research into *second language acquisition* (SLA)¹ but advocates of DS occasionally omit discussion of problems in deriving generalisable conclusions from them. In what follows therefore the author identifies three claims made for DS and then goes on to discuss, in relation to these claims, the problems of (a) gathering valid data; (b) interpreting the data; and (c) deciding whether or not DS are a type of *non-interventional* research. He ends by explaining two ways in which DS can be beneficial despite their shortcomings and one way (action research as distinct from mainstream research) in which the shortcomings become positive advantages.

Claims for Diary Studies

Various claims have been made for *diary studies* (DS). These are:

- Claim 1: that they serve to generate hypotheses about classroom *second language acquisition* (SLA),
- Claim 2: that they provide insights into learner variables (i.e. learning strategies, and affective and psychological factors involved in learning),
- Claim 3: that they can provide insights into the processes of SLA itself.

In terms of illuminating the nature of SLA, these claims become successively stronger (claim 3, of course, being the

strongest). Also the stronger claims appear to assume the weaker ones. It is clear that Matsumoto (1987) embraces all three:

Each of the diary studies . . . contains unique and noteworthy information which contributes to our understanding of the processes underlying second language learning and teaching in a formal classroom setting. (p. 21)

Problems of Gathering Data

Terminology

Following Schumann (1977) and Bailey (1980), Matsumoto (1987) distinguishes the terms *introspective* and *non-introspective* data. For them the term *introspective* is the term given to data where the researcher and the diarist are the same person; *non-introspective* where the researcher and diarist(s) are different people. For others, including Cohen and Hosenfeld (1981), Mann (1982) and Cohen (1983), *introspective* data is that which is gathered from subjects while they carry out a task; an example is the *think aloud* protocols used by Cohen (1983) in gathering data on reading strategies. *Retrospective* data is that which is collected after the event. I shall be using this latter terminology. DS will be considered as examples of retrospective data.

Introspective Data

Introspective data holds a far stronger claim than retrospective data to be capable of providing valid insights into SLA, as it represents no additional load on long-term memory. Approaches to introspective data presuppose that learners have a high degree of what Mann (1982) refers to as *metacognitive awareness*, that is, they are able to accurately "observe the contents of their minds and infer from this process in operation" (p. 89). In considering during-task verbal reports, Seliger (1983) argues that although awareness of processes might be available for a few seconds, it will be obscured by the task.

Reporting on how one is doing a task while doing it is a double task. This obviously increases the cognitive load and is likely also to affect the processes. Furthermore, learners can only report what they are conscious of, the unconscious processes remaining inaccessible. How can we be sure that when a learner reports using strategy X it wholly represents what is going on? Moreover, the nature of the task might itself suggest the use of certain strategies, so that what is reported of processes may in fact be inferred from the task, amounting perhaps to what Seliger (1983) calls "post hoc guessing." What is most frustrating is that we can not assess the scale of these problems from the data. We can not be sure just how problematic they are. Nevertheless they remain as concerns that must affect the status of the data and what it may be taken as evidence of.

Seliger (1983) concludes of introspective verbal reports that they can be useful generating hypotheses about learning (claim 1) and with regard to learner variables (claim 2), but nothing direct can be expected regarding learning processes (claim 3). Cohen (1983), though, admits that such data primarily reflects attitudes to and strategies for learning (claim 2) rather than conscious learning processes.

Retrospective Data

With retrospective data, all the problems of cognition in introspective data are magnified by the lapse of time between the event and the reporting of it. The longer this time is the greater the load on memory capacity, and therefore the greater the likelihood of a report being a piecemeal and edited account of the event. Perceptions change with time and people are apt to forget. By its very nature, such data involves levels of unconscious editing. What may have seemed salient during the event is quite likely to differ from what is recorded as salient later. The event will be summarised. It is therefore difficult to see how DS can provide insights into the processes of SLA. Claim 3 must therefore be untenable.

Researcher Intervention

One argument advanced in favour of DS is that the diarist can be free from research intervention, free to record his/her perceptions without prompting, and that, further, the value of DS lies in this freedom from constraints. However, even if the researcher tries to eschew all intervention, waiting until the diary is complete before looking at it, there are still problems that threaten the validity of the data.

Consistency, in terms of time (i.e. that the data is recorded at a fixed time after the event, preferably as soon as possible) and in terms of depth (i.e. the level of detail recorded) cannot be ensured. Diary-keeping is time-consuming and initial enthusiasm may give way to fatigue. And lack of consistency will diminish the potential usefulness of the data.

Even where researchers intend to limit the dangers of subjects' editing of data by remaining inexplicit about the goals of their research, there is still the danger that subjects will try to guess these intentions and provide what they think the researcher is after or simply try to show themselves in a good light. And, of course, editing is not necessarily conscious.

Another problem is that the act of recording aspects of learning behaviour will raise consciousness of that behaviour and may change it. For example, comparison of early and later diary entries may reveal changes in the learners' perceptions of, say, reactions to peer correction or use of a particular strategy for vocabulary acquisition. While this is of interest as regards claims 1 and 2 (hypotheses about learning and learner variables), it can yield nothing direct as regards learning processes (claim 3). This consciousness-raising aspect of diary-keeping will be considered further in the later discussion of different research uses of diary data.

If the above problems exist when the researcher adopts a stance of non-intervention, any degree of overt intervention, such as periodic examining and discussion of a diary with a subject, will increase them.

They do not render claims 1 and 2 empty, but they do indicate that DS data cannot be expected to yield any firm statements. Rather they will produce tentative hypotheses (claim 1) and interesting possibilities (claim 2).

Cohen (1983) argues that introspective data on SLA processes may be obtainable if subjects are trained (i.e. in metacognitive awareness) to provide the required kinds of data. The problem here is that the training is highly likely to affect both task performance and the processes themselves. Mann (1982) echoes this concern. In discussing the use of practice tasks to refine subjects' reporting, she warns that:

. . . subject training may bias the data towards the experimenter's desires and expectations, whereas no training may result in the loss of potentially relevant information through the subject's ignorance of interesting features, limited metacognitive awareness or through the subject's discomfort and unease with the experimental task.

(p. 91)

Problems of Interpretation

Perhaps the first question regarding the analysis of the data is, as Mann (1982) says:

Do we approach the data with pre-defined categories or do we allow the data to drive the analysis? (p. 95)

Clearly, if we are interested in the learners' perceptions of their learning, we would be wise to adopt the latter course. Putting the data through a sieve of pre-established categories risks forcing a particular interpretation onto the data and overlooking points of possible interest. But how specific should the categories that emerge be? The best course is probably to accept a great number of specific ones, at least initially. (Matsumoto [1987] notes that no less than 76 factors were revealed in Brown's studies [Brown, 1983, 1985b] referred to in Matsumoto [1987, p. 24]). However, if the analysis is to be genuinely useful as research, that is, replicable by other researchers, later analysis may need to reduce these to a

smaller number of more general and more generalisable categories or, alternatively, to focus upon only a sub-set of categories of particular interest.

