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Articles

Research Forum

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Reviews

全国語学教育学会

JALT Journal

Japan Association for Language Teaching
A Nonprofit Organization

The Japan Association for Language Teaching (JALT) is a nonprofit professional organization dedicated to the improvement of language teaching and learning in Japan. It provides a forum for the exchange of new ideas and techniques and a means of keeping informed about developments in the rapidly changing field of second and foreign language education. Established in 1976, JALT serves an international membership of more than 3,500 language teachers. There are 39 JALT chapters in Japan, one affiliate chapter, 13 Special Interest Groups (SIGs), three affiliate SIGs, and three forming SIGs. JALT is the Japan affiliate of International TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages) and is a branch of IATEFL (International Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language).

JALT publishes *JALT Journal,* a semiannual research journal; *The Language Teacher*, a monthly magazine containing articles, teaching activities, reviews, and announcements about professional concerns; and *JALT International Conference Proceedings*.

The JALT International Conference on Language Teaching and Learning and Educational Materials Exposition attracts some 2,000 participants annually and offers over 300 papers, workshops, colloquia, and poster sessions. Local meetings are held by each JALT chapter and JALT's SIGs provide information on specific concerns. JALT also sponsors special events such as workshops and conferences on specific themes, and awards annual grants for research projects related to language teaching and learning.

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In This Issue

Articles

Leading off the main section is a research report by **Takeo Tanaka** on grammar teaching in the Japanese EFL situation and the positive learning outcomes achieved by combining production and comprehension practice of target grammar structures. The article makes pedagogical recommendations for an often-neglected aspect of grammar instruction. This is followed by three articles investigating aspects of EFL instruction in Japan. **Anthony Crooks** addresses professional development for EFL teachers at the secondary school level in his discussion of the Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) Program, suggesting that both the native English speaking Assistant English Teachers (AETs) and the Japanese Teachers of English (JTEs) need considerable preparation for communicative language teaching and more in-service support if they are to fulfil the goals set by the Monbusho. **Yuzo Kimura**, **Yoshiyuki Nakata** and **Tomomi Okumura** follow with a survey analysis of English language learning motivation in junior high school, high school, junior college and university students. The authors identify six motivational factors and conclude that motivation in the Japanese EFL situation is complex and varies across instructional situations. Next, **Hiroko Matsuura**, **Reiko Chiba** and **Paul Hilderbrandt** use a survey to compare Japanese university EFL learner and teacher beliefs about learning and teaching communicative English. They note that while the teachers surveyed preferred newer, learner-centered methods that aim to develop fluency, many students preferred traditional types of instruction, including lectures, translation, and pronunciation lessons. The final paper, by **Lynne Hansen** and **Yung-Lin Chen**, compares second language acquisition and attrition sequences of numeral classifiers in Japanese and Chinese from the perspectives of markedness theory, frequency and the regression hypothesis. Their data supports the suggestion that language attrition oc-

curs in reverse order to the acquisition process; thus, the last learned is the first forgotten and the first learned is retained the longest.

Research Forum

In this section a qualitative investigation by **V. Michael Cribb** examines the unplanned target language discourse of four Korean non-native speakers of English and identifies miscues that lead to a lack of coherence.

Perspectives

Using a Vygotskian perspective, **Tim Murphey** presents action research examining the development of metacognitive analytical ability in advanced Japanese EFL learners taking a course on second language acquisition. Using the concept of "critical collaborative autonomy," he suggests students can achieve more through dialogue with other learners than they can through independent study.
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Reviews

Topics addressed in book reviews by **Jonathan Picken**, **Robert Mahon**, **Darren P. Bologna**, **Marshall R. Childs**, **John Katunich** and **David P. Shea** include research on metaphor use, a collection of papers presented at the 1998 RELC conference in Singapore, an intermediate reading text, a history of languages, and the history and evolution of English writing.

From the Editors

With this issue we welcome **Brad Visgatis** to the *JALT Journal* Editorial Advisory Board and thank departing Board members **Thomas Hardy** and **Peter Robinson** for their years of service.

Conference News

The 27th JALT Annual International Conference on Language Teaching/Learning and Educational Materials Exposition will be held on November 22-25, 2001, in Kitakyushu, Japan. The conference theme is *2001: A Language Odyssey*. Contact the JALT Central Office or the JALT website at <www.jalt.org> for information.

Editorial Transition

This is my final issue as editor and I feel very privileged to have brought the *JALT Journal* into the 21st Century and to have been associated with the extremely capable Editorial Board members, co-editors and staff, and hard-working and cooperative authors. To all of you my deepest thanks! From now the new *JALT Journal* editor, **Nicholas O. Jungheim**, will receive manuscripts submitted to the main section of the journal, to Research Forum, and to Point to Point. **Donna Tatsuki**, the new Associate Editor, will receive Perspectives submissions, and **Sayoko Yamashita**, the new Japanese-language Editor, will receive Japanese-language submissions.

Articles

Comprehension and Production Practice in Grammar Instruction: Does Their Combined Use Facilitate Second Language Acquisition?

Takeo Tanaka
Yamanashi University

Grammar instruction usually consists of explanation, feedback, and practice. Recent studies (e.g., Dekeyser & Sokalski, 1996; Ellis, 1993, 1995; VanPatten & Cadierno, 1993) focus on the relative effectiveness of comprehension and production practice in grammar instruction yet tend to treat the two forms of practice as mutually exclusive. Previous studies on input and output processing in second language acquisition, however, indicate that comprehension and production practice each play unique roles in the development of knowledge, promoting accurate and fluent language use. Suggesting that the two forms of practice can be complementary, this study examines the effects of combining comprehension and production practice in grammar instruction and considers the role of practice in second language acquisition.

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Studies on the role of grammar instruction in second language acquisition have generally investigated whether specific grammatical structures can be acquired through formal instruction (e.g., Pica, 1983; White, Spada, Lightbown, & Ranta, 1991) yet, as some researchers have pointed out (e.g., Ellis, 1997; Spada, 1997), many of these studies have not examined the instructional procedures used. Increasingly, however, the focus of research is shifting to investigation of what methods

of instruction yield significant effects (e.g., Doughty, 1991; Fotos, 1994).

This article focuses on the role of practice in grammar instruction. It reports on the results of several recent studies (Salaberry, 1997; VanPatten & Cadierno, 1993) which compare the relative effectiveness of comprehension-based and production-based grammar instruction, noting that these studies have treated comprehension and production practice as disparate means for learning. However, this paper suggests that the two forms of practice can play complementary roles in promoting the acquisition of grammatical structures and presents an empirical study on the effects of combined practice in grammar learning.

Comprehension Practice Versus Production Practice in Grammar Instruction

There is general agreement among theorists that, for second language acquisition to take place, learners must receive comprehensible input in the target language (Ellis, 1985; Gass, 1988; Krashen, 1982). In addition, Schmidt (1990) suggests that second language acquisition is facilitated not only by understanding the meaning of the input, but also by noticing specific structures while processing the input. Although these theories recognize the importance of input-based instruction for grammar learning, it has been pointed out that many current textbooks and grammar instruction materials employ only production practice for grammar instruction (Ellis, 1993, 1995; VanPatten & Cadierno, 1993). Ellis (1993) considers this tendency problematic for several reasons. First, according to Pienemann's learnability hypothesis (Pienemann, 1985) asking learners to produce target structures they are not developmentally ready to produce may hinder their successful acquisition of the forms. Furthermore, requiring learners to produce target structures they find difficult may arouse their anxiety, thus blocking acquisition (Krashen, 1982).

Comprehension practice has therefore been advanced as an alternative to the production practice traditionally utilized in grammar instruction. In comprehension practice learners focus their attention on a target structure while processing input. Such practice does not require the learners' production of the target structure following the grammar explanation. Rather, they read or listen to a text containing specific target structures and indicate their understanding of it. Such comprehension-based instruction is thought to circumvent both the learnability problem and anxiety that might impede acquisition (Ellis, 1993, 1995; VanPatten & Cadierno, 1993).

Several recent studies provide evidence for the advantage of instruc-

tion utilizing comprehension practice. For example, VanPatten and Cadierno (1993) compared the effect of comprehension-based instruction with that of production-based instruction for 129 university learners of Spanish. The comprehension-based instruction group was given an explanation of Spanish object clitic pronouns followed by comprehension practice. The production-based instruction group received the same explanation followed by production practice. Both groups received a comprehension test and a production test in pretest and posttest format. The results of the first posttest given immediately after instruction showed that the comprehension-based instruction group gained on both comprehension and production test scores, whereas the production-based instruction group only gained on the production test, not on the comprehension test. The second posttest conducted one month later produced the same results. The authors therefore suggested that comprehension practice in grammar instruction can lead to more effective learning.

Cadierno (1995) and Cheng (1995) conducted similar studies directed at the acquisition of the Spanish past tense and the durative and punctual aspects respectively. Their results confirmed VanPatten and Cadierno's results showing that comprehension-based instruction was more beneficial than production-based instruction. VanPatten and his associates' studies thus indicated that comprehension-based grammar instruction should replace traditional production-based instruction in grammar classrooms (Cadierno, 1995; Ellis 1993, 1995; VanPatten & Cadierno, 1993).

Other studies, however, obtained results contrary to those of VanPatten and his associates. Salaberry (1997) replicated VanPatten and Cadierno's 1993 study but failed to show an advantage for instruction using comprehension practice. In order to examine the acquisition of Spanish clitic pronouns by 26 university students, the study administered a written comprehension test, a written production test, and a free-writing narration test. Both the production-based instruction and the comprehension-based instruction groups showed similar improvement on the comprehension test, but neither group showed a gain on the production test or on the free narrative test. Dekeyser and Sokalski's (1996) study, which replicated Dekeyser's (1996) pilot study focusing on the clitic pronouns and the conditional in Spanish, also found no advantage for comprehension-based instruction.

Consequently, although studies have sought to investigate the effects of comprehension and production practice on the acquisition of different grammatical structures, it remains unclear which of these two forms of practice is more effective. One problem with the studies dis-

cussed above is that they treat comprehension and production practice as mutually exclusive. Speculating that the two forms of practice play different roles in developing learners' grammatical knowledge, it can be suggested that both types of practice are necessary and can play complementary roles in grammar instruction.

The Roles of Practice in Grammar Instruction

Before a closer examination of the roles that comprehension and production practice can play in the process of second language acquisition, it is necessary to briefly consider the current role of practice in grammar instruction.

Types of Practice

Practice in grammar instruction can be carried out in two general ways. There is practice that aims to consolidate the learning of grammatical rules, often called **controlled practice** (Ellis, 1991), and there is practice that requires learners to fully employ the grammar rules in a communicative situation, this called **free practice** (Ellis, 1991; Littlewood, 1981; Rivers, 1983). Controlled practice focuses on the use of specific grammatical structures to perform tasks whereas free practice is geared primarily to having learners communicate as best they can with the knowledge they currently possess rather than to deliberately use targeted language structures.

The present study focuses on controlled practice, practice which explicitly targets a specific structure. Controlled practice can be divided into three types, **mechanical, meaningful** and **communicative**, according to the degree of control the learners have over the response (Paulston, 1971) and the nature of cognitive processes during practice (Dekeyser, 1998; Yamaoka, 1992). Repetition, substitution, or transformation of target structures fall under mechanical practice. In this type of practice the learners can perform a task without linking the structure and its meaning since they do not have to understand what they are saying to complete the task. In contrast, meaningful practice requires the learners to attend to meaning, although the interlocutor already knows the response. In communicative practice the learners must manage content unknown to the interlocutor. For example, in order to communicatively practice the past tense of verbs, students are asked to use target verbs to describe what they did or did not do over the weekend (e.g., given the verb "play," the students make sentences such as "I played tennis with my friends on Sunday" or " I did

not play tennis on Sunday."). Practice is thus controlled because it focuses on the use of a specific structure but it is also meaningful because it requires the students to use the structure to express meaning. The purpose of this type of practice is to develop the learners' ability to synthesize the parts of language. However, both meaningful and communicative practice require the learners to link a form to its meaning to complete the task and are thought to develop the learners' ability to use a language for real communication (Dekeyser, 1998). In this paper the term "practice" therefore refers to meaningful or communicative controlled practice.

How Practice Promotes
Second Language Acquisition

Arguments have been made regarding the role of grammar instruction in second language acquisition and whether or not "learned" knowledge gained during instruction can become "acquired" knowledge necessary for using a language for communication (Bialystock, 1981; Krashen, 1985; McLaughlin, 1978; Seliger, 1979). Although it is difficult to draw firm conclusions, the evidence available from research suggests that learned knowledge may be acquired if learners are ready to incorporate grammatical rules into their interlanguage systems (Ellis, 1997; Pienemann, 1985). Moreover, it is has also been suggested that practice is a means whereby learned knowledge is transformed into acquired knowledge (Bialystock, 1981; McLaughlin, 1987; McLaughlin, Rossman & McLeod, 1983; Sharwood Smith, 1981). However, it has yet to be clarified precisely how practice functions in the development of acquired knowledge.

In order to obtain some insight into the roles of comprehension and production practice let us consider a mental representation of the learners' knowledge. Bialystock and Sharwood Smith (1985) suggest that second language acquisition can be viewed in terms of control and knowledge. Control refers to how existing knowledge is utilized during actual performance and knowledge refers to how the language system is represented in long-term storage. This concept of control is similar to the concept of language processing proposed by Shiffrin and Schneider (1977) and McLaughlin, et al. (1983). According to their view, learning a language is a progression from limited and controlled processing of information requiring much cognitive effort to automatic processing with little effort in handling a lot of information simultaneously.

It is not controversial that repeated practice facilitates automatiza-

tion of information processing (Dekeyser, 1996; McLaughlin, et al., 1983). Comprehension practice develops the learners' ability to comprehend the meaning of a spoken or written passage, establishing form-meaning connections of target structures in the input (VanPatten & Cadierno, 1993; Terrell, 1991), whereas production practice develops the learners' ability to formulate a message and convey it in spoken or written form. Form-meaning connections of target structures are reinforced in producing language and learners gain faster access to the structure (de Bot, 1996; Swain, 1995; Terrell, 1991). Thus both comprehension and production practice function to automatize the receptive and productive language processing. Automatization is believed to reduce the cognitive load imposed on working memory and to facilitate ongoing language comprehension and production (VanPatten, 1987).

Another aspect concerns the development of knowledge. Here second language acquisition is viewed as knowledge construction in terms of quantity and quality. The "quantity" of knowledge refers to how much the learners know about the language system and the "quality" of knowledge refers to how the learners have organized the system in their minds. A substantial body of research indicates that comprehension and production practice may serve independent but significant roles in the construction of the learners' knowledge system. In comprehension practice, the learners notice the form and function of a specific structure (see Schmidt, 1990) and compare the noticed structure with their existing knowledge (Faerch & Kasper, 1986; Schmidt & Frota, 1986; Skehan, 1998). It is thought that in doing so, the learners integrate the structure into their own interlanguage systems (McLaughlin, 1990; Skehan, 1998). During production practice, the learners perceive a gap in what they want to say and what they are able to say, resulting in increased awareness of those structures so that they are noticed in subsequent input (de Bot, 1996; Swain, 1993, 1995). Through production practice, learners can also test out their knowledge of the target language when they receive feedback from interlocutors. During this process they may also restructure their existing interlanguage systems (de Bot, 1996; Swain, 1985, 1993, 1995). Furthermore, it has been suggested that the learners' own output may serve as additional input (Sharwood Smith, 1981).

The automatization of information processing can thus be achieved through practice. Gradually learners gain the capacity to deal with new information, thereby increasing their quantity and quality of knowledge. If second language acquisition involves the development of these two mental mechanisms (i.e., the automatization of information pro-

cessing and the construction of knowledge), then it appears that both comprehension practice and production practice are important in grammar learning and each has a unique role to play.

The Present Study

If it is true that each form of practice serves a unique role, then it can be suggested that comprehension and production practice complement each other in the development of learners' interlanguage systems. The effects of comprehension practice can be reinforced by production practice and vice versa. It should be noted, however, that there have been few attempts to confirm the effectiveness of combining the two forms of practice for grammar learning (Ellis, 1998). What effects, if any, are gained? The question is intriguing and important.

In a preliminary study Tanaka (1999) investigated whether combining the two forms of practice would yield better results in a study of relative clause sentences in both written and spoken modes. Relative clause sentences are characterized by a complex syntactic structure that includes the relationship between the relative clause and its matrix sentence (O'Grady, 1997). The subjects of the experiment were Japanese EFL (English as a foreign language) students from a high school and a junior college. They were divided into three groups according to the type of practice they received after an explanation of the target grammar structure. One group was given comprehension practice, another group was given production practice, and the third group was given a combination of comprehension and production practice. The results of this preliminary study indicated that combining comprehension and production practice led to more effective grammar learning and that the effect was sustained over time for both written and spoken modes of practice.

In the current study a less complex syntactic structure was targeted to see if similar results would be obtained.

Research Questions

The present study follows Tanaka's earlier study (1999) in order to further investigate the effects of combined production and comprehension practice. As before, two research questions were considered:

(1) Does a combination of comprehension practice and production practice bring about better learning than their separate use by a sample of Japanese junior college EFL learners?

(2) If so, are these results maintained over time?

Method

Subjects

The initial 130 subjects in this study were drawn from four intact classes taught by the researcher in the English language department of a private junior college in Osaka, Japan. The subjects were Japanese first and second year English majors enrolled in weekly ninety-minute classes that focused on developing their English communication skills. They were mostly female (male to female: 10:120) ranging in age from 18 to 20. Since the students had had to pass the school's entrance examination, including an English proficiency test, it is suggested that they were quite homogeneous in terms of their English proficiency. The mean TOEIC score for the school was 319.4 points. The number of subjects was reduced to 65 by omitting those who scored 90% and above on the pretest and those who did not take one of the treatments or tests.

The subjects were divided into four groups according to the type of practice given (see Figure 3): The first group (Prod-Group: n = 15) was given production practice only. The second group (Comp-Group: n = 22) was given comprehension practice only. The third group (Mixed-Group: n = 15) was given both comprehension and production practice. The fourth group (Control-Group: n = 13) was not given any form of practice.

A listening test developed by the researcher (see Appendix 1) was administered to compare the general English aural proficiency levels of the four groups prior to instruction. The listening test required the subjects to answer 12 tape-recorded questions. The results of the test are shown in Table 1. The Levene homogeneity of variance test revealed that there was equal variance among the listening test scores of the four groups (The Levene statistic is .071, p = .98), thus the four groups were considered equivalent in their initial English proficiency.

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics for the Listening Test

	N	Means	SD	Range
Comp-Group	22	5.59	1.76	3-9
Prod-Group	15	5.93	1.98	3-9
Mixed-Group	15	5.87	2.03	2-9
Control-Group	13	6.69	1.97	2-9
Total	65	5.95	1.92	2-9

Note: Maximum score = 12

Target Structure

Psychological verbs in English indicate an affective state. Examples of this type of verb include ***like, bore,*** and ***worry.*** It has been suggested that such verbs constitute psychological predicate constructions which are problematic for English language learners (Burt, 1975). Psychological verbs have been divided into two types according to the nature of their syntactic structure (Belletti & Rizzi, 1988). As shown in Figure 1-(1), the first type of verb is referred to as the "Fear type." Here the subject of the sentence, ***people***, functions as the experiencer of the psychological verb ***like***, and its object, ***dogs***, functions as the theme of the sentence. The second type of psychological verb, shown in Figure 1-(2), is referred to as the "Worry type." Here the subject of the sentence, ***people***, functions as the theme and the object, ***dogs***, functions as the experiencer of the verb ***disgust***.

Figure 1: Types of Psychological Verbs

(1) The Fear Type	(2) The Worry Type
People like dogs.	*People disgust dogs.*
[experiencer theme]	[theme experiencer]

The word order of the Fear type is considered less marked in English (e.g., ***like, enjoy, want***), while that of the Worry type (e.g., ***disgust, depress, frighten***) is considered more marked and problematic (see Ellis, 1997). Learners are likely to overgeneralize the Fear-type pattern, thus mistaking Worry-type sentences as Fear-type sentences. For example, the meaning of the sentence ***People disgust dogs*** is often mistaken as ***Dogs make people disgusted*** by learners of English.

In order to comprehend or produce psychological verbs correctly, learners need to understand that psychological verbs are divided into two types according to the word order of the sentence and then must correctly identify the verb type. An unpublished pilot study conducted with different subjects (***n*** = 68) suggested that it is difficult for Japanese EFL learners to comprehend sentences that include psychological verbs so it was determined psychological verbs would be an appropriate target structure for measuring the effectiveness of practice.

Procedures and Materials

The experiment included a pretest followed a week later by grammar instruction consisting of explanation and the different practice regimes. In order to examine the effectiveness of practice, two posttests were given after the instruction. Posttest 1 was conducted a week after the instruction and posttest 2 one month after the instruction.

Pretest/Posttests

Natural communication requires the learners' psycholinguistic ability to comprehend and produce the target language accurately and fluently. In order to measure this ability, it is important to employ meaning-focused tasks that demand the subjects' full attention to the message while processing the language accurately in a limited time (Ellis, 1997).

The subjects received both aural comprehension tests and verbal production tests. Each test consisted of ten questions including four Fear-type verbs and six Worry-type verbs for a maximum possible score of ten (see Figure 2 for the test sentences and Appendices 2 and 3 for the drawings corresponding to these sentences). The 6-4 split in test items was made because an earlier unpublished pilot study indicated that Japanese EFL students had more difficulty in identifying the experiencer of the Worry-type sentences than the Fear-type. Thus, the tests were designed to be a little more challenging to the subjects. Figure 2 shows the test sentences. The underlined numbers indicate Worry type sentences.

Figure 2: Test Sentences

Comprehension Test	Production Test
1. Nancy respects Mike.	<u>1.</u> Tom bothers Mary.
2. Mike hates Bob.	2. Tom envies Kate.
<u>3.</u> Mark surprises Kathy.	<u>3.</u> Kathy worries David.
<u>4.</u> David embarrasses Jane.	<u>4.</u> Jane excites Ken.
5. Janet doubts Brian.	5. Brian suspects Kate.
<u>6.</u> Brian scares Akiko.	<u>6.</u> Ken frightens Janet.
<u>7.</u> Mike interests Kate.	<u>7.</u> Kate irritates John.
8. Mary likes Ken.	8. Ken loves Janet.
<u>9.</u> John pleases Emi.	9. Tom misses Kate.
<u>10.</u> Bob disappoints Mary.	<u>10.</u> Jane disgusts David.

For the aural comprehension tests, the subjects listened to tape-recorded sentences and demonstrated their comprehension of each sentence by selecting one of four drawings that best corresponded to the sentence (shown in Appendix 2). Each question took about 15 seconds. The production tests required the subjects to verbally describe a drawing using terms from the list of English words supplied (shown in Appendix 3). Their utterances were recorded on tape and six seconds were allowed for each recording. This time limit was determined by a preliminary investigation of the instrument using four native speakers of English who took the comprehension and production tests. The mean time spent for each test item was calculated and the native English speakers were also asked to confirm the authenticity of the sentences and drawings. Another unpublished pilot study was conducted using five students who were not included in the current study in order to examine the difficulty of the comprehension and production tests and the appropriateness of the time limits. As a result some test items were modified.

Each of the pretests and posttests was presented using the same vocabulary and drawings but these were arranged in a different order. Cronbach's alpha statistics calculated for the comprehension and production pretests were .69 and .66 respectively. Despite the small number of subjects (*n* = 65) and test items (10 for each test) in this study, it was felt that the tests were reliable.

Prod-Group	Comp-Group	Mixed-Group	Control-Group

1 week before instruction

Pretest (Comprehension Test + Production Test)

Grammar Explanation	Grammar Explanation	Grammar Explanation	Grammar Explanation
Production Practice		Production Practice	
Production Practice			

1 week after instruction

1 month after instruction

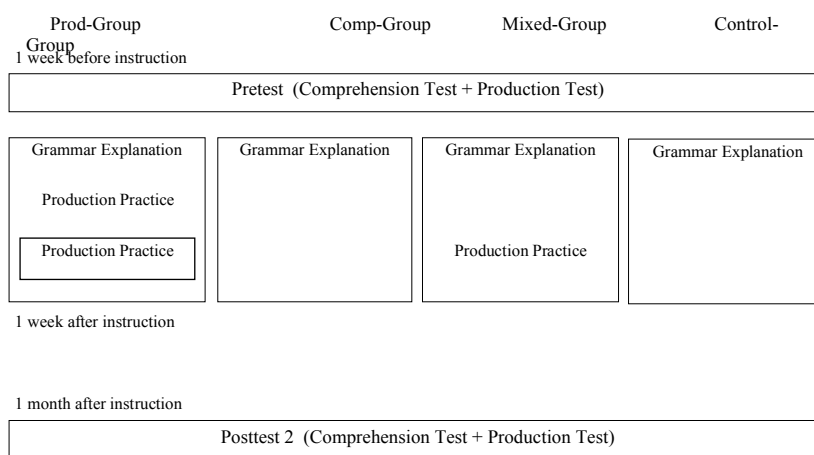| Posttest 2 (Comprehension Test + Production Test) |
|---|

Figure 3: Procedure of the Present Study

Grammar Instruction

The three experimental groups (Prod-Group, Comp-Group, and Mixed-Group) received the same grammar instruction consisting of an explanation of the target structure. This was followed by practice. However, the control group received the explanation only. The grammar instruction consisted of the following activities. First the students were given handouts explaining the two types of the psychological verb (i.e., the Fear type and the Worry type). The teacher/researcher explained that the experiencer precedes the verb in the Fear-type sentence (e.g., **People like dogs**). Then students read the list of the Fear-type verbs (doubt, love, respect, miss, envy, hate, suspect, like), checking that they understood their meanings. Next the teacher explained that the experiencer followed the verb in the Worry-type sentence (e.g., **People disgust dogs**), and the students read the list of these verbs (embarrass, scare, bother, please, frighten, surprise, interest, disappoint, excite, disgust, worry) again checking their meanings. After the grammar explanation, the three treatment groups were given practice consisting of 40 questions using both types of psychological verbs. This practice was identical in format to the pretest and posttests sentences given in Figure 2 (also see Appendices 2 and 3).