Crucial to any analysis is that all instances ascribed to a particular category do in fact share the same criterial features. Categories must be formally defined otherwise they will lack any explanatory power and real evaluation of the analysis and possible replication of it will be ruled out. But herein lies the rub. Can the researcher be sure that a strategy or attitude named more than once actually refers to the same thing? There will be problems of definition, particularly with general terms such as motivation. And what is one to make of general comments in the data, that such-and-such is *helpful* or *confusing*, when no supporting information is given? (Retrospective data tends to be full of these interesting yet vague statements which incite a barrage of questions.)

One can only try to be as rigorous and explicit in defining categories as possible. One way is to "go to bed" with the data, to become intimate with it before attempting any categorisation of it, in the hope that categories will suggest themselves. Matsumoto (1987) also suggests that several researchers analyse the data independently before thrashing out a consensus, a helpful though time-consuming approach. A further possibility is to take the data back to the diarist for clarification. However, this gathering of secondary data would invite further editing of the primary data (i.e. it represents retrospections upon retrospections). It would need to be done as soon after the event as possible and that would mean during the period in which the diary was being kept. This intervention, as noted above, would probably influence later entries.

The Contribution of DS

DS have revealed nothing that directly contributes to our understanding of SLA processes (claim 3 is untenable), al-

though they have revealed a wealth of factors that have been perceived by different learners to be important in the enhancement of learning (i.e. claim 2). DS have indicated a great number of learner variables. However, the *participant* studies (as the researcher-as-diarist studies are sometimes referred to) such as Bailey (1980) can only serve to inform us what a particular learner in a particular learning context perceived as being important. Lacking a clear framework of categories of analysis they are impossible to compare. Comparison is also precluded by the range of variables they exhibit as regards the learning context. They therefore lack any explanatory power as the data is not generalisable. As evidence they must be viewed as idiosyncratic, anecdotal accounts (though nonetheless interesting).

Non-participant studies (i.e. involving subjects as diarists) are likely to be more revealing, especially when involving multiple subjects rather than case studies of single learners. But the crucial feature must be frameworks of defined categories that will afford comparisons of studies and replication on other groups of learners where certain variables of learning context may be kept constant. Only then will DS begin to have some explanatory power and without this power the basis for claim 2 is weakened.

Claim 1 is the most tenable of the claims. DS data does raise a great many questions and published DS have all pointed to factors that may be important in language learning. Yet this claim is also weakened unless analyses present defined categories on which hypotheses can be based. Unless what is hypothesised can be tested quantitatively or is at least amenable to support or denial through other qualitative means, the claim remains empty and without meaning. As Chaudron (1986) says:

. . . if we argue that qualitative research serves to generate hypotheses, we must be concerned about the replicability and generalizability of the results. (p. 710)

To its discredit there is a dearth of replication studies in SLA research. To quote Chaudron (1986) again:

Despite many years of qualitative observational studies that should have generated hypotheses about effective teaching and learning behaviors, we have today only a small selection of classroom process variables that can be agreed upon as potentially influential for learning. (p. 711)

Diary Studies in the Research Paradigm

Is there therefore a place for the DS in mainstream classroom SLA research, the foremost aim of which is to describe and explain the nature and processes of SLA? The answer can only be a very weak affirmative. The DS is a limited and exploratory tool which *may* serve to generate hypotheses about learning behaviour and yield information on important learner variables if, and only if, its findings are presented in a framework that is generalisable and accessible to further investigation. However, the charge of lack of generalisability, often made against DS, is perhaps more a reflection of the outcomes of the published studies, still quite small in number, than of inherent weaknesses of the research method itself.

Two Uses for DS

Owing to their exploratory nature, DS may be best used if employed during the initial phase of a research project as a means of throwing up variables to be investigated by other means in a second phase. Alternatively, their use in combination with other research methods may also prove to be fruitful. For example, learners and their teacher might be asked to complete diary entries immediately after the event (i.e. the lesson) followed by interviews to clarify the contents of those entries using a video or audio recording of the event to serve as a prompt. Thus the diary becomes one element of *triangulation*, that is the gathering of data from three distinct sources

that focus upon one event. Although there are some very obvious practical problems involved here, the example is given merely to indicate the possible integration of the DS with other methods of research.

Action Research

There is a completely different and very powerful role for diaries, their role in *action research*. The problems for the DS in mainstream SLA research vanish when they are used in the context of action research, which is research intended to solve immediate problems in classrooms rather than to reveal any general truths about learning. In a number of educational contexts learners have been asked to keep diaries as a means by which teachers can keep in touch with the learners' perceptions of their classroom experiences and as a basis for discussion of problems and of remedial action by the teacher (Hopkins, 1985). It is a powerful tool where learners come to trust it as a form of on-going dialogue with their teacher. It is intended to raise levels of consciousness about learning and to lead to teacher-researcher intervention. Of course there need not be any specific problems to be overcome. Diaries may simply be used as a basis for heightening learners' levels of awareness of their learning. This is recognised by Matsu-moto (1987):

Finally, the diary study is not only a research tool, but may also be used for other practical purposes such as self-awareness, self-evaluation, self-improvement, and orientation for other learners — it can be of immediate use for diarist-learners as an aid to their second language learning. (p. 26)

This is true, but one must ensure that the delineation between action research and mainstream SLA research is clearly marked as the DS's strengths in the one become its weaknesses in the other.

Note

1. Classroom SLA here denotes learning in a classroom setting and does not, therefore, imply any distinction between the terms acquisition and learning. The use of procedures to statistically quantify data is the basic feature delineating quantitative from qualitative research methods. Quantitative data includes written or verbal reports from subjects as well as unquantified analyses of transcript data. For detailed discussion see Ochsner (1979), Long (1980), Chaudron (1986), and Henning (1986).

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CONFERENCE REPORTS

INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION AS AN EFL TEACHING FORMAT: FURTHER REFLECTIONS

John M. Ratliff

What is Intercultural Communication?

Intercultural communication studies communication that takes place between people from different cultures. It examines the new forms of human interaction that arise when people with different sets of cultural assumptions try to work together and play together. Such interactions don't strictly follow the set patterns of behavior of the native cultures of the participants, but represent in a sense a "third" or "inter" culture, with its own set of norms. As a result, the individual must develop new strategies to operate in this new environment — the ones that have been successful in the mother culture often don't work or are actually counterproductive (Condon & Yousef, 1975).

An increasingly interdependent world economy, and the increasingly international character of the scientific and educational communities, have radically increased the scale and importance of intercultural communication. In response, a new profession, intercultural training, has emerged. Intercultural trainers specialize in advising organizations and individuals on how to function more comfortably and effectively in an intercultural environment. Thus, like TESOL, intercultural communication remains at its root an integrated response to an eminently practical problem.

John Ratliff received his Ph.D. in communications and Japanese studies from Columbia Pacific University. He is presently an instructor of English at Ibaraki Christian College in Hitachi, where he is attempting to master the Japanese language and become more culturally sensitive.