There were two types of practice, comprehension practice and production practice. The members of the Comp-Group were given comprehension practice only. This consisted of listening to 40 audio-taped questions (see Appendices 2 and 3), each of which included a psychological verb. The subjects had to demonstrate their comprehension by selecting the one of four drawings best corresponding to the recorded sentence. The members of the Prod-Group were given production practice only. This consisted of 40 drawings which the subjects were required to describe using the vocabulary from the supplied English words. The subjects of the Mixed-Group were given 20 questions from the comprehension practice items and 20 questions from the production practice items. The three groups thus received the same amount of practice, although the Mixed-Group received only half the production practice of the Prod-Group and half of the comprehension practice of the Comp-Group. After each question was completed the correct answers and brief explanations were given to the subjects.

Hypotheses

As in Tanaka's previous study (1999), two hypotheses were proposed:
Hypothesis 1: The Mixed-Group, which was given only half

the amount of comprehension practice as the Comp-Group, will show gains in the comprehension test scores of posttest1 equal to or better than Comp-Group, and the Mixed-Group's gains will be sustained in posttest 2.

Hypothesis 2: The Mixed-Group, which was given only half the amount of production practice as the Prod-Group, will show gains in the production test scores of posttest 1 equal to or better than Prod-Group, and the Mixed-Group's gains will be sustained in posttest 2.

Statistical Analyses

The statistical analyses for this study were performed with a commercially available statistical package (***SPSS 10.0*** for Windows, 1999). Since testing the homogeneity of variances of the data with the Levene test revealed that the groups being analyzed did not have equal variances, the test scores were then submitted to the Kruskal-Wallis test and the Friedman test. In all cases, there were two variables. One was the group type (four levels: Comp-Group, Prod-Group, Mixed-Group, and Control-Group) in which mean scores being compared were all independent. The other variable was the test type (three levels: pretest, posttest 1, and posttest 2) in which the mean scores were all dependent. In order to examine the two hypotheses above, the scores on the comprehension tests were analyzed using three Kruskal-Wallis tests and four Friedman tests. The Kruskal-Wallis tests were used to test the null hypothesis that there would be no significant differences among the mean scores of the four groups. The Friedman tests were used to test the null hypotheses that there were no significant differences among the mean scores of the three tests. Bonferroni tests were used for post hoc testing. Likewise, the scores on the production tests were subjected to three Kruskal-Wallis tests, four Friedman tests, and then the Bonferroni post hoc test. The significance level was set at .05.

Results

The mean scores and the standard deviations for both comprehension and production tests are presented in Table 2. The results of the comprehension tests and production tests are shown below in Figures 4 and 5 respectively. Kruskal-Wallis tests were performed on the comprehension test scores of pretests and posttests 1 and 2 in order to determine whether there were any statistically significant differences among the means of the four groups. There was no significant difference among the four groups' means on the pretest (x^2 = 2.29, ***df*** = 3, ***p***

> .05), but there were significant differences among means for both posttests 1 and 2 (respectively, ^{2}= 11.65, *df* = 3, *p* < .01; ^{2}= 10.31, *df* = 3, *p* < .05). Bonferroni post hoc tests (the significance level was set at .0125) revealed that for posttest 1 significant differences were detected for the pairs of Control-Group vs. Prod-Group and Control-Group vs. Comp-Group. For posttest 2, significant differences were reported for the pairs of Control-Group vs. Prod-Group and Control-Group vs. Comp-Group.

Friedman tests were performed on the comprehension test scores of the four groups in order to determine whether there were any statistically significant differences among the means in the three tests. There were significant differences among the three tests' mean scores for Prod-Group, Comp-Group, and Mixed-Group (respectively, ^{2}= 15.75, *df* = 2, *p* < .01; ^{2} = 26.84, *df* = 2, *p* < .01; ^{2}= 12.04, *df* = 2, *p* < .01), but no significant difference for Control-Group (^{2}= 1.91, *df* = 2, *p* > .05). Bonferroni post hoc tests (the significance level was set at .016) revealed that, for the Prod-Group, significant differences in the means were reported for pretest vs. posttest 1 and pretest vs. posttest 2. For the Comp-Group, there were significant differences in the means for pretest vs. posttest 1 and pretest vs. posttest 2. For the Mixed-Group, there were significant differences in the means for pretest vs. posttest 1 and pretest vs. posttest 2.

Table 2: Means and SD for both Comprehension and Production Tests

	Prod-Group (N=15)		Comp-Group (N=22)		Mixed-Group (N=15)		Control-Group (N=13)	
	M	*(SD)*	*M*	*(SD)*	*M*	*(SD)*	*M*	*(SD)*
Comprehension Test								
Pretest	6.00	(1.41)	5.59	(1.22)	5.33	(1.35)	6.08	(1.38)
Posttest 1	7.83	(1.10)	8.41	(1.40)	7.73	(2.02)	6.46	(1.39)
Posttest 2	8.08	(1.16)	8.36	(1.26)	7.53	(2.10)	6.54	(1.76)
Production Test								
Pretest	5.33	(0.90)	4.59	(1.37)	5.60	(1.68)	5.38	(1.12)
Posttest 1	8.00	(1.31)	6.23	(2.07)	7.73	(1.39)	6.38	(1.39)
Posttest 2	7.79	(1.57)	6.73	(1.80)	8.27	(1.10)	4.69	(1.18)

Comprehension Practice

As Figure 4 illustrates, both the Comp-Group and Mixed-Group achieved significant gains on posttest 1 and both groups maintained their scores on posttest 2. The Prod-Group also obtained a significant gain and sustained the gain over time. In contrast, the Control-Group made no gains on posttests 1 and 2. Hypothesis 1 suggested that the Mixed-Group,

which was given only half the amount of comprehension practice of the Comp-Group, should show significant gains on the comprehension test scores of posttest 1 equal to or better than the Comp-Group, and that these gains would be sustained in posttest 2. The results show no significant differences between the comprehension test scores of the Mixed-Group and the Comp-Group for either posttest 1 or 2. Some difference between the comprehension test scores of the two groups existed, as shown in Table 2 (8.41 vs. 7.73 for posttest 1; 8.36 vs. 7.53 for posttest 2), but the similarity of the two groups' scores is meaningful when the small number of subjects in this study is considered (the Comp-Group had 22 subjects and the Mixed-Group had 15 subjects). Thus it can be suggested that the Mixed-Group subjects showed the same type of gains on the comprehension test as the Comp-Group subjects and this positive result was maintained over time. Therefore Hypothesis 1 is supported.

Production Practice

Figure 5 illustrates the results of the production test. A Kruskal-Wallis test was conducted on the production test scores of pretest and posttests 1 and 2 respectively in order to determine whether there were any statistically significant differences among the means of the four groups. There was no significant difference among the four groups' means on the pretest ($x^2 = 6.12$, $df = 3$, $p > .05$), but there were significant differences among the four groups' means on both posttests 1 and 2 (respectively, $x^2 = 12.12$, $df = 3$, $p < .01$; $x^2 = 25.87$, $df = 3$, $p < .01$). Bonferroni post hoc tests (the significance level was set at .0125) revealed that for posttest 1 significant differences in the means were detected for the pairs of Control-Group vs. Prod-Group and for Comp-Group vs. Prod-Group. For posttest 2 significant differences in the means were reported for the pairs of Control-Group vs. Prod-Group, Control-Group vs. Comp-Group, Control-Group vs. Mixed-Group, and Comp-Group vs. Mixed-Group.

Friedman tests were conducted on the production test scores of the four groups in order to determine whether there were any statistically significant differences in the means among the three tests. There were significant differences among the three tests' mean scores for the Control-Group, the Prod-Group, the Comp-Group, and the Mixed-Group (respectively, $x^2 = 8.19$, $df = 2$, $p < .05$; $x^2 = 19.0$, $df = 2$, $p < .01$; $x^2 = 15.27$, $df = 2$, $p < .01$; $x^2 = 14.28$, $df = 2$, $p < .01$). Bonferroni post-hoc tests (the significance level was set at .016) revealed that for the Control-Group, significant differences in the means were reported for posttest 1 and

posttest 2. For the Prod-Group, significant differences were found among pretest vs. posttest 1 and pretest vs. posttest 2. For the Comp-Group, significant differences in the means were found for pretest vs. posttest 1 and pretest vs. posttest 2. And for the Mixed-Group, significant differences were found for pretest vs. posttest 1 and pretest vs. posttest 2.

Thus the Prod-Group and Mixed-Group made significant gains on posttest 1 and maintained these gains on posttest 2, whereas the Control-Group did not make significant gains on either posttest. The Comp-Group made a significant gain on posttests 1 and 2, but did not improve to the same degree as the Prod-Group or the Mixed-Group. Hypothesis 2 predicts that the Mixed Group, which was given half the amount of production practice as the Prod-Group, will show significant production gains on posttest 1 equal to or better than the Prod-Group, and that these gains will be sustained on posttest 2. In fact, the results of the study showed no significant difference between the Mixed-Group and the Prod-Group production test scores in either posttest 1 or 2. Thus, the Mixed-Group subjects' production improved to the same degree as that of subjects in the Prod-Group and the gain was sustained over time. Therefore, Hypothesis 2 is also confirmed.

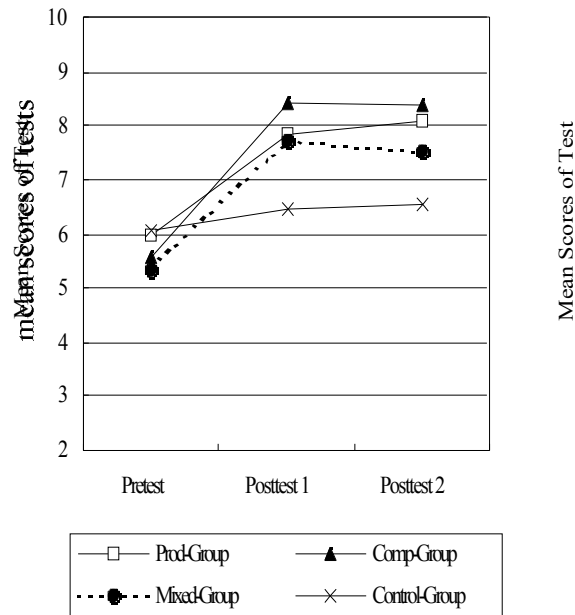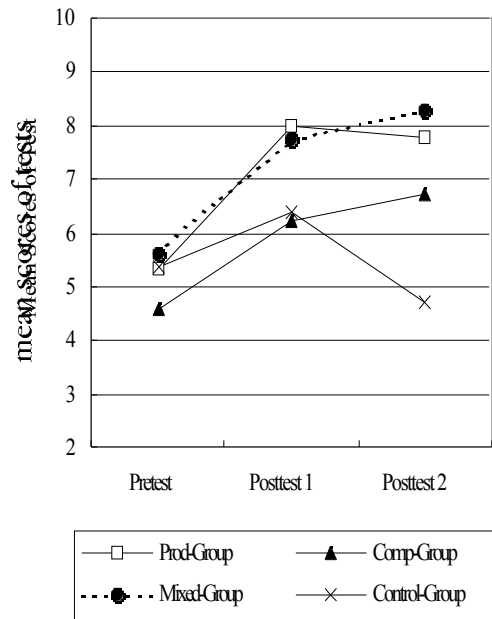## Figure 4: Comprehension Pre/Post Test Scores

Figure 5: Production Pre/Post Test Scores

Discussion

Positive Effects for Combining Practice Types

The Mixed-Group test scores for both comprehension and production tasks showed gains equal to those of the Comp-Group and the Prod-Group and the practice effects lasted over time in spite of the fact that the Mixed-Group spent only half the amount of the time their counterparts did on each type of practice. One interpretation for this result is that since the Mixed-Group learners experienced both comprehension and production practice, they had an opportunity to integrate the form and function of the structure into their knowledge in different contexts. Comprehension practice required the learners to listen to a sentence containing a psychological verb, identify the verb type and the verb's experiencer, then select a drawing depicting the sentence within a given time (see Appendix 2). In contrast, production practice asked the learners to recognize the meaning of a drawing, identify the verb

type, decide upon the correct word order, and verbally describe a drawing using the given words, including psychological verbs (see Appendix 3). It can be suggested that the grammar instruction on psychological verbs was reinforced through both listening to and vocalizing the structure. It thus appears that the Mixed-Group's comprehension and production practice complemented each other to promote learning of the structure. Meanwhile, the Prod-Group and Comp-Group learners, with only one type of practice, did not show better results even though they spent twice as much time on their particular form of practice as the Mixed-Group learners.

Skill-Specific Improvement

It was also found that the practice effect was skill specific in the sense that the subjects given only comprehension practice improved more on the comprehension tests than the subjects given only production practice and vice versa. This suggests that developing the skill necessary to perform one kind of practice does not guarantee the ability to perform a different kind of practice. Unexpectedly, however, the Prod-Group showed a significant improvement in the comprehension test equal to that of the Comp-Group and Mixed-Group (see Figure 4). This may be due to the fact that production practice was given with the help of words accompanying the drawing (Appendix 3). As explained previously, in an earlier pilot study the subjects had great difficulty producing a verbal description without being provided with words; thus words were included in this study. It can be inferred that the provision of vocabulary items promoted a firmer association of meaning and structure during production practice and thus resulted in significant gains for the Prod-Group on the comprehension test. If this is the case, the current study supports Dekeyser's (1996) and Dekeyser and Sokalski's (1996) findings which indicate that the ability gained from practice may be skill-specific. At the same time, this result contradicts VanPatten and his associates' results suggesting that grammar instruction utilizing production practice does not contribute significantly to comprehension ability. It has been pointed out that VanPatten and his associates' studies require replication using a more controlled experimental design since the subjects performing comprehension practice received more grammar explanation of a qualitatively different nature than those performing production practice (Ellis, 1997; Dekeyser & Sokalski, 1996; Salaberry, 1997).

In contrast, the current study was conducted using an identical grammatical explanation for all groups, enabling a more accurate compari-

son of the effects of comprehension and production practice. The present results confirm that comprehension practice develops comprehension skills and production practice develops production skills. In short, each practice plays a unique role in grammar learning.

It must be acknowledge, however, that this study has important limitations. One is its generalizability. Due to the limited sample size the findings are only true for the students who participated in the current study. Since the current study investigated practice effects for Japanese junior college EFL students, further studies should examine practice effects for younger students: junior high school EFL students, for example. Another limitation is the nature of the target structure. The current study focused on a specific grammatical structure, psychological verbs. This structure includes syntactic features, so configuring the order of words and phrases is crucial to comprehending or producing a sentence. Thus the present results may be limited to the acquisition of grammatical structures with this kind of syntactic feature. Further investigations using diverse structures are necessary.

Conclusion

As mentioned, other researchers (de Bot, 1996; Dekeyser, 1996; McLaughlin, et al., 1983; Swain, 1995; Terrell, 1991) have suggested that practice in grammar instruction plays a significant role in promoting the automatization of learned grammatical information and the construction of grammar knowledge. Comprehension practice can help learners to notice a target structure, compare it with their existing knowledge, and integrate it into that knowledge. Production practice can also help learners notice the target structure while reconfirming its use and providing additional input via the learners' own output. Thus, the two forms of practice can interact in a synergistic relationship, each shaping and being shaped by the other.

In EFL classroom situations such as those in Japan, creating optimal learning conditions becomes an important issue. The key lies in teachers fully understanding the relationship between practice and second language acquisition. Most current textbooks and materials, however, seem to have been developed without a full understanding of recent findings in second language acquisition. Therefore they lack a balance of practice activities (see Ellis, 1995). Decio (1996) examined grammar practice as presented in ESL/EFL textbooks from 1960 to 1996, pointing out that it was not contemporary with proposed language instruction approaches and suggesting that there has been little advancement in grammar practice strategies provided to the classroom

practitioner. As mentioned, past studies of grammar learning (e.g., Ellis, 1995; VanPatten & Cadierno, 1993) tended to treat comprehension and production practice as playing conflicting roles. However, the present study suggests that combining practice types may promote better learning than their use separately. The results of this and the previous study (Tanaka, 1999) support the claim that combining comprehension and production practice can increase not only immediate comprehension and production abilities, but also may promote durability. Although limited, these results also support Dekeyser's suggestion (Dekeyser, 1996; Dekeyser & Sokalski, 1996) that practice effects may be skill specific in the sense that learners who practice a target structure through comprehension practice and subsequently take a comprehension test will outperform those who practice the same structure through production practice, and vice versa.

Therefore it is suggested that design and organization of practice activities should incorporate both types of practice. Combining practice can provided a stepping stone to success in second language acquisition.

Acknowledgements

Takeo Tanaka is an instructor in the Faculty of Education and Human Sciences at Yamanashi University. His current research interests include grammar practice, noticing, input and output processing, and classroom second language acquisition.

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Appendix 1

Listening Test for the General English Aural Proficiency Test

1. What letter is G after in the alphabet? Write the letter.
2. Tom, Bill, and Jack are all common names for what? Begin the word with a "B" and write the plural form.
3. What do you call a person who gives medical treatment to sick people? Begin with a "D."
4. If you mixed blue and yellow paint together, what color would you get? Write the word beginning with the letter "G."
5. How many ears does a dog have? Write the number.
6. We usually have three meals a day. What do you call the meal we have at noon? A five-letter word.
7. It is 10:30 now. What time will it be in 30 minutes? Write the number.

8. What do you call a funny story that is told to make people laugh? Begin with a "J."

9. What kind of fruit is the one most often used in making wine? Begin with a "G" and write the plural form.

10. If your camera is empty, you will not be able to take any pictures. What do you need to put in your camera? Begin with an "F."

11. Water usually boils at what degree centigrade? Write the number only.

12. "Daddy" is a child's word for father. How many D's does this word have?

Appendix 2

Sample Comprehension Test Items (Similar to Practice Items)

Listen to the following sentence and select the drawing that best corresponds to the sentence. Make sure each sentence is played only once.

Nancy respects Mike. Answer: (d)

Appendix 3

Sample Production Test Items (Similar to Practice Items)

Describe the drawing below, using the three words given. You cannot use passives or progressives. Be sure to speak into the microphone.

Answer: Tom bothers Mary.

Tanaka Appendix 2

Tanaka Appendix 3

Professional Development and the JET Program: Insights and Solutions Based on the Sendai City Program

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Sendai Board of Education

This paper examines the role professional development can play for Japanese Teachers of English (JTEs) and native speaker Assistant English Teachers (AETs) working together in the Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) Program. Aiming for a communicatively-based team-taught approach, the program has been in existence in Japanese high schools since 1987. Japanese government documents, academic reports, and participants' reflections have been examined to reveal some of the program's shortfalls. A detailed description of Sendai City's training and in-service system is offered as a way to maximize the success of the JET Program through consistent professional support for JTEs and AETs.

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Insert Japanese Abstract Here

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The JET (Japan Exchange and Teaching) Program commenced in Japan in 1987, bringing 813 native speakers of English to team teach with Japanese Teachers of English (JTEs). The program is managed by the Council of Local Authorities for International Relations (CLAIR), an organization created by the Ministry of Education, Science, Sports and Culture (Monbusho), the Ministry of Home Affairs, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. CLAIR recruits foreign Coordinators for International Relations (CIRs), Sports Exchange Advisors (SEAs), and Assistant Language Teachers (ALTs) who are then employed throughout Japan. As-

sistant English Teachers (AETs) are a subset of the ALT group, comprising 90% of CLAIR's annual participants (Council of Local Authorities for International Relations [CLAIR], 2000, p. 7). These AETs are placed in educational centers around Japan to provide native speaker input into English classes at junior and senior high schools. At present, ten participating countries (Australia, Canada, Ireland, Israel, Jamaica, New Zealand, Singapore, South Africa, the United Kingdom and the United States) are the source of AETs, with just under 5500 AETs working throughout Japan in the 2000-2001 school year (CLAIR, 2000, p. 7).

The program was initiated with the specific aim of helping to internationalize Japanese students through classroom activities and to build the English language skills of both students and JTEs (Ministry of Education, Science, Sports and Culture [Monbusho], 1994, p. 6). In particular, the Monbusho wanted teachers of English to shift from the grammar-translation approaches popular in Japanese schools to a more communicative-based methodology, with the AETs' native-speaker abilities being utilized to achieve this aim. This resolve has been further strengthened with the current Monbusho Course of Study (Ministry of Education, Science, Sports and Culture, 1994, p. 98-115), which directs English to be taught in a far more communicative style than ever before. This has placed pressure on JTEs to make appropriate changes to their methodology and to enlist the support of the AETs within the school system.

These innovations have challenged all those involved. Rather than operating as instructors working in isolation in the classroom, JTEs have found themselves having to change their teaching practices, putting the language they teach into everyday use in negotiation with the AETs, and approaching English in different ways for the benefit of their students. While these changes were part of the Monbusho's overall strategy to improve the teaching and language skills of JTEs (Ministry of Education, Science, Sports and Culture, 1994, p. 6), the presence of English native speakers in their classrooms has caused many JTEs to be concerned about their roles and competence as teachers, with tensions and pressures emerging between the two groups (Goldberg, 1995, p. 11).

These problems may be due to the fact that the JET Program was introduced with only a minimum of preparation for both JTEs and AETs. At the outset, many AETs found themselves placed at schools or with boards of education where the teachers and administrative staff were unaware of ways in which to effectively utilize the newly-arrived assistants (Egginton, 1997). In numerous cases, AETs found themselves sitting in staff rooms without work to do, perhaps brought into the occa-

sional class to read out list of words in the role of "human tape recorder" (Egginton, 1997).

However, as the JET Program has developed, changes have taken place in an attempt to meet the needs of JTEs and AETs. More assistance and support is now available to them, especially in the form of seminars, workshops and conferences (Ministry of Education, Science, Sports and Culture, 1994, pp. 10-13). For JTEs and AETs, these regularly scheduled offerings explore areas such as insights into teaching methods and techniques, presentations of collective classroom experiences and ideas, and discussions on the value of team teaching.

With the JET Program entering its fourteenth year, AETs have become recognized staff members of many schools and boards of education. In general, there has been a growing acceptance of English native speakers in the school system, and JTEs are more likely to enlist the aid of the AET in their classes than when the program and the concept of team teaching were in their initial stages (Pattimore & Kobayashi, 1999; Egginton, 1997, p. 315). Additionally, AETs and JTEs have begun to develop a better grasp of the practicalities of team teaching. Their attendance at conferences and workshops and their combined experiences in the program have meant that there is now a far larger collection of data on the English language team teaching experience at Japanese public schools that can be drawn upon.

Still, this does not mean that the process of integrating native speaker AETs into the teaching practice of the majority of JTEs has been accomplished flawlessly. Many AETs still privately express the same concerns and frustrations about their position and the effectiveness of their team teaching partners as was the case in the late 1980s. In addition, while training and support is offered, it does not always meet the range and depth required to optimize English teaching and the JTE-AET professional relationship. This paper sets out to show that more professional development needs to be offered to these teachers to achieve the goals set by the Monbusho.

Difficulties of Implementation

Lack of Training

JTEs

In terms of pre-service education, JTEs receive scant training in TESL skills (Lamie, 2000; Yonesaka, 1999; Browne & Wada, 1998; LoCastro, 1996, p. 42, Gillis-Furutaka, 1994, pp. 35-38). For the vast majority of prospective English teachers in Japan, there are no special courses on

the various approaches to teaching, and for the few who do learn about such techniques, there is little chance to see them in practice, or put them into effect during the two weeks they spend in doing practice teaching (Lamie, 2000; Yonesaka, 1999; Browne and Wada, 1998). This limited training does not touch on the subject of team teaching with a native speaker of English even though most JTEs will have access to AETs in their new schools. Yonesaka states that at Japanese universities "the required coursework [of prospective JTEs] is under constant revision" (1999, p. 9), but these revisions appear to be addressing topics other than English teaching (1999, p. 9). Therefore, many graduating JTEs are not prepared for the demands of team teaching or communicative language teaching as encouraged by the Monbusho.

After placement at schools JTEs receive minimal in-service opportunities, but are expected to keep up to date with new teaching approaches, and meet the guidelines set down by the Monbusho. Lamie (1999, p. 65) notes that a major overseas program for JTEs has had fewer than 100 trainees in the past ten years, and suggests the need for more extensive in-service training opportunities both in and outside of Japan. In her opinion, professional development sessions "are necessary to change teachers' attitudes, beliefs, and classroom practice, and to enable them to deliver the revised curriculum effectively" (Lamie, 1999, p. 64). Fanselow (1994) encourages a kind of "reverse-JET Program" to alter the current system of teaching English in Japan which would involve sending "at least 10% of JTEs to English-speaking countries each year for professional preparation and English study" (1994, p. 214). Although not as zealous as Fanselow, Smith (1994) fully encourages extensive support in information and assistance regarding team teaching and TESL methodology through in-service training programs for both JTEs and AETs (p. 88).

However, there seems to be some reluctance by the Monbusho to extend in-service training opportunities. In response to the call for the JTEs' training to be "further emphasized and improved" (Ministry of Education, Science, Sports and Culture, 1999, p. 3), the Monbusho responded that the pool of 60,000 JTEs across Japan was too large to manage. Instead the Monbusho suggested that the JTEs should take advantage of existing seminars and workshops, taking it upon themselves to form self-help groups and draw on published materials (p. 3). The Monbusho's solution seems to leave the majority of the decisions regarding in-service training to the local governments and to administrators and individuals at the school level.

However, it is clear that further development needs to occur to help the JTEs move towards the communicative style of teaching that the Monbusho wishes to see used in the EFL classroom. At the least, it is

clear that most JTEs require more systematic preparation and a forum to explore ways in which to produce junior and senior high school students who are competent communicators in English. The only way this will occur is with extended exposure to different teaching approaches and an opportunity to learn and practice such techniques.

AETs

When recruited, AETs must meet certain requirements regarding their country of origin, language ability and age (CLAIR, 1999, pp. 16-17), but they need not have a background in teaching or education. In fact it has been suggested that people without experience are preferred (Goldberg, 1995) and the Monbusho has abandoned programs in which trained teachers were brought to Japan (e.g., the Monbusho English Fellows and British English Teachers schemes) in favor of the current system (Ministry of Education, Science Sports and Culture, 1994, p. 7). While some training is offered to participants in the JET Program, the Monbusho actually states that the process of planning, delivering, and assessing the classes will provide development opportunities for both JTEs and AETs (Ministry of Education, Science, Sports and Culture, 1994, p. 17). However this view assumes that both parties will have the ability to start and maintain this process with a minimum of official guidance.