Cultural Awareness

Becoming more interculturally sensitive begins with the development of a greater awareness of the all-pervasive influence of culture on our behavior, beliefs, and perceptions. Our culture largely determines our assumptive world, that is, the set of basic premises that underlies our behavior, and this makes it very difficult for us to view our cultural premises objectively.

Ethnocentrism, the belief that the values and norms of one's mother culture are "only common sense," or at least superior to any alternatives, is a widespread belief in all cultures. Of course, the specific content of ethnocentrism varies from culture to culture. For example, while Japanese ethnocentrism typically emphasizes the absolute uniqueness of all things Japanese, and posits an unbridgeable gap between Japan and the rest of the world, American ethnocentrism tends to take a pseudo-humanist form, proclaiming that all the people of the world are the same: wanting what we already have in America.

Interaction with people from other cultures does not necessarily lead to reduction of ethnocentric or stereotyping behavior. Indeed, history would prove that in general the result is just the opposite: witness the English and the Irish, black and white Americans, or the Japanese and the Koreans. The development of cultural awareness doesn't just happen — it requires work.

Communication Style and Language Acquisition

For a variety of reasons, English has become the pre-eminent language of the emerging world interculture. No one is more aware of this than the Japanese, who view English as their window on the world, the code through which they receive communications from the outside, and in which they must function in exchanges with other cultures.

However, when a Japanese student studies English with the

goal of communicative competence, he or she is soon confronted by problems not directly related to language, but rooted in non-linguistic cultural assumptions about communication itself: *communication style*. Communication problems that are perceived as having their roots in insufficient linguistic skills are in fact often the result of conflicting assumptions about the proper functions of language: what we're trying to express, the appropriate way to express it, attitudes toward self and listener, and uses of silent and non-verbal communication.

Any student of a foreign language inevitably also confronts communication style differences, but this problem is especially severe for Japanese students of English. It is difficult to imagine two cultures with more dissimilar communication styles than the Japanese and American. Research, as well as everyday experience, gives much evidence for this. (See Barnlund, 1975; Ramsey & Birk, 1983.)

The primary goal of verbal communication for Americans is self-expression, trying to make one's own position clear, while for Japanese the central goal is to strengthen the sense of group harmony. As a result, the ideal communication style in English is usually direct, logical and to the point, while Japanese is usually heavily qualified, often to the point of vagueness. At the same time, spontaneity is prized in American English, while Japanese places the emphasis on propriety, knowing the appropriate set phrase (*aisatsu*) to say in a given situation.

Every teacher of English in Japan has had the experience of responding to students's search for the *aisatsu* in English, something like: "How do you say *gochiso-sama*, or *kampai*, or *tadaima* in English?" When the teacher responds with an answer like: "Well, it depends on how you feel – any way you like," the initial response of students to this new-found linguistic "freedom" is often panic and insecurity.

Another major contrast between Japanese and English is the

sensitivity to status differences in communication. For foreign students of Japanese, it often seems that affirmation of status is the central focus of the Japanese language, with its countless levels of formality. By comparison, American communication style seems almost obsessively status denying. (Note President Reagan's habit of calling *everybody* by their first name, thus "Ron and Yasu.")

To illustrate, in English the second person pronoun *thee* disappeared from daily speech in the 18th century as an expression of a sociolinguistic leveling process that resulted in only one all-purpose second person pronoun in modern English, *you*. On the other hand, in modern Japanese there are roughly a dozen second person pronouns in common use, each expressing a subtle nuance of status consciousness. Being able to know when *sochira-sama*, *anata*, *kimi*, or *omae* is most appropriate is something that can only be learned through years of cultural immersion.

Finally, the two cultures radically differ on how much use should be made of the verbal channel. Put simply, Americans talk a lot more than Japanese in almost any situation. Americans see the verbal channel as the proper medium for the expression of opinions, emotions, humor, nuances of meaning — words as the essential mode of communication. Japanese pay much more attention to non-verbal forms of communication: posture, uses of the eyes, costume, and, above all, the uses of silence. This fundamental difference in the use of language is perhaps the greatest impediment to successful cross-cultural communication between Americans and Japanese: in the absence of strenuous countermeasures on both sides, the Americans routinely end up doing nearly all of the talking.

Edward Hall (1977) provides a very useful model for building intellectual understanding of the systematic differences in communication style and underlying assumptions about human behavior that one encounters here. He characterizes

cultures as having *high context* and *low context* orientations to meaning. Cultures or people that look for meaning primarily in the verbal code, in what is said (content over form: “the message is more important than the messenger”), are labeled *low context*. *High context* cultures take meaning more from the situation, overall environment or behavior (form over content: “the messenger is more important than the message”).

Using this model, America can be seen as an extremely low context culture, while Hall himself describes Japan as being the archetypal high context society. For Westerners, this model can be extremely useful in building an understanding of Japanese culture. (Hall, 1977, chaps. 6, 7, & 8.)

Applying Hall’s model to intercultural interaction, we can see that by its very nature the interculture tends to be low context — the common assumptions necessary for highly contextualized communication simply do not exist. Misunderstanding is so easy in intercultural communication that it behooves one to make every attempt to be explicit and clear. However, attempting to communicate in this way is often not only difficult, but actually painful for most Japanese people.

But if the high context nature of Japanese culture makes effective intercultural communication initially more difficult for its members, it also makes the challenge of developing the necessary skills an opportunity for personal growth and intellectual and spiritual liberation that many individual Japanese are searching for in their study of English. This is one of the great challenges of TESOL in Japan.

Bringing Intercultural Communication into the Classroom

During the past academic year, the author has taught a content course in intercultural communication to an intermediate level English class of Japanese university students. Unlike ESL students in America or other English-speaking countries, whose lives are usually filled with intercultural

encounters with native English speakers, most university EFL students in Japan find intercultural communication largely an abstraction. Their awareness of their own cultural assumptions is generally quite low, and they have usually experienced Western culture primarily on the level of spectacle: Hollywood movies, rock videos, and Disneyland.

Moreover, their experience in English class in junior high and high school has usually been almost completely arid and negative. Painfully aware of the fact that after at least six years of English classes they are unable to communicate with foreigners on even the simplest level, they tend to blame themselves and generally have a very low estimate of their own abilities as English students.

For such students an English class focusing on intercultural communication and the development of cultural awareness has the potential to radically alter their perceptions of themselves as language learners and at the same time make the best use of those unique qualities that an American or other foreign teacher in Japan has to offer his students.

The basic text for this class was *The Culture Puzzle: Cross-Cultural Communication for English as a Second Language* (Levine, Baxter & McNulty, 1987). This book is an outstanding contribution to the growing effort to integrate the fields of intercultural communication and TESOL. The typical model in ESL texts is communication between native speakers of English, even if sometimes disguised by calling one of the characters "Taro" or "Maria." *The Culture Puzzle*, however, systematically illustrates the real problems, linguistic and cultural, that emerge in intercultural interactions between Americans and non-native speakers of English.