Outside the Monbusho these deficiencies have been recognized, and calls have been made for AETs to have stronger pedagogical foundations. Wada and Cominos (1994, pp. 4-5) discuss this in detail, as do Gillis-Furutaka (1994, p. 39-41) and Fanselow (1994, p. 214), all suggesting the need for experienced or qualified AETs. However, CLAIR and the Monbusho appear to be resolute in their choice of hiring untrained individuals for the JET Program, to whom they offer rudimentary grounding in teaching methodology and team teaching strategies after they arrive in Japan (Ministry of Education, Science, Sports and Culture, 1994, pp. 10-13).

AETs also see the advantage of in-service training throughout their time in the program. Freeman (1997, p. 318) writes that the JET Program is challenged by "the fact that most ALTs have little or no teacher training," and while stating that "ALTs do not need to be teacher trained," she goes on to write that "they need to be given the tools and the know-how to be effective in second language, team taught classes" (1997, p. 318). Although conferences are provided for both AETs and JTEs, most of the sessions involve the participants sharing their experience and knowledge. While it cannot be denied that the sharing aspect of these conferences is valuable, many sessions are merely a rep-

etition of previously imparted knowledge (Gillis-Furutaka, 1994, p. 33) and some AETs desire input by trained professionals (Luoni, 1997, p. 318).

Nevertheless most AETs realize that training is only part of the issue. Although they feel they are sometimes "still used as human tapes recorders or baby sitters with entertaining games" (Egginton, 1997, p. 315), or are simply ignored at their workplaces, they realize that their co-teachers require training:

> [O]ne way to overcome many of the hesitations of the Japanese English teachers is to provide more programs locally as well as internationally and expose them to other forms of teaching. Although the JET Program is attempting this, it is not enough (Kinjo, 1997, p. 309).

AETs, therefore, see the benefit of Japanese teachers receiving a chance to acquire a greater understanding of the variety of teaching approaches that can be employed. In turn, they realize that, as AETs, they will be put to better use if the JTEs have a greater understanding of teaching methodologies.

In short, the success of team teaching in the JET Program will be enhanced by professional development and training and professional academic support for both JTEs and AETs. Although it is not suggested that the JET Program will fail without these foundations, denying this assistance seems likely to result in the program being less effective, and perhaps never revealing its actual potential to the participants in the teaching web—JTEs, AETs, students, school administration, families of the students, and Japanese society as a whole.

Institutional Conflicts

A number of writers have also questioned the apparently conflicting signals the Monbusho is sending out to teachers. Gorsuch (1999) argues that while the Monbusho stresses the need for a more communicative classroom, the textbooks that are authorized do not make allowances for compatible approaches, a claim also found in Browne and Wada (1998) and Knight (1995). In their survey Browne and Wada (1998) found that many JTEs indicated that the main expectation regarding their instruction was "to teach the contents of the textbook" (p. 105). As a result, in order to achieve the Monbusho's expectations as stated in their guidelines (Ministry of Education, Science, Sports and Culture, 1994, pp. 98-115), JTEs and AETs have to spend considerable time adapting texts and creating materials and activities. It could be

expected that teachers would see this mismatch as a conflict in goals.

Similar concerns extend to testing, where the Monbusho also seems to be sending mixed messages to JTEs and AETs. Murphey (1999) notes that "[The] Monbusho tells high school teachers to teach oral communication, and yet their entrance exams do not reflect this change. Teachers are caught in the midst of confusing messages" (p. 39). The Monbusho's guidelines express a need for communication in the classroom, but Japanese high school and university examinations test a very different area of language. Murphey claims the Monbusho is using "the rhetoric of values without acting upon them," which may lead to teachers engaging in "schizophrenic activities" (p. 39). Browne and Wada (1998) found that a major pressure on the teaching styles of JTEs was "to prepare students for the entrance examination" (p. 104), which suggests that teachers are more likely to teach towards the content of the exam rather than endanger the success of the students by focusing on communicative approaches. One could argue that it is possible for the content of entrance examinations to be addressed through the use of communicative approaches in the classroom (see Law, 1994), but it is to be expected that most teachers will continue to draw on traditional teaching methods to ensure that their students pass the exams.

It is not suggested here that the Monbusho is consciously working against the success of its communicative goals, but these incongruities imply that an overall policy to link the stated aims and the practical aspects of teaching is not yet in place. It is perhaps this lack of an overall policy which best explains why the present training and in-service training for JTEs does not incorporate communicative approaches and team teaching.

Sendai's Program

In Sendai City, the capital of Japan's northern Tohoku region, a plan has emerged to address some of the problems associated with the shortcomings of the existing program. Progress is being made in offering substantial support and training opportunities to the AETs and JTEs employed by the Sendai Board of Education.

Sendai is an "officially designated" city (i.e., one operating independently of the provincial government) with a population of just over one million. The city Board of Education administers 70 public junior and senior high schools with more than 35,000 students and 2,250 academic staff, of whom 260 are JTEs. The schools range in size from a semi rural junior high school with just 18 students and 13 teachers to an inner-suburban junior high school with 50 educators and an enrolment of over 950.

The city has an exceptionally proactive attitude towards the JET Program and English education within its schools. Starting with just one AET in 1988, Sendai has since achieved its goal established in 1996 of providing each high school with a full time native English speaker. In the same year the city established the International Education Group (IEG) within the Board of Education's Guidance and Supervisory Division (**Shidouka**) with the aim of assisting the local AETs. The IEG initially consisted of two Japanese teacher counselors along with an AET advisor (a former AET concerned with the AETs' salaries, housing, health, and general well-being). Later in 1996 a qualified TESOL professional was recruited as Chief Advisor to conduct lectures, seminars, and workshops for all teachers and to mentor AETs. Currently, the IEG has four members.

While Sendai receives the majority of its AETs directly from CLAIR, the city also has its own private hiring system, the "Hello World Plan." Under this scheme, Sendai is able to recruit a minimum of 10 AETs per year to make up for any shortfall of teachers supplied by CLAIR. The salary, working conditions, and general benefits provided to successful applicants match those of the JET Program, and in regards to training, meetings, support, and access to teaching materials, these recruits are treated the same as the JET Program AETs. This system thus allows Sendai to partially regulate the quality and standards of AETs working for the Board of Education.

Benefits for AETs

After arrival in Sendai, new AETs receive a full week's orientation providing them with an overview of ESL/EFL techniques along with cultural and survival tips for working and living in Japan. In addition to the IEG staff, currently employed AETs participate in the orientation, contributing their insights and experiences. The new AETs are issued teaching materials and Sendai-produced handbooks and are invited to attend the twice-monthly seminars held at the local Education Center.

As stated earlier, AETs in the JET Program usually do not have prior teacher training or teaching experience. Consequently, providing the opportunity for them to learn about teaching is imperative in making their experience in the program successful. Surveys by Scholefield (1996) and Pattimore and Kobayashi (1999) have shown that most JTEs desire greater training for the AETs they work with, and Sendai's professional development program works towards satisfying some of these needs. In addition, the training the AETs receive also has an impact on their JTE team members since the results of their training can be witnessed by and drawn upon by the JTEs. Although not as effective as

having the JTEs themselves attended the training, this "osmotic" effect the JTEs receive may be valuable to them. In fact, many Sendai AETs have noted that their JTEs have expressed interest in the content of seminars by asking for teaching ideas and suggestions presented in the workshops.

It is also felt that the AETs receive an extra incentive by being members of an education program that fosters development in its employees. The hope is that, by treating AETs as professionals and providing opportunities for their training, a higher teaching standard will be engendered. This demonstrates that the Sendai Board of Education is supportive of the AETs in wishing to enhance their teaching skills. It is also hoped that Sendai's approach will instill a sense of obligation and professional pride in the JET Program participants, even if they do not intend to stay beyond their initial 12 month contract or have no further plans for teaching.

Professional Development for AETs and JTEs

The Chief Advisor is responsible for designing and conducting Sendai's in-service seminars, which are open to both JTEs and AETs. These two-hour sessions usually take place on weekday afternoons in the city's Education Center. Usually classes are limited to 30 people but when there is demand for particular sessions extra seminars are provided. These classes cover a range of topics such as the history of ELT methodologies and techniques, using music as a teaching tool, and developing professional relationships. The sessions are delivered in English adjusted in consideration of the JTEs' English ability and level of teaching skills.

The materials used in the classes are also selected in consideration of the language level of the JTEs. Extracts from **Teach English** (Doff, 1988), a text designed for non-native speakers of English, are frequently used and other teacher training texts are summarized and simplified where necessary. Longer and more complex extracts are sent to JTEs in advance and there are extra handouts for those attending the sessions to take home. There are also many opportunities for JTEs to develop their English communication skills through discussions, planning, and other activities held with the participating AETs. Thus, the seminars offer a chance for AETs and JTEs to develop their knowledge of teaching theory and practice as well as assisting the development of JTEs' English language proficiency.

Professional development is also enhanced by the IEG through school visits. While these occasions can be stressful for those being observed, a concerted effort has been made to make these experiences less of a

traditional "inspection" and more of a learning experience for the teachers concerned. School visits are a regular part of the Guidance and Supervisory Division's duties, but the Sendai IEG has promoted a change in attitude towards these visits. Observation of classes now occurs throughout the year, with the timing of visits set through negotiations between the IEG, AETs, JTEs, and the school administration. The visits usually take place at the request of AETs and JTEs who see the value of having a class critiqued. Rather than being a "policing" activity, the observations are presented as a way to develop teaching skills. In a number of cases, JTEs who were observed (but who had not previously attended the city-run seminars offered) decided that participation in workshops would contribute to their abilities as teachers and have begun attending on a regular basis. In addition AETs have noted changes in their partners' approaches after these observations.

Sendai's Problems

Even with such a substantial program in place, there are still problems in the system. The first Chief Advisor was appointed primarily to develop the AETs' teaching knowledge and skills. However it was subsequently realized that, no matter how well the AETs were trained, substantial improvements in the quality of team teaching could not occur until local JTEs were fully involved in the process. Thus the twice-monthly seminars that are conducted by the current Chief Advisor are now chiefly aimed at the JTEs, with AETs brought in as assistants.

However, attracting JTEs to the seminars has been a major challenge. At most seminars no more than 10 out of a possible 260 JTEs are present, and some of the reasons behind this low attendance shall be explored here. First, many teachers are highly committed to their jobs. A Japanese junior high school teacher's official working hours are usually between 8:15 a.m. and 5:00 p.m., Monday to Friday, with a half day on every second Saturday. However, the majority of teachers are also involved in other duties, such as coaching sporting teams, running school clubs, and counseling students, that keep them at the school as late as 10:00 p.m. School vacations also see many teachers running club and sporting activities on the school premises.

Considering these pressures, finding time to go to seminars which start at 3:00 p.m. on weekday afternoons is often difficult for teachers. While the availability of in-service training for JTEs is not innovative, the concept of a Japanese Board of Education offering a regularly scheduled optional in-service training program is relatively new. The elective nature of this training program means that teachers have to seek permission from their school's administration to attend. However a

teacher choosing to leave school and attend an in-service session may be viewed as an avoidance of responsibility, a perception that a teacher would not wish to give to other staff members. It can therefore be awkward for teachers to absent themselves from the workplace, even for a teaching development seminar, when other members of the staff are still at work.

An additional factor in the poor attendance of JTEs may be the attitude of senior teachers and administrators. Even though the Monbusho is supportive of teacher development, senior elements within schools may not always be highly in favor of the JET Program, and may not encourage the growth of their staff's teaching skills or developments in the JTE/AET teaching relationship. In fact some individuals are concerned that JTEs are already in a special position since they have AETs to work with them in and outside of class and have a greater opportunity for educational advancement through seminars. The acceptance of in-service training programs is slowly changing, but, as LoCastro (1996, p. 43) states, "individuals find resistance at their places of employment to their participation in outside in-service training activities." Even though the training provided by the Sendai IEG can be considered "outside" the programs listed by LoCastro (p. 42) (e.g., sessions conducted by JALT, the British Council, and publishers), since Sendai's teacher development is still elective, and therefore there is a degree of resistance similar to that described by LoCastro.

Yet another cause of low attendance could possibly be the JTEs' concerns about their level of English. Evaluations by JTEs after the local annual MidYear Block conferences (organized by the local prefectural Board of Education) usually find the respondents commenting on their difficulty in following the English presentations given by AETs. Sendai's seminars are conducted in English and, although consideration is given to the JTEs' proficiency during the preparation and delivery of the sessions, informal feedback has indicated that the topics covered sometimes require language skills beyond their capability. Therefore, even though they are teachers of English, a number of JTEs have indicated their hesitation to attend sessions covering technical aspects of teaching.

JTEs could also be intimidated by the English speaking skill of the AETs who attend the sessions. The AETs enjoy participating in the seminars but they sometimes forget the language abilities of the JTEs, and start discussing issues in a manner akin to that in Western higher education classrooms. Their enthusiasm is very engaging but a number of Sendai JTEs who have taken part in seminars have admitted their hesitation in attending subsequent sessions because of the speed and com-

plexity of English that the AETs sometimes use when making comments.