For example, through a technique called *Take One/Take Two*, students are first shown (*Take One*) the typical forms of miscommunication and conflict that occur in such situations as when they are paid a compliment, asked to express an opinion, or need to ask for clarification. Then, in *Take*

Two, students are shown a way to deal with the situation more effectively and comfortably.

However, *Culture Puzzle* was written for an ESL class with students from a variety of cultural backgrounds. In the Japanese EFL setting, students must be particularly encouraged to become more aware of Japanese culture, and at the same time to demythologize their view of Western culture. It is important that every attempt be made to do this *non-judgmentally*, to stress that the aim of the course is to discover the ways that different cultures meet the same human needs, not to determine which is better or worse.

For example, the students were assigned to interview their parents, asking them questions about how life in Japan had changed since they were young and how they felt about contemporary Japan. They also watched the Kurosawa film *Ikiru* (1954), which none of them had ever seen. The class then discussed what had changed in Japan since the film was made, and what has remained the same. Not only did they gain insight into their own culture, but they also had an opportunity to experience a masterpiece of Japanese cinema.

The class also explored some American cultural materials: movies, TV shows, popular songs. (For example, when discussing the family, we compared an episode of the *Cosby Show* with an episode of *Sazae-san*.) The point to keep in mind in dealing with this sort of material is to remove it from the level of spectacle and begin to inculcate in the students a sense of empathy with the characters and, ultimately, respect for the values involved. This necessitates a very careful selection of material and a lot of effort on the part of the instructor to provide a model of non-judgmental observation.

Finally, such a class has the potential to be a growing experience not only for the students, but also for the teacher. Long-term sojourners in Japan are in special need of the techniques and insights that this kind of class can impart. Thus, developing an understanding of intercultural commu-

nication and trying to integrate that understanding into one's teaching can be an important part of a personal strategy for becoming a more culturally aware person, better able to function comfortably and effectively in Japanese society.

Note

I published a resume of my presentation at the 1986 JALT Annual Conference, "Teaching Intercultural Communication to Students of English as a Foreign Language in Japan," in *JALT Journal* 8.2. The present report represents a further examination of the same theme, reflecting an additional year of research and teaching. I should also note that for the sake of simplicity, in this essay I equate "American culture" with "native speaker English culture." I apologize to those offended by this typical example of American ethnocentrism.

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CULTURE FRICTION AT JAPANESE HIGH SCHOOLS

Tadashi Shiozawa and Jacqueline A. Rives

The *Japan Exchange and Teaching* program (JET), which began in 1987, is the successor to the *Mombusho English Fellow*, *British English Teacher*, and *English Teaching Assistantship in Japan* programs. The aim of all these programs has been to place young native speakers of English in high schools around Japan to give students contact with speakers of English. By the end of 1988, JET expects to sponsor 1,600 foreign teachers.

This report describes the JALT '87 presentation, *Cultural Problems between Native English Teachers and Their Japanese Colleagues*. Interviews with full-time native speakers of English working at a Japanese high school revealed a number of common problems. In particular, they were not given professional recognition and responsibilities, were excluded from decision-making groups, and had poor communication with other teachers. Japanese teachers, in turn, had difficulty working with foreign colleagues. Although there are no easy solutions, we suggest a number of measures, such as having a go-between for these teachers, increasing social contacts between groups, and preparing Japanese teachers for their new colleagues through orientation meetings.

About 60% of Mombusho English Fellows or native teachers of English leave Japanese high schools without renewing their original contracts. Why? Are the students not motivated

Tadashi Shiozawa (B.A., Senshu University; M.A., TESOL, University of Illinois) has, for the past four years, taught English at Eiwa High School in Kofu, Yamanashi. Jacqueline A. Rives (B.A., Illinois State University; M.A., Asian Studies, University of Illinois) has taught English for three years at Eiwa High School, where she is also a sub-homeroom teacher.

enough? Is team-teaching too difficult? No. They leave because they are frustrated with the way they are treated and what they feel is a lack of respect.

The Japanese government has hired about four times as many native teachers in 1987 as in 1986. Many of them will be stationed at one school rather than visit many schools. The presenters believe that as this base school system expands, cultural and perceptual problems will be more serious than simply how to team-teach.

The presenters interviewed several full-time native English teachers based at one school, and their Japanese colleagues. At the presentation common problems, their causes, and solutions based on these interviews were discussed.

During the interviews the biggest complaint heard from the native teachers was that they were not treated as responsible teachers or educators. For example, although they were full-time staff members of the English department, they were not usually invited to the regular staff meetings, and even when they were invited, they were not given an opportunity to speak out, for the sessions were conducted in Japanese and they did not understand what was being discussed. The Japanese staff probably intended to reduce the native teachers' work load by not inviting them to meetings, but the native teachers actually felt that they were ignored or not regarded as full-time teachers.

Second, in a related problem, native teachers felt that they were not integrated into the system. For example, they were not given information they needed. The monthly school calendar is not translated and most of the daily handouts that are put on all the Japanese teachers' desks are not found on the native teachers'. The Japanese teachers probably do not provide these because native teachers cannot read Japanese and they think that some information is not necessary for the native teachers, but concerned native teachers do want to know what is going on around school and it is they, the native teachers,

who want to decide which information is important for them. The fact that the Japanese staff do not care to tell the native teachers about the things going on around them makes them feel they are not integrated into the school organization.

Third, native teachers felt that they were not given enough responsibility. The native teachers want to get more involved in work in addition to teaching English itself, such as becoming a sub-homeroom teacher or being in charge of a school club in order to be treated like other Japanese teachers. But the Japanese teachers seem to take away from the native teachers even the work they can easily do. Treating the native teachers too differently from the Japanese staff creates a sense of being an outsider in the native teachers.

Fourth, communication between native teachers and Japanese teachers was sometimes weakened because of cultural and perceptual differences. For example, one interviewee claimed that Japanese teachers were unfriendly because they never said *Good morning* or *Hi* to him and they seemed to avoid the native teachers. But this is simply because Japanese tend to avoid eye contact and some Japanese feel too awkward to say *Good morning* in a foreign language. The interviewee logically understood the reason behind these actions of the Japanese staff, but still could not emotionally understand why the Japanese teachers cannot say such easy words as *Good morning*.

Fifth, there are some problems on the native teachers' side as well. In particular, some native teachers are unwilling and unable to assimilate. For instance, some isolate themselves from the Japanese staff, write letters while saying there is nothing to do at school, or leave school before the end of the teaching day. In addition, without learning to understand some Japanese, it is difficult for them to be independent inside the school.

In addition to these five problems, several other issues were raised by the participants at the presentation. In response to

the presenters' first two problems — not being treated as a colleague and not being integrated into the school system — one participant suggested that these problems were more severe for native teachers who were not based at one school, especially for those who did *one-shots* (visiting a class once). The lack of continuity, lack of purpose, and entertainment aspects of the one-shot system were all causes of dissatisfaction.

In regard to responsibility, two separate issues were raised. First, one participant questioned whether native teachers can legally do the same things that Japanese teachers do. He pointed out that the immigration laws require that foreign workers do only the work that Japanese workers cannot do. This makes both the schools and native teachers reluctant to assign or accept duties other than classroom teaching. The second issue concerning responsibility involved unqualified native teachers. Many of the native teachers who come to Japan are inexperienced and have difficulty carrying out their classroom responsibilities. Moreover, a few individuals are in Japan as "tourists" and have no interest in teaching or behaving the way teachers are expected to behave.

Concerning culture and assimilation, a participant suggested that one of the reasons native teachers find it difficult to relate with Japanese teachers and assimilate into the system lies in the Japanese image of *sensei*. In Japan, the *sensei* is someone who always gives knowledge and never receives anything back from students. Cross-cultural contact between native teachers and Japanese *sensei* requires both give and take that Japanese teachers may be unaccustomed to or unwilling to accept. To paraphrase the participant, it is difficult for a Japanese *sensei* to deal with natives because they have forgotten that being a good teacher means putting yourself in the position of the student or the partner and learning from others.

Underlying both sets of problems introduced by the presenters and the participants is the question of what the native

teacher's role in the classroom and the school is. One participant asked this quite clearly, "What is our purpose here?" and another said, "What can we do to achieve our purpose?" It is clear that these two questions must be solved before culture friction disappears.

The purpose of the native teacher is an issue that needs to be considered by many people, from the Ministry of Education and English departments within each school to individual teachers — both Japanese and natives alike. However, to help ease the problems that do exist, some solutions can be attempted immediately by both Japanese and native teachers in their daily work.

There is no easy remedy for the variety of problems, but one possible solution is to place a go-between between the native teachers and Japanese teachers. This Japanese go-between does not need to become a baby-sitter for the native teachers, but he must help them in every possible way so that they can work smoothly at Japanese schools. This go-between is extremely important in that the native teachers do want someone with whom they can openly talk about their working conditions and personal problems related to their jobs.

Another possible solution is for both sides to try to become more socially involved with each other. This can mean something as small as exchanging greetings, talking to a neighbor, or sharing a cup of tea between classes. For the native teacher, this also means trying to learn enough Japanese to carry on a social conversation and to get information about upcoming school events. Much of a school's business is conducted through such informal encounters, and this is a good way to make friends, learn about what is happening at school, and ask questions. For the Japanese teacher, this means approaching the native teachers using English, Japanese, or a mixture of both. On a more formal level, the Japanese staff may want to conduct an orientation about the native teacher, his role in the school, and how to communicate with him before he

actually arrives. This kind of orientation would be especially useful for teachers outside the English department and would help develop cultural awareness among all staff members.

In conclusion both Japanese and native teachers should always try to pay close attention to each other's culture and working conditions, and try to reduce the perception gap by developing a cultural awareness of each other. The Japanese and native staff members do not necessarily need to forget that they are from different nations, but they must strongly realize that they are both colleagues working for the same school. Coupled with this is a strong need to define what the purpose or role for the native teacher within and outside the classroom is. The number of issues raised by both the presenters and participants in the "Culture Friction" workshop indicate that this issue needs to be confronted directly and that all people involved in the process have to have an ongoing forum for discussion and decisions on native teachers' problems and purposes.

**TELLING FAIRY STORIES
IN THE ELEMENTARY CLASSROOM**

Chris Royal-Dawson

In this report I establish some points about the value of story-telling, give a brief account of the activities I use to exemplify these points, and conclude by listing types of activity that can be done before and after telling stories.

Why Tell Stories?

There are four major arguments for teachers telling fairy stories to elementary students.

1. Telling stories has advantages over reading them aloud. Teachers have complete control of the language used, and can vary the speed with which they deliver the story according to the level of the class and their ability to understand. Teachers are free to watch the students for signs of incomprehension and can, if necessary, stop, backtrack, and reformulate. Because there is eye contact, there can be a greater sense of involvement in the story and the language used to tell it.

2. Fairy stories have advantages over other kinds of listening material. The genre is familiar to everybody; everybody can recall a time in childhood when things were very comfortable, and so they are reassuring to beginners who often find language learning traumatic. They deal with "big" themes which are common to all cultures: ambition, greed, causality, the chaos of untrained emotions, parental rejection, etc. They are also open to many levels of interpretation, and have one stylistic feature, repetition, which makes them accessible to students who are in the early stages of language learning.

3. Standard coursebook listening materials have limitations which the telling of fairy stories can remedy. Typically

the coursebook extracts are very short, and are governed by the authors' ideas of student needs which at the early stages may include survival in America, Britain, or other English-speaking countries. Consequently there is a heavy concentration on functions and grammar in the early chapters of coursebooks.

4. These survival functions and grammar, while necessary, are not sufficient for language learning. Together they may represent the minimum essentials for when we are trying to get things done, when we are participants in the everyday work of the world. But they do not cover the area of expressive language.

Expressive language is used when we are more concerned with our own experiences, when we disengage from trying to get things done, when we can sit back and reflect on our experiences and those of others. In this mode, we are not so much participants as spectators and commentators on life. We engage in gossip, reporting the day's events, expressing surprise, joy, and empathetic emotions. In the spectator-commentator role we, and our students, need the skills of narrative art forms of novels, poetry, films, plays, soap operas, *manga*, and story-telling.

Potential Problems and Some Solutions

1. Stories are considered too difficult for beginners to handle because they require long periods of listening – often up to ten minutes at a stretch. So the stories require preparation and they require suitable follow-up work (see Classroom Activities below).

2. Teachers might feel that standing in front of a class telling a story is a very risky business. Teachers should therefore prepare a story outline for themselves. In preparing the outline, teachers should not censor the stories, but should include all the apparently distasteful bits that have withstood the test of time. It is important to use the outline as a prompt sheet,

and not as a script, otherwise you will lose many of the advantages of story-telling. It is best to practise telling the story to yourself five or six times before telling it to a class; a cassette recorder can be a useful aid. The best stories are those that have the potential for a lot of mime and gesture, which are best practised in front of a mirror.

Session Activities

After establishing these points, outlines of "The Three Little Pigs" were handed out to one-half of the people present and outlines of "Lazy Jack" were handed out to the other half. Each member of the audience was asked to read the outline carefully with a view to telling the story to another member who was unfamiliar with it. Everyone then practised by muttering their story aloud to themselves at least three times to ensure a confident and interesting rendition. The participants were then arranged so that a "Little Pigs" teller was sitting next to a "Lazy Jack" teller. When the activity began, everybody was engrossed for the next ten minutes in making their stories entirely comprehensible to their partner.

Classroom Activities: Before the Story

For all stories it is advisable to pre-teach the vocabulary using drawings, mime, guessing games, and bingo.

Classroom Activities: After the Story

Activities which can follow up the stories include:

1. arranging pictures of events, or objects which appear in the story in the order in which they appeared.
2. writing key words (e.g. verbs) under the pictures which have already been put into order and then getting the students to tell each other the story.
3. matching halves of sentences to make whole sentences that describe one episode in the story.