For other JTEs, negative experiences at previous in-service training sessions may have colored their views about professional development. Results compiled by Browne and Wada (1998) suggest that JTEs often feel that mandatory training is not of a particularly high quality. It is possible that some teachers may transfer this perception to other sessions offered by a Board of Education. They may be under the impression that the seminars offered are irrelevant or not interesting.

Finally, there are also some JTEs who have no interest in improving either their English or teaching skills. Many individuals are in English teaching positions to which they have grown accustomed, and for many there is no incentive to go beyond what they are doing at present. They feel that they can continue to teach English successfully without having to attend seminars and workshops. It has been noted earlier that Monbusho-approved materials and tests based on these materials do not thoroughly test the communicative skills of the students (Gorsuch, 1999; Murphey, 1999). As a result, JTEs may feel that enhancing their skills or initiating new approaches would not prove any more rewarding for their students than the methods they currently employ.

Solutions

In general, there needs to be greater support and encouragement for in-service training for both JTEs and AETs in Japan. This support must come from all levels, from the Monbusho down to the schools themselves. As mentioned earlier, the calls for more in-service training have come from a variety of sources, but the Monbusho response to date has been less than encouraging. The lack of any initiative or innovation with regards to these matters would seem to indicate that the Monbusho may believe that improvement will occur without the introduction of any further system of training and professional development.

One way to encourage self-development in JTEs would be to offer more seminars to help their communicative English skills. Improved language skills would have an impact on their knowledge of and confidence in using English, similar to Li's finding (1998) regarding local teachers of English in his study of communicative language teaching in South Korea. Not only would improved English language skills give JTEs greater access to and understanding of English teaching materials and resources, but this development would also promote the professional and personal relationships that the JTEs have with their AETs. However, English language classes would most likely have the same atten-

dance problems as the in-service training program.

Another issue concerns the cultural suitability of what is being required from the JTEs, their students and Japan's educational system. In setting its sights on communicative approaches, the Monbusho is supporting a methodology that may not be suitable for the teaching culture of Japan. Pennycook (1994) writes of the inappropriateness of communicative language teaching in a number of educational and cultural contexts (pp. 170-173), and such may be the case in Japan as well. Since the Monbusho is unlikely to reconsider its decision concerning the use of communicative approaches, providing avenues for in-service training can open JTEs' minds to methods that can complement the cultural background they share with their students. However, without a forum for dialogue, movements towards more culturally appropriate approaches may not occur and this may restrict advances in English teaching development.

Opportunities for discussion will perhaps draw on and further develop Japanese experts in the area of language teaching. Encouraging JTEs to enhance their skills through professional development may encourage them to become authorities in their own right or at least reassure them that their experience is valuable. It is suggested that the JTEs will have a significant role in influencing and changing the existing educational infrastructure, something which Gillis-Furutaka (1994, pp. 33, 40) echoes.

One change which has occurred in Sendai has been the offering of seminars designed for JTEs only. These are delivered in English, and it is possible that the absence of AETs has led to more JTEs attending. However, although there has been some interest, with slightly over 10 JTEs present on each occasion, the attendance rates have not dramatically increased. A further step would be to conduct these sessions in Japanese. This has not occurred as yet, although during the JTE-only seminars there is Japanese language support from one of the Japanese teachers counselors from the IEG.

Another plan under consideration is to offer seminars at times when JTEs might better be able to attend. One possibility is to conduct seminars after school finishes, perhaps at 7 p.m. in the centrally-located Board of Education offices. Further options are to conduct intensive weekend sessions or intensive, multiple day workshops at times when schools are closed. However, as times at which schools are completely free of students in Japan are not frequent, scheduling such sessions will be complicated.

Requests have been made by JTEs for the IEG to ask school principals to require teachers to attend the seminars. This would mean that

attendance would not be a matter of choice for the JTEs, thus remov-
ing any stigma associated with leaving school early. Still, such a pro-
cess may result in uninterested JTEs being forced to attend the semi-
nars, and this may have adverse effects on the atmosphere in the work-
shops. Browne and Wada (1998) explored this issue through a survey
conducted with teachers in Chiba prefecture and found that negative
attitudes towards official seminars were possibly due to their manda-
tory nature (1998, p. 105). Therefore a system where the school ad-
ministration requires seminar attendance may result in resistance to
the program.

It is hoped that more feedback from the JTEs will be collected to
clarify these issues. Suggestions and responses are often requested from
teachers in Sendai but their reactions are not always forthcoming. As a
result it is difficult to assess what changes the JTEs would like to see in
the current program. A more active investigation of their ideas is re-
quired to thoroughly discover what format they would like professional
development to take.

Conclusions

After 13 years the JET Program and its emphasis on team teaching con-
tinues to be supported and expanded by the Japanese government.
Approval for the program comes from JTE participants themselves.
Pattimore and Kobayashi (1999) reported that most of the JTEs sur-
veyed in Ibaraki prefecture strongly defended the program, and ex-
ploratory unpublished research in Sendai by this author found many
JTEs expressed similar rates of approval for the AET system and team
teaching. However to justify the JET Program's existence and the vast
expenditure of time, money and resources, educational authorities
need to go beyond the present training and in-service training for JTEs
and AETs. Concerns about English teaching in Japanese schools are
constantly being raised, with the English-language press in Japan regu-
larly detailing government and academic reports concerning this is-
sue. A recent report stated that an advisory panel will be set up by the
Monbusho "to discuss specific measures for the overhaul of English-
teaching at schools and universities" ("Ministry set to review English
teaching," 1999). The Education Minister "decided to set up the advi-
sory panel to overhaul current teaching practices, in the belief that
they are to blame for the lack of English-speaking proficiency." It was
also stated that there would be a call for "new entrance examinations
to be set up by high schools and universities, focusing mainly on stu-
dents' ability to communicate in English." Although it is reassuring that
concerns are being expressed about some of the matters raised in this

paper, it would be more gratifying to see some of these issues dealt with in a practical manner rather than simply being studied, discussed, and reported upon.

It is this writer's hope that there will be national support to put these changes into place. This support could be made manifest in the form of adequate teacher training and compulsory professional development. For English teaching and the JET Program to blossom into a truly effective system that offers Japanese students superior English education, further infrastructure needs to be introduced to streamline the working processes for the AETs and JTEs. While Sendai's program is not without its problems, it does provide a model for the Monbusho and other Boards of Education to consider.

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Language Learning Motivation of EFL Learners in Japan—A Cross-Sectional Analysis of Various Learning Milieus

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This study explores the types of language learning motivation possessed by Japanese EFL learners from diverse learning milieus. Research on L2 motivation has long been conducted within the paradigm of social psychology. However, the revival of interest in L2 motivation in the 1990s shows a clear shift to an educational focus in which L2 learners' cognitive, affective characteristics, and classroom considerations have become major areas of concern. Following this trend, the present study employed a 50-item motivational questionnaire based on several motivational components from educational and social psychology. The questionnaire was administered to 1,027 participants from various learning contexts. Exploratory factor analysis confirmed six motivational factors and the follow-up multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) indicated that some factors are characteristic of certain language learning milieus, while others are common to all situations. The results are discussed in terms of the motivational characteristics of EFL learners in Japan.

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Most language teachers believe that motivation is a key factor for success in language learning. During the last 40 years researchers in various fields have attempted to explore the construct of language learning motivation from many different perspectives. In spite of the number of studies, however, there has been little discussion about what language learning motivation actually **is**. Dörnyei (1996) notes:

> Motivation theories in general seek to explain no less than the fundamental question why humans behave as they do, and therefore it would be naive to assume any simple straightforward answer; indeed, every different psychological perspective on human behavior is associated with a different theory of motivation and, thus, in general psychology it is not the lack but rather the abundance of motivation theories which confuses the scene (p.72).

Since L2 motivation is a multifaceted construct (Gardner, 1985; Dörnyei, 1998), it is inappropriate for us to seek one theory to explain all aspects of motivation. The term "motivation" is a broad concept that cannot easily be defined. Furthermore researchers often discuss the concept of motivation, whether it is affective, cognitive, behavioral or otherwise, without specifying what kind of motivation they are investigating (Dörnyei, 1998). Thus it is difficult to compare research results across different backgrounds and perspectives.

However it is also true that different theories enable us to look at different aspects of motivation. Therefore when conducting research and analyzing the data, the particular aspect of motivation addressed needs to be clearly specified. Dörnyei warns that "in the analysis of motivational research, researchers need to be explicit about which aspects of motivation they are focusing on and how those are related to other, uncovered dimensions of the motivational complex" (1999, p. 527).

Language Learning Motivation Research

Gardner and Lambert's early study (1959) indicated that second language achievement is related not only to language aptitude but also to motivation. Their research subjects were English-speaking students in the predominantly French-speaking city of Montreal, Canada. In a subsequent study Gardner and Lambert (1972) suggested that language learning motivation can be divided into two types; ***integrative motivation***, defined as the desire to integrate oneself with the target culture,

and ***instrumental motivation***, defined as the desire to learn a language for a specific purpose, such as employment. The importance of integrative motivation in second/foreign language learning has received worldwide attention and has become a primary focus of research (Gardner, 1988; Giles & Byrne, 1982; Schumann, 1978, 1986). However many researchers have tried to analyze language learning motivation without considering the different social contexts in which it occurs. For example some researchers have found instrumental motivation to be a major factor in research conducted in the social contexts of the Philippines, India, and Japan (Gardner & Lambert, 1972; Lukmani, 1972; Chihara & Oller, 1978).

Towards the end of the 1980s and into the early 1990s the research focus turned to the differences between ESL learners (those living within the target language culture) and EFL learners (those studying the target language within their own culture) (Au, 1988; Crookes & Schmidt, 1991; Dörnyei, 1990). For example Dörnyei (1990) suggested that in EFL contexts, where learners have not had sufficient experience of the target language community, motivational factors such as instrumental motivation should receive special attention. Oxford (1996) also considered that EFL environments differ from the ESL situation and recommended that instrumental motivation be a main focus for research in EFL contexts.

Throughout the 1990s research on language learning motivation incorporated concepts from psychology and organizational research, fields with substantial bodies of motivation research. Deci and Ryan (1985) classified motivation into ***intrinsic motivation***, the desire to engage in activities in anticipation of internally rewarding consequences such as feelings of competence and self-determination, and ***extrinsic motivation***, the desire to engage in activities in anticipation of a reward from outside of and beyond the self. However, Hayamizu (1997) argued that intrinsic and extrinsic motivation are not bipolar and antagonistic, but rather are located on a continuum of motivation types. Williams and Burden (1997) also claimed that motivation results from a combination of different influences. Some are internal, coming from the learner, such as an interest in the activity or a wish to succeed, while others are external, such as the influence of other people. Supporting the perception of motivation as a multifaceted complex of factors, Brown (1994) proposed a two-by-two matrix representing the combination of the intrinsic-extrinsic dimension with the conventional integrative-instrumental dimension. It is difficult, however, to divide language learning motivation into two distinct types such as integrative-instrumental motivation or intrinsic-extrinsic motivation. Inevita-

bly there will be some areas where these four types overlap.

In addition to the intrinsic-extrinsic paradigm, other important motivation theories from the field of learner cognition are now being considered—what Dörnyei has termed the *Learner Level Component* of motivation (Dörnyei, 1994). These include *goal-setting theory, attribution theory,* and *self-efficacy theory*. *Goal-setting theory* argues that performance is closely related to a person's accepted goals (Oxford & Shearin, 1994). *Attribution theory* claims that the way people explain their own past successes and failures will significantly affect their future achievement behavior (Weiner, 1985). *Self-efficacy theory* suggests that people's judgement of their capabilities to carry out specific tasks will affect their choice of the activities attempted (Dörnyei, 1998).

Besides these theories from educational psychology, there is also a large body of research on anxiety in language learning (Bailey, 1983; Horwitz, Horwitz & Cope, 1986; MacIntyre & Gardner, 1989, 1991, 1994; Tsui, 1996). Anxiety is an extremely crucial cognitive factor for all types of learners and "a most studied motivational aptitude" (Snow & Swanson, 1992, p.600). Clément, Dörnyei, and Noels (1994), for example, found that anxiety or self-confidence is one of the major contributing factors determining attitude and motivation towards learning a second language.

Research on second/foreign language learning motivation in the 1990s also concentrated on seeking explanations for outcomes of specific language tasks and behaviors rather than pursuing general tendencies in social contexts. In this regard, what Dörnyei proposes as the *learning specific level component*, including *course-specific*, *teacher-specific* and *group-specific motivational components* (Dörnyei, 1994), should be a subject for extensive research.

Motivation Studies in Japan

Language learning motivation did not become a major research concern in Japan until quite recently. This may be because learner variables in general have not been a focus in foreign language teaching. In Japan the most popular teaching methods have been teacher-centered rather than learner-centered and classes are usually quite large—40 to 50 students per class in most high schools and many universities. Thus the motivation of individual learners has received little attention. Furthermore, although there are some recent studies on language learning motivation in Japan (e.g., Konishi, 1990; Matsukawa & Tachibana, 1996; Miyahara, Namoto, Yamanaka, Murakami, Kinoshita & Yamamoto, 1997; Sawaki, 1997; Takanashi, 1990, 1991; Yashima, 2000),

much of this research has used Gardner's approach for investigating motivation in the ESL context and has also regarded Gardner's findings to be applicable to the Japanese EFL situation. However, since Gardner's theory of motivation addresses the social context, not the individual learner, it is suggested that his theory alone cannot explain what motivates language learners in Japan. More attention must be paid to the educational setting when investigating EFL learning motivation.

To this end, other motivational studies have been conducted using different methodological approaches. For example, in their longitudinal study of attitudes and motivation in English learning among Japanese seventh-grade students, Koizumi and Matsuo (1993) administered the same motivational questionnaire four times and found a decrease in motivation after the initial stage of the learning process. Ogane and Sakamoto (1999) investigated the relationships among EFL motivation and proficiency factors using a structural equation modeling approach. In our pilot study (Kimura, 1999), 390 Japanese university EFL students responded to a 50-item questionnaire on motivation consisting of items not only based on the integrative-instrumental and intrinsic-extrinsic paradigms, but also on other domains such as anxiety, attribution, and teacher-specific and activity-specific motivation. The present questionnaire-based study continues in this direction and is intended to stimulate motivational research focused on educational aspects in Japan.

Research Questions

Dörneyi and his colleagues (Dörnyei, 1990; Clément et al., 1994; Dörnyei, 1996) have suggested that there are other aspects of motivation in addition to the ones in Gardner's theory. However, it would be inappropriate to consider that their research results can be fully applied to the Japanese EFL context since little research has been conducted to identify the various motivational components characterizing different learning contexts in Japan. Thus the present study investigates motivational components among Japanese learners of English from differing learning environments, including junior high school, high school, junior college and university classes. The following research questions were addressed:

1. What are some components of EFL motivation possessed by a sample of Japanese EFL learners?
2. Are the components of EFL motivation different for various Japanese learning situations such as junior high school, high school, junior college and university?
3. What motivational differences exist among gender and grade levels in different Japanese EFL learning situations?

Methods

Participants

The participants in this study were 1,027 Japanese EFL students from 12 different learning contexts. Twelve percent were junior high school students, 45% were senior high school students, 39% were junior college (130) and university students (397), and the remaining 4% were students at a private English language school. Although they ranged in age from 14 to 35, 64% were 14 to 18 years old and 30% were 19 to 22. The male/female ratio was almost even; 43% were male and 57% were female. The participants at the tertiary level were fairly evenly distributed across six majors, that is, junior college English majors, social science majors, science majors, foreign language majors, engineering majors, and English language education majors. The participants comprised a convenience sample since they had been asked to voluntarily fill out the questionnaire by their teachers, who were known by the researchers and who kindly cooperated in the research.

Materials

The questionnaire used in the present study is a partially revised version of the Japanese-language instrument used for the pilot study (Kimura, 1999). It consisted of 50 items arranged in a 6 point-Likert-scale format, ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree. The question items were based on the components of motivation suggested by Schmidt, Boraie, and Kassabgy (1996). However, some items were either modified or newly added based on Clément et al. (1994), Dörnyei (1990), Miyahara et al. (1997), and Tremblay and Gardner (1995) so that the wordings could more precisely describe the EFL contexts in Japan. The following motivational components were addressed: five items about ***Intrinsic Motivation***, six about ***Extrinsic Motivation***, seven about ***Instrumental Motivation***, five about ***Situation Specific Motivation***, four about ***Teacher Specific Motivation***, ten about ***Activity Specific Motivation***, five about ***Attitudes towards Anglophonic Culture and Integrative Motivation***, and eight about ***Attribution Theory*** (see Table 1 below).

Procedure and Statistical Analyses

The questionnaire was administered in Japanese between January and March, 1999 under the supervision of the participants' English teachers. On completion of the data collection, descriptive statistics were computed for all questionnaire items to eliminate skewed items with

ceiling and floor effects. The data was then analyzed in two phases. First, a factor analysis was performed to summarize the underlying characteristics of language learning motivation of this population. This was followed by multivariate analyses of variances (MANOVA) using the factor scores for each motivational factor to investigate the relationship between language learning motivation and learner factors such as gender, academic major, and the institutional grade. Table 1 gives the descriptive statistics for the 50 items.

Insert Table 1 about here

Examination of the mean and standard deviations for the 50 items revealed that four items were left-skewed and two items were right-skewed. The left-skewed items, or the items to which the participants responded extremely negatively, include Items 6 (***The reason for studying English is to make parents or teachers happy***), 25 (***The appearance of teachers such as blue eyes or fair hair motivates one's English language learning***.), 34 (***Pair or group activities are a waste of time***.) and 48 (***One's dislike of English can be attributed to the existence of repulsive teachers***.). The right-skewed items were Items 36 (***I want English class to be enjoyable by incorporating activities such as watching movies and singing songs***) and 45 (***Poor results can be attributed to poor devotion to study***.). The participants responded to these items to an extremely positive degree. Therefore, the six skewed items were excluded from further analysis. Statistical analyses were conducted using ***SPSS10.07*** (1999). Cronbach's alpha statistics were computed for the 44 remaining questionnaire items and a reliability of .865 was obtained.

Results

Some Components of Motivation in the Japanese EFL Context

Using the Principal Factors procedure and Varimax Rotation, six factors were extracted. Table 2 presents the factor matrix with an item loading greater than .40 as a criterion of salience. These factors accounted for 50.42% of the variance in the 44 items.

Factor 1 received appreciable loadings from 13 items, the largest component of language learning motivation for this sample. As shown in Table 2, the variables for this factor were quite varied. Four items

(39, 40, 38, 41) relate to integrative motivation, while others (15, 13, 12, 14) concern instrumental motivation. Still others (5, 4, 3) relate to intrinsic motivation. Thus this factor is called **Intrinsic-Instrumental-Integrative Motive.**

Factor 2 received loadings from six items (9, 17, 8, 18, 7, 37). Items 9, 8 and 7 are concerned with extrinsic motivation, while Items 17 and 18 are typical of instrumental motivation. Therefore, this factor can be labeled **Extrinsic-Instrumental Motive.**

Insert Table 2 about here

Factor 3 received loadings from two items (50, 49), both of which relate to positive aspects of teachers. Therefore this factor can be termed **Influence of Good Teachers.**

The four items of Factor 4 all relate to anxiety in language learning. Using the terminology of Horwitz et al. (1986), Items 20 and 19 are called **Communication Apprehension**, Item 21 is interpreted as **Fear of Negative Evaluation** and Item 22 is **Test-Anxiety**. These items connote negative anxiety, also known as debilitative anxiety, compared with the positive form of anxiety termed facilitative anxiety (Brown, 1994). Following Dörnyei (1994), this factor is therefore called **Language Use Anxiety**.

Factor 5 is characterized by heavy loadings from three items (32, 29, 31). Though they are all related to classroom activities, Items 32 and 31 have positive loading values, indicating a preference for teacher-centered lectures, whereas Item 29 has a negative value, implying an unwillingness to participate in pair or group activities. Therefore, this factor can be called **Preference for Teacher-Centered Lectures.**

Factor 6 obtains appreciable loadings from two items (47, 46) implying a negative inclination towards learning language due to past unpleasant experiences. Considering Weiner's (1985) Attribution Theory, Nakata (1999) suggests that learners scoring high on this factor can still maintain their self-worth and control their effort. This factor is labeled **Negative Learning Experiences**.

Differences among the Components of Motivation in Various Japanese EFL Milieus

The six factor scores were submitted to one-way multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) as dependent variables with participants' institutions or majors as independent variables. All multivariate *F* statistics

(i.e., Pillai's trace, Wilks' lambda, Hotelling's trace, and Roy's largest root) were significant at the .001 alpha level. Therefore, univariate analysis variance was run for the six dependent variables. The univariate F values of all factors except Factor 5 and Factor 6 were significant at the .001 alpha level (see Table 3).

Insert Table 3 Near Here

Post-hoc Scheffé's test revealed that there were several significant pairs among the factors from Factor 1 to Factor 4. Table 4 summarizes these results.

Insert Table 4 Near Here

The results of Table 4 are further summarized in Table 5 to reveal the relationship between each motivational factor and category. The summary identifies pairs with a relationship at the .001 significance level.

Insert Table 5 Near Here

Table 5 indicates that Factor 1 (Intrinsic-Instrumental-Integrative Motive) was high among junior high school learners, junior college English majors, foreign language majors, and English language school learners. Since these subjects are either learners at the early stages of their learning experience or have clear goals for learning English, it appears that such learners tend to be motivated by a combination of intrinsic, instrumental, and integrative concerns. On the other hand, Factor 2 (Extrinsic-Instrumental Motive) was positive only among junior high students and engineering majors and is negative for senior high students, social science majors, education majors, and those studying at a language school. Engineering majors apparently tend to study English for more extrinsic and pragmatic reasons than those who feel they need English for their future careers, such as students majoring in English education and those studying at an English language school. Table 5 also indicates that learners who are familiar with English or need English for their careers (e.g., junior college English majors, university students majoring in English as a foreign language, and those

studying English at a language school) felt that their teachers have a positive influence on their learning process while those in secondary school or those majoring in science or engineering did not. Finally, learners majoring in English as a foreign language reported less anxiety in the classroom than senior high students, junior college English majors, or social science majors.

Motivational Differences According to Gender and Grade Level

In order to investigate motivational differences with regard to gender and grade level, a 2 (male and female) by 6 (grade level) two-way MANOVA was performed with the six factor scores as dependent variables. The analysis confirmed that all multivariate *F* statistics (i.e., Pillai's trace, Wilks' lambda, Hotelling's trace and Roy's largest root) for the two main effects of gender and grade as well as interaction effects were significant (see Table 6). Therefore, a univariate analysis of variance for gender and grade interaction was performed to see which dependent variables were significant. As is shown in Table 7, only Factor 5 (Preference for Teacher-centered Lectures) was significant at the .005 level.

Insert Table 6 Near Here

Insert Table 7 Near Here

The descriptive statistics for Factor 5 are shown in Table 8 and the results are graphically summarized in Figure 1.

Insert Table 8 Near Here

Insert Figure 1 Near Here

Examination of Figure 1, the interaction plot for Factor 5 as determined by a post-hoc contrast (Scheffé's test), revealed that the second year male high school participants significantly preferred teacher-centered lectures. This outcome is somewhat perplexing. However the sample of second year high school students used here was taken from

three different schools with somewhat different academic expectations. Two of the schools are considered to be fairly academic while the remaining one is not, which may account for this result. Further studies are necessary to clarify this point.

Discussion and Pedagogical Implications

This study has attempted to identify the characteristics of foreign language motivation possessed by a range of EFL learners in Japan. The largest factor of language learning motivation observed is complex, consisting of intrinsic, integrative and instrumental subscales. This complexity is consistent with the findings of Koizumi and Matsuo (1993) and Matsukawa and Tachibana (1996), who suggest that there are multiple factors of language learning motivation among Japanese junior high school EFL students. The complexity of the first factor accurately reflects the lack of a single motivational factor among the present subjects as well, and may be evidence of the difficulty that many teachers report in motivating Japanese EFL learners. Comparative studies on learning styles such as Reid's (1987) have indicated Japanese learners' lack of predominant learning styles in comparison to learners of other nationalities. The present findings support the implication that Japanese learners may be hard to motivate to learn foreign languages.

However, a close examination of each questionnaire item for this factor (Table 2) shows that there seem to be three fairly distinct dimensions of "integrativeness." Items 39 (***Want to make American or British friends***) and 38 (***Long for American or British culture***) can be defined as Attitudes towards Anglophonic Culture, whereas Items 40 (***To touch upon the culture of English-speaking countries***), 15 (***To make friends or correspond with people in foreign countries***), and 41 (***To communicate with people in Southeast Asia or Africa***)[negative loading] are similar to Gardner's (1985) definition of the integrative motive, also involving to some extent Graham's assimilative motivation (Graham, cited in Brown, 1994, p. 155). On the other hand, Items 12 (***Useful when traveling in many countries***) and 33 (***Activities should be to improve communication skills in English***) can be described as the "friendship orientation" or "travel orientation" described by Clément and Kruidenier (1985), since opportunities for communication in a foreign language can easily be found while traveling in foreign countries.

Further interpretation of the items in Factor 1 and 2 in relation to their original subscales of motivation in our questionnaire reveals an-

other characteristic about EFL instrumental motivation in Japan. Items 15 (***To make friends or correspond with people in foreign countries***), 13 (***To study abroad in the future***), and 12 (***Useful when traveling in many countries***) were originally clustered on the instrumental subscale. However, as suggested above, these items seem to have a more integrative connotation when taken together with the other questionnaire items in Factor 1. This is a very different characteristic from that of the items originally clustered on the same instrumental subscale but located in Factor 2, such as Item 17 (***To find an exciting job***) or 18 (***To have a financial benefit***), which have stronger pragmatic connotations. The fact that items originally clustered in the same category as instrumental motivation exist in separate factors with slightly different connotation—the ones in Factor 1 being more integratively oriented and the ones in Factor 2 being more instrumental in a pragmatic sense— implies that the instrumental motivation found in the present study has multifaceted aspects. Gardner and MacIntyre (1991) describe two distinct kinds of instrumental motivation as follows:

> To the extent that an instrumental motive is tied to a specific goal, however, its influence would tend to be maintained only until that goal is achieved . . .On the other hand, if the goal is continuous, it seems possible that an instrumental motivation would also continue to be effective (pp. 70-71).