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4. arranging eight sentences in correct order that briefly outline the story.
5. drawing eight (or more) pictures that illustrate the story; adding a sentence to go with each picture.
6. adding an extra episode to a story (e.g. "Goldilocks and the Four Bears").
7. making an alternative ending to the story.
8. arranging paragraphs of the printed version of the story in order.
9. students retelling the story at home into a tape recorder.

Conclusion

Throughout the presentation the importance of enjoyment in this kind of activity was stressed. I concluded by showing a video of the story "Tittymouse and Tattymouse" being told to a class of high school and junior high school students. In it the students were seen to be both responding to the story's meaning and enjoying it immensely.

The titles given below are good sources for stories to be used in class.

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PROJECT WORK IN THE EFL CLASSROOM

Desmond Thomas and Elizabeth Austin

Motivating students through class projects is now a well established approach in primary and secondary school teaching in Britain. Learning through project work is seen as helping to bridge the gap between classroom learning and the real world and as being highly motivating. Projects can involve the students in visiting museums, libraries, factories, and so on as part of their research. Working together, students are then able to present their findings, for example as wall charts or pamphlets, for others to see.

Such projects can be devised for subjects right across the curriculum. Indeed, project-style activities often deliberately break down the barriers that have been artificially created between one subject and another.

TEFL, too, is now beginning to respond to the challenge of helping students learn through project work. Innovative language schools in Britain are also using classroom projects to "bring the real world into the classroom" (e.g. Fried-Booth, 1986).

We believe that incorporating a project-based approach to learning can also benefit learners in EFL classrooms in Japan. At the same time, we realise that EFL classes in countries where English is not a first or second language, such as Japan, are faced with a whole series of constraints.

Elizabeth Austin has an M.Sc. in Applied Linguistics from the University of Edinburgh. She has worked in Italy and now works at the British Council, Kyoto.

Desmond Thomas has worked in Rio de Janeiro and in Kyoto with the British Council. He is studying for an M.A. in TESOL at the University of London, Institute of Education.

Constraints on Using Project Work in the Classroom

The most obvious constraint is that the world outside the classroom presents very limited opportunities for using English. Second, language courses usually have a very rigid syllabus; attempts to introduce classroom activities which are not specifically language-focused may meet with considerable resistance not only from school authorities, but, in the case of adult learners, from the students themselves. Third, private language schools, at least, are constrained by the fact that their students are busy people who can devote little time to English outside their few hours of class time per week. Last, teachers themselves will probably prefer to experiment with small-scale projects before they feel ready to undertake lengthier projects which will involve much more care and planning to set up and successfully carry off.

The answer to these problems we see as *mini-projects*. The appendix to this paper lists a series of such projects that teachers at our school have used. Most mini-projects involve the student in very little time-consuming research. The most common approach is simply to pool the students' existing knowledge, so the projects do not require an inordinate amount of teacher preparation time. In both process and product, however, these mini-projects remain distinct from other types of classroom activity.

The Product

Projects necessarily entail end products. Because of the focus on the end product, project work is unique among language-learning activities. Language-learning tasks generally involve a focus on language for its own sake; in contrast, classroom projects involve language use as a means to an end. Each project therefore, however hard or easy, will be putting the students' language proficiency to the test.

Getting to the Product: An Example

We identified five stages in project work.

Teacher Planning

The teacher should analyse the linguistic and extra-linguistic skills which the mini-project requires, and prepare the materials.

Initial Input

The most important consideration at this stage is to motivate the students to undertake the project. Input may be in terms of language and/or ideas. Such input may come through various channels: written texts, video, audio, or discussion; and from various sources: the students themselves, the teacher, or work by other students.

Student Takeover

We perceive this stage as a fundamental part of a classroom project as it encourages learner independence. At this stage the planning, research, collating of material, composing, practice, rehearsal, and production of rough drafts are all organised by the students. They make the decisions after discussion which may or may not be in English. The only thing a teacher does is to impose a time limit.

Outcome

This can take the form of a video, an audio recording, or a written text. It may be more ephemeral such as a class outing or a presentation.

Exploitation

It is important that there should be some form of exploitation; this can be in terms of linguistic feedback for the students. But the product should also have a purpose which is not solely pedagogic or linguistic. It should have an audience – either the students themselves or an outside audience.

Example: A Dramatised Picture Story

The students did this mini-project at a point in the syllabus

which required creative story telling. There were 12 students in the class which was at upper elementary level. The students were attending four hours of classes per week. The end product was to be a video recording of a sequence of pictures telling a story. The students were to write a narrative and record it. Four hours of class time were allocated to this project.

Teacher Planning

We chose this project because it involved the students in writing narrative. However, they also needed to embed dialogue in the narrative and to use areas of vocabulary specific to the chosen stories.

The teacher found picture cartoon sequences, drew in voice balloons, and made enlargements of them sufficient to fill a video screen. Two stories were chosen: *Aesop's Fable of the Donkey* (chosen because of its authenticity) and *Adventure at Sea* (chosen because of its dramatic potential); both came from Heaton (1966).

We decided not to teach students the use of the video camera. The students therefore only needed to build up confidence in speaking into the microphone. Groups also experimented with sound effects and background music.

Initial Input

In the first of the sessions, students did warm-up activities involving them re-ordering the elements of jumbled pictures from a "Peanuts" cartoon.

Then in groups of three, the students worked on providing a dialogue for the voice balloons for each of the two stories. Then the students wrote a detailed narrative for each picture. It was at this point that the teacher provided remedial work on reporting verbs and adverbs (e.g. *asked*, *called*, *shouted*, *complained*; *angrily*, *happily*, etc.) which could be used in the story.

Student Takeover

In the second two-hour session the students were given a time limit in which to accomplish the following tasks, which they had to manage themselves:

- redraft the story to include dialogue
- invent a title
- allocate reading parts
- rehearse until ready for recording

Outcome and Exploitation

The final product was a series of video stories which the class could watch and enjoy — and listen to their own voices speaking English. When the activity was repeated with another class, this video was used at the input stage.

Conclusion: The Benefits of Project Work

We believe that project work can benefit students at every level of proficiency, providing a stimulus to language learning in a whole variety of ways. It involves the students in "authentic" language use. It promotes learner independence, and builds up student confidence. It provides the students with a clear series of goals which are motivating and challenging. It applies and supplements classroom work, integrating different language skills as well as teaching organisational skills.

Our students were unanimous in saying that the project was both enjoyable and useful. They reported that being able to hear themselves speak in English was particularly valuable. They also commented favorably on enhanced "group-feeling" as a result of having worked together, and the fact that they could work at their own pace.

Some Examples of Project Work at Different Levels

Beginner/Elementary

1. Dramatised Picture Stories

The students write a narrative with dialogue for a cartoon

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story. A video recording can then be made, using the picture sequence and student voice-over.

2. Producing a Travel Brochure

Students prepare a foreign visitors' guide to their town, containing general information and a sightseeing schedule.

3. Recipe Book

A collection of favourite recipes and cooking hints, compiled by the class.

4. Student Magazine

Containing stories, puzzles, games, etc., all created by the students themselves.

Intermediate

1. Scripted Radio Play

Students learn how to prepare and deliver a script for a simulated broadcast of a radio play.

2. Restaurant Guide

A collection of critical reviews of favourite or unfavourite restaurants visited by the students.

3. News Programme

A TV or radio news programme based on authentic newspaper articles. Students select and present interesting items with 'live' interviews.

4. A Guide to Studying English

A brochure for fellow learners of English giving information and hints on how to study and practice English outside the classroom.

Advanced

1. TV Documentaries

Students learn how to put together and produce short TV films documenting some aspect of their daily life.

2. Science Fiction Journal

An anthology of the students' own creative writing inspired by selected readings from science fiction authors and classroom discussion.

3. Soap Operas

Students write and perform alternative endings for short plays or TV dramas and record them on audio tape.

4. Reading Projects

Students plan their own reading programme for the term, monitor their progress on a planner, compile short critical reviews of stories they have read for other students, and/or give short presentations to the class.

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BOOK REVIEWS

LEARNER ENGLISH: A TEACHER'S GUIDE TO INTERFERENCE AND OTHER PROBLEMS. Michael Swan and Bernard Smith (Eds.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987. 265 pp. ¥2,340.

In *Learner English* Swan and Smith have compiled descriptions of 19 different language groups — from familiar European languages, such as French, German, and Spanish, to some of the more exotic tongues of Africa, India, and the Far East. The stated purpose of this reference guide is to "help teachers to anticipate the characteristic difficulties of learners who speak particular mother tongues, and to understand how these difficulties arise" (p. ix).

The description of each language follows a standard format which first explains the geographical distribution of the language and then identifies its place on the family tree of languages (e.g., Indo-European, Bantu, Pali). Next, an analysis of the phonology is presented along with vowel and consonant charts. This analysis identifies those English sounds which are common to speakers of this tongue and those which are unfamiliar. A grammatical description follows as well as a general discussion of orthography and culture. In other words, *Learner English* is not a study of acquisition process as its title suggests but rather a compendium of contrastive analyses for language instructors to use in predicting learner errors and in developing strategies to solve them.

In analyzing the merit of Swan and Smith's guide, it is helpful to pause and examine the way contrastive analyses have traditionally been used within the linguistic community. Historically contrastive analyses were models developed by the structural grammarians who described language learning in behaviorist terms and language itself according to patterned arrangements: phonology (sound structure), morphology

(word structure), and syntax (sentence structure).

Structural linguists such as Bloomfield, Sapir, Hockett and Fries were among those who viewed language as an observable set of structures. They regarded language learning as the integration of different patterns of behavior, and contrastive analyses were blueprints for predicting areas of interference and levels of linguistic difficulty. "Those elements that are similar to the (learner's) native language will be simple for him, and those areas that are different will be difficult "(Lado, 1957, p. 2). "By comparing the structure (phonology, morphology, and syntax) of the student's native language with that of the language he is learning — the 'target' language — it is possible to predict many of the difficulties that will be encountered" (Croft, 1972, p. 3).

From this perspective, second language acquisition was viewed as the juxtaposition of two linguistic systems. This juxtaposition "led to intersystemic interference, which was seen as a barrier to successful language learning. Language-teaching syllabuses that derive from contrastive analysis of the native and target language systems, it was claimed, would allow such interference to be minimized" (Richards, 1985, p. 63). According to Swan and Smith's statement of purpose, reducing this interlanguage interference appears to be a primary concern of *Learner English*.

Research has, however, failed to support the structuralists' claims regarding contrastive analyses. The predictive ability of these analytical descriptions has not been proven; the premise that "different" is "difficult" appears to be false; and the utility of the data provided is questionable. Even proponents admit that organizing the linguistic information from a contrastive analysis and then transferring it into the classrooms involves more effort than can be reasonably expected from the normal language instructor.

If learning a second language were merely a process of forming automatic habits, as the behaviorists suggested, then

the idea of first language interference would certainly be an important concern. "Attentive teachers and researchers, however, notice that a great number of student errors could not possibly be traced to their native languages" (Dulay, Burt, & Krashen, 1982, p. 140). Spanish speakers, for example, should have no difficulty learning final *s* plural forms in English because their language contains similar linguistic patterns. Studies (Shaughnessy, 1977) have shown, however, that Spanish speakers often go through a stage in which the final *s* is dropped in plurals.

Critics point out that contrastive studies rarely capture the many types of difference that can exist between two languages. For instance, they rarely take into account dialect differences and this omission makes it difficult to judge whether the linguistic description in the contrastive analysis accurately portrays the dialect of individual learners (Corder, 1981). Furthermore, the basic assumption that degrees of difference correspond to levels of difficulty is itself problematic: "difference" and "difficulty" are not identical concepts and thus it is inappropriate to assume a direct correlation. "On the contrary, such an item (of difficulty) may be easier to learn than one which is only slightly different from a corresponding item in the mother tongue, since it is often very subtle differences that produce confusion and interference" (Littlewood, 1984, p. 19).

Critics also charge that guessing probable areas of difficulty seems to be a rather oblique approach to identifying learner weaknesses. Direct observation and interaction with students supply richer and more complete data for the instructor to use.

Thus if a first language has no final /ŋ/, as in *laughing*, it is a good guess that another nasal may be substituted, as in /'la:fɪŋ/. But this is not at all the same thing as seeing that it is substituted, and in what positions. If a language has no vowel sound close to that in *bet* or that in *bat*, but only a sound lying somewhere between the two, it is likely that /e/ will often be pronounced too open and /a/

too close. Yet it is surely more helpful to see what happens in practice, for other factors may be influential too, such as frequency of occurrence and the nature of the other first-language vowels. All such factors could perhaps, in forecasting error types, be taken into consideration, but the forecaster's task would be extremely complicated if they were. Study of the mistakes themselves seems to be a short cut. (Lee, 1965, p. 257)

The paradigm shift within the community of linguistic scholars which occurred during the 1960's (recounted in Brown, 1980, and Raimes, 1983) resulted in major changes in describing languages. Today, rather than examining language from the bottom up — starting from the minimal units of sound and building towards syntactic levels as the structuralists had done — newer models have taken syntactic features as their starting point. Thus, there has been a movement away from rigid interpretations of similar — yet superficial — surface features towards interpretation of the far more significant underlying linguistic relationships governing grammaticality. Research has begun to investigate universals which may allow the first language to exert a positive influence on second language development — just the opposite of the traditional structuralist view of interference (Eckman, 1984).

As these new paradigms of linguistic thought have developed, the influence of the structuralists has steadily declined. Interest in contrastive analyses has similarly declined. Many of the contrastive studies begun in the 1950's were completed by the mid-1960's only to be left unread and ignored.

The final question, then, is whether the information provided in Swan and Smith's *Learner English* holds much value within the current context of ESL/EFL language instruction? As a linguistic tool, I believe their work has very little relevance to what language teachers need to know in order to perform their jobs effectively. On the other hand, the information supplied by Swan and Smith is not harmful and may offer some general insights into reasons certain aspects of

language appear difficult for some learners and not to others. And, of course, for those who have only a superficial interest about a particular language, *Learner English* may be an informative piece of casual reading.

Reviewed by David Wardell

University Pittsburgh-ELI Japan Program, Tokyo

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ENGLISH IN MEDICINE: A COURSE IN COMMUNICATION SKILLS. Eric Glendinning and Beverly Holmstrom. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987. 158 pp. ¥1,780; cassette, ¥3,000.

English in Medicine is a new multi-skill course which aims at developing the English language skills required by medical personnel for successful communication in their work. It covers the main stages of medical communication, from initial case-taking through examination, investigation, and diagnosis, to medical and surgical treatment. The course includes recorded interviews and authentic documents and articles. It adopts a student-centred approach suitable both for classroom use (with a variety of pair work and role-play situations) and self-study (a tapescript and answer key are provided).

There are seven units in the book. Units 1 and 2 deal with taking a history; the others are concerned with examining a patient, special examinations, investigations, making a diagnosis, and treatment. Each unit is broken down into four parts: the first two contain language presentation and feature exercises in listening, note-taking, and role-play; the third section concentrates on reading skills, with authentic passages taken from case histories, medical articles, and reference indexes. The last section of each of units 1-6 deals with a case history, which serves to consolidate the language that has been studied.

English in Medicine is sub-titled "A Course in Communication Skills," and it is this that makes the book so different from the vast majority of other texts on medical English. The course is aimed at giving the student the grounding necessary to discuss investigations, diagnoses, and treatment with both the patient and English-speaking colleagues. It attempts to achieve this aim by providing several interesting and realistic situations which require the students' active participation. The length of most activities is good — long enough to provide depth, but short enough to be easy to handle in class.

In many cases Japanese doctors become familiar with the technical medical terms related to their particular speciality,

but remain unaware of expressions that laymen (which, of course, include most patients) are likely to use. Indeed, the native English-speaking patient would not understand the medical term — to choose a rather extreme example, how many native speakers would know that *cephalodynia* merely means a headache? In the tasks related to the dialogues, *English in Medicine* covers various ways a doctor might ask patients for medical details of their condition using non-technical language, for example, "Any problems with your waterworks?" (p. 6).

In addition to conversations between doctor and patient, there is practice at giving instructions for movements (e.g. that a neurologist or physiotherapist may require a patient to perform). In the listening tasks, such exercises are frequently accompanied by simple diagrams (pp. 29-31, 80), but the fact that the diagrams are not in sequential order forces the student to focus on the key language.

As well as comprehension exercises involving various extracts from medical journals, *English in Medicine* includes exercises aimed at giving the student practice at locating appropriate journals and research papers. The value of this type of task is easy to overlook, but it is actually a very important skill; the inclusion of such exercises is typical of the thoroughness with which this book has been prepared.

Besides practice with the language necessary for conversations and information retrieval, there is extensive practice using hospital forms, which includes the use of the many abbreviations occurring in medical English — something that is valuable but often overlooked. (A long list of common medical abbreviations appears in an appendix.) There are numerous examples of forms which doctors would need to complete during routine examinations, together with practice at the questions the physician would have to ask in order to elicit that information. Examples are given of forms containing the results of laboratory examinations, such as those carried by a haematology laboratory (p. 57). The student is required to identify results outside the normal range and is expected to be able to describe significant results. For example, from a

completed clinical chemistry test form, the student may need to deduce that "blood urea is abnormally high" (p. 58).

A case history (of one "William Hudson") closes each unit as a way to reinforce material already presented, but the fact that the one case history runs throughout the book in chronological order (from admission to discharge) helps to link the book together and sustain student interest.

The tape accompanying the book is quite natural, and includes the pauses, hesitations, false starts and switches in mid-sentence which would be found in real-life situations; there is also a wide range of local dialects (spoken naturally). A tapescript and answer key are included at the back of the book in order to facilitate self-study.

The authors state that the book is an intermediate level course. In the Japanese context, though, it is probably most appropriate for upper-intermediate or advanced students. The course is particularly aimed at those students wishing to carry out professional medical activities in an English-speaking environment. For this reason, the level of the book is probably a little too high for most Japanese medical school students taking English as one of their foundation courses. Due to the lack of emphasis on oral English in Japanese high schools and the resultant weakness in the spoken language, dialogues in *English in Medicine* could prove rather difficult. Although one aim of a medical English course would be to enable students to read research papers in English, the introduction of such advanced materials at an early stage could be discouraging for the student; it might be better first to concentrate on teaching the various prefixes, suffixes and combining forms which provide the basis for so many medical terms, and then to consolidate this with readings of medical articles at an appropriate language level. (English medical terminology is widely used in Japan, and such knowledge would be advantageous to nurses as well as doctors.) Nevertheless, *English in Medicine* does contain material which could be used at an elementary level, and could be an excellent resource book for the instructor.

As stated previously, *English in Medicine* is primarily aimed

at those in the medical profession hoping to carry out professional activities in an English-speaking environment. Many Japanese doctors wish to do this, particularly in the United States (although *English in Medicine* concentrates on British English, this is not something that detracts from the usefulness of the book for these students; in fact, some examples of American English are included). Although it is becoming increasingly hard to do, such doctors frequently wish to pursue clinical studies in the U.S. Before being allowed to do so, however, they are required to take two examinations, one relating directly to medicine and one to the use of English (specifically, the more conversational type of English necessary when dealing with patients). Many Japanese are able to pass the purely medical examination, but fail the English one. *English in Medicine*, with its emphasis on communication skills, would be an excellent textbook for these motivated students.

In conclusion, it must be reiterated that *English in Medicine* differs from most books in the field because of its emphasis on communication skills. It was developed by authors with extensive experience in the teaching of medical English, and produced in close co-operation with medical experts. It is immediately obvious that the material in the book is highly appropriate and that a great deal of thought and care was involved in the compilation of the course. In the Japanese context, it is necessary to consider carefully the precise needs and abilities of the class for whom the book is being considered; for some, *English in Medicine* may be most useful as extra resource material, but for those Japanese in the medical field hoping to perform professional activities in an English-speaking environment, *English in Medicine* has a very high potential.

Reviewed by Brian Harrison

St. Marianna University School of Medicine, Kawasaki

INFORMATION FOR CONTRIBUTORS

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In particular, the editors encourage submissions which examine issues of research and practice within the Japanese context, although articles of interest to an international audience are always appreciated. The editors also invite the contribution of short articles, book reviews of an extended nature, as well as commentary on material that has appeared in previous issues of the *Journal*.

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tions should be placed in the body of the text in parentheses with the author's last name, date of the work cited, and page numbers. Footnotes for substantive information should be minimized. Authors are responsible for complete and correct information in the reference list and block quotations.

Manuscripts are subject to blind review by two readers. The author's name, and footnotes that identify the author, should appear on the cover sheet only.

Submit three copies of the manuscript, an abstract of less than 200 words, a running head title of about 5 words, and a biographical sketch of not more than 50 words. Wherever possible, the editors would be pleased to receive Japanese translations of the abstracts.

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