In the present study, however, the subscale items for instrumental motivation located in Factor 1 (Items 15, 13, and 12) might apply to cases related to continuous goals. Making foreign friends or going abroad for study or sightseeing purposes often requires learners to set long-term goals. On the other hand, the more pragmatic subscale items located in Factor 2 (Items 17 and 18) might be tied to a specific goal because finding an exciting job or receiving financial benefits relate more to short-term goals.

The existence of Factor 3 (Influence of Good Teachers) suggests that learners may attribute their success in learning a foreign language to their teachers. This result may seem to contradict Factor 5 which represents bad learning experiences caused by teachers or their teaching. However, this apparent contradiction can be interpreted as the opposite sides of the same coin. Teachers in a non-ESL setting such as Japan may have a greater influence on their learners in both positive and negative ways than ESL teachers. Unlike the ESL context, where learners are exposed to the target language outside of class, teachers in the Japanese EFL context tend to be the main provider of English

due to the absence of a target language community.

Another finding, Factor 4 (Language Use Anxiety), is also worthy of mention. Anxiety is usually considered to influence the language learning process. For example, Tsui's (1996) qualitative data analyses of reticence in Hong Kong EFL classes illustrate how language learning anxiety among Chinese students hinders their classroom interactions. According to Tsui, students did not take the initiative or answer questions until they were asked by the teacher to do so. Although the students knew the answers they felt anxious and did not want "to give their peers the impression that they are showing off" (Tsui, 1996, p. 158). It would be beneficial for teachers in the similar Japanese EFL setting to adopt the classroom strategies specified by Tsui (1996) such as "improving questioning technique," "accepting a variety of answers," and "peer support and group work or focus on content" (Tsui, 1996, pp. 161-163). It is also crucial for EFL teachers to create a comfortable classroom environment and to establish good relationships with their students, and thereby minimize negative anxiety.

Factor 5 (Preference for Teacher-centered Lectures) and Factor 6 (Negative Learning Experiences) were both shown to be motivational factors for EFL learners in Japan. Both of these factors as well as Factor 3 (Language Use Anxiety) are negative aspects in learning foreign languages. For example, those who have had negative experiences due to poor teachers or teaching may have high negative anxiety. Such learners may be inactive in class and may have lost interest in learning the foreign language. As a result, they may prefer passive or teacher-led language classes. Providing these learners with extracurricular opportunities may be one way to assist them to overcome their anxiety and negative feelings. For example, class journals for students or an e-mail bulletin board on the teacher's website can expand the chances of communication between teachers and learners.

A second purpose of this study was to investigate motivational factors present within different learning contexts. The major finding here is that those learners who need English skills for their present or future careers tend to be motivated intrinsically and integratively as well as instrumentally. One interesting phenomenon (Table 5) is that different motivational patterns can be observed for junior and senior high school learners. Both Factor 1 (Intrinsic-Instrumental-Integrative Motive) and Factor 2 (Extrinsic-Instrumental Motive) are high among junior high school 3rd year learners yet both were low among senior high school learners. This result suggests that junior high school learners are highly motivated compared to senior high school learners. However, in this sample, all of the 3rdyear junior high school students at-

tended a school attached to a national university of education and so have been screened by strict entrance examinations. Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that the present junior high school students showed high motivation scores. This finding must be confirmed by studies with different populations of junior and senior high school learners.

Another explanation can be found in the difficulty of holding learners' interest in studying English for a long period of time. While Japanese junior high school EFL learners are usually enthusiastic about English at least during the first semester of their first year, they start exhibiting unwilling attitudes towards learning English during the first semester of their second year (Hatori & Matsuhata, 1980). Another nationwide survey shows that 30.8 percent of high school students expressed an unwillingness to study English (Matsuura, Nishimoto, Ikeda, Kaneshige, Ito & Miura, 1997). These results support the suggestion that the senior high school EFL learners in the present study were less motivated than those in junior high school.

The final goal of this study was to explore motivational differences with regard to gender and grade levels. However, based on the results of the multivariate analyses of variance, interpretation of the significant interaction of gender and grade for Factor 5 (Preference for Teacher-centered Lectures) is difficult. One possible explanation for the high scores of the high school 2nd year male students is that they were particularly well motivated in terms of preparing for entrance examinations, and were willing to listen to English lessons presented in a lecture style. As mentioned, the high schools from which these students were drawn were relatively high in terms of academic level. As to why the female students from the same schools did not show the same results, it is necessary to wait until more research is conducted.

Conclusion

The findings from this study of a large sample of Japanese EFL learners from various learning milieus support several suggestions which have been made about language learning motivation. The data clearly indicates that the largest motivational factor in English language learning among Japanese EFL students is complex, with both intrinsic and integrative characteristics. What has been defined as instrumental motivation in the ESL context was also found to be the second largest motivational component among the present EFL learners, but in the Japanese context instrumentality itself seems to be multifaceted in nature.

The present data also suggests that Japanese EFL learners have inhibitory factors operating against learning English such as anxiety, past

negative experiences, or preferring teacher-dominated lectures. However the learners also hold an affirmative motivational factor recognizing the role of teachers in facilitating successful learning. These findings imply that EFL teachers should pay careful attention to their students, not only from a narrow pedagogical standpoint, but also in terms of human relations between learners and facilitators.

There are at least four areas that should be investigated in future research. First, the survey should be redesigned to include a more careful selection of items. Although the items in the present investigation were developed based on previous studies, with some items being directly adopted and others being modified or newly created, all items did not necessarily perform well. For example, although items such as Item 25 (***The appearance of teachers such as blue eyes or fair hair motivates one's English language learning***) were included because of the existence of this attitude elsewhere (for example, Suzuki, 1999), the item was extremely negatively skewed, meaning that Japanese EFL learners may no longer possess this sort of appearance-related xenophilic motivation for English learning.

Second, the motivation sub-categories should be reconsidered. Although the present questionnaire incorporated motivational components based on research in educational psychology, such as attribution, anxiety, and teacher specific and activity specific motivation, ample room is left for other components to be included.

Third, the relationships among motivational factors should be explored more fully. One way to analyze this is to employ a structural modeling approach to the present data. Finally, as Fotos (1994) notes, the research methodologies used to study language learning motivation should be more diverse. Research in this area "has been typically conducted using survey methods that have varied little since Gardner published his general research design in 1968" (Fotos, 1994, p. 44). However, it is insufficient to merely replicate this research, relying only on numerical data. Rather, future study should employ plural methods of data collection, including qualitative methods such as ethnographic classroom observation, classroom discourse protocol analysis, and diary analysis.

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Beliefs about Learning and Teaching Communicative English in Japan

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This study examines Japanese university EFL student and teacher beliefs about learning and teaching communicative English in Japan. Over 300 students and 82 college teachers were given a 36-item questionnaire to assess their beliefs about (a) important instructional areas, (b) goals and objectives, (c) instructional styles and methods, (d) teaching materials, and (e) cultural matters. The results indicate that many students preferred traditional styles of ELT pedagogy including a teacher-centered approach (listening to lectures), learning isolated skills (pronunciation), and focusing on accuracy (Japanese translation). On the other hand, the teachers' preferences appeared to have shifted towards more recent pedagogy such as a learner-centered approach, integrated skills, and a focus on fluency. These results suggest that constant assessment of student beliefs is essential to link ELT theories and classroom practice.

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Insert Japanese abstract here

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English education in Japan has seen a number of changes over the past 15 years. The Ministry of Education (MOE) has initiated several reforms at the secondary school level aimed at changing the prevailing system

of English education, often dominated by grammar-translation pedagogy, to one with a stronger emphasis on communication. The first of two prominent reforms is the JET (Japan Exchange and Teaching) Program, in which native English speaking ALTs (Assistant Language Teachers) team teach public school English classes with Japanese teachers of English (JTEs) (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2000). In 1999 alone 5,241 ALTs were appointed to junior and senior high schools throughout Japan (Ministry of Education, 1999a). The second MOE initiative was the 1994 introduction of a new high school subject, Oral Communication, consisting of three courses on listening, speaking, and discussion/debate. Many high schools have implemented this program and use oral communication textbooks screened and approved by MOE officials. Thus English education in Japan has progressed in the direction of teaching the language for communication.

At the university level as well, teaching and learning communication skills in English is now considered to be important. In November, 1999 the MOE asked one of its advisory boards to consider what language education ought to consist of, and in particular, to recommend how communication skills could be improved (Ministry of Education, 1999b). Recognizing that English is an important means of communication, the advisory board emphasized the need for increased English ability for all students, especially in the areas of listening and speaking (Ministry of Education, 2000). However, despite this stress on the communicative use of English, neither the MOE nor the advisory board has provided guidance as to pedagogical goals, objectives, or teaching methods for communicative English instruction. Therefore in practice these remain quite diverse, with unpredictable and unreliable outcomes. Unlike secondary school classes, university English classes need not use MOE-approved English textbooks, so there is a range of material and course designs. Thus both students and teachers continue to hold various beliefs about how English should be learned.

Learner and Teacher Beliefs about Language Learning

Learner beliefs about language learning is an important research area in ESL/EFL. As Horwitz (1988) pointed out, investigating learners' beliefs has "relevance to the understanding of their expectations of, commitment to, success in, and satisfaction with language classes" (p. 283). Although few researchers have examined students' beliefs about language learning (see Wenden, 1986; Horwitz, 1988; Mori, 1999), students hold various ideas and beliefs as to how they can better learn a language and how teachers can help them. It is worthwhile, therefore, to investigate how student beliefs differ from teacher beliefs because

such differences can influence the effectiveness of classroom instruction.

Learner Beliefs

A study by Horwitz (1988) investigated beliefs of university students in beginning-level foreign language classes. Using the BALLI (Beliefs About Language Learning Inventory) scale (Horwitz, 1985), Horwitz assessed student beliefs in five areas: (a) difficulty of language learning, (b) foreign language aptitude, (c) the nature of language learning, (d) learning communication strategies, and (e) motivations and expectations. Wenden (1986) also examined learner beliefs about second language learning by interviewing a group of adult ESL learners in advanced-level English classes in the U.S.A. and classifying their responses into five categories: (a) designating (language), (b) diagnosing (language proficiency), (c) evaluating (outcome of strategies), (d) self-analyzing (personal factors), and (e) theorizing (how best to approach language learning).

Teacher Beliefs

 Other researchers have investigated beliefs and attitudes held by teachers (see Wolf & Riordan, 1991; Chiba & Matsuura, 1998; Renandya, Lim, Leong & Jacobs, 1999). Wolf and Riordan (1991), for example, conducted a survey on attitudes of foreign language teachers toward curriculum, instruction, and assessment practices. Their survey included two instructional approaches, a traditional approach and a teaching-for-proficiency approach. Teachers who preferred the traditional approach were likely to agree with such questionnaire items as "***In introductory classes students should focus only on the grammar mechanics of the language,***" and ***"Direct translation into the native language is the most effective way to evaluate reading comprehension"*** (p. 475). On the other hand, teachers who preferred the teaching-for-proficiency approach were likely to think that ***"Teachers should evaluate communication activities by the success of the communication,"*** and ***"Teachers should include some communication activities in student evaluation procedures at all levels of instruction"*** (p. 476). For this group the traditional teaching approach received either "disagree" or "strongly disagree" as responses while the teaching-for-proficiency approach elicited either "agree" or "strongly agree" reactions.

   In a survey of teacher attitudes in Japan, Chiba and Matsuura (1998) reported findings from a Japanese university freshman EFL program where native English speakers and Japanese teachers team taught the

same classes. The researchers examined differences in ideas about course objectives, teaching styles, materials, and cultural concerns between native English speaking teachers and Japanese teachers of English, and the results indicated some differences in teaching styles between the two groups. The native English speaking teachers tended to believe more strongly than their Japanese counterparts that group work and game-oriented activities are effective for Japanese students. While most Japanese teachers of English felt that using the students' first language (L1) is helpful or necessary, most native English speaking teachers disagreed with the idea of using the students' L1 in English class. Furthermore, the Japanese teachers of English were relatively strict regarding their students' linguistic errors, whereas the native English speaking teachers tended to show more tolerance toward errors.

Research Focus

The present study uses a questionnaire to examine Japanese university EFL students' beliefs about learning and teaching communicative English and compares them with those of university EFL teachers. The research questions are:

1. What instructional areas do Japanese university EFL students and teachers believe are important in learning and teaching communicative English?
2. How do both groups think that students can best approach English in the Japanese university EFL classroom?
3. How do Japanese university EFL student beliefs differ from teacher beliefs?

Method

Subjects

Students

The 301 participants in this study were enrolled in English classes taught by the three researchers at three universities in Tokyo, Fukushima, and Kanagawa and thus constitute a convenience sample. They were all native Japanese speakers studying English as a foreign language (EFL). Their average age was 19.6 years old with a range of 18 to 26; 85 were male and 211 were female and five were of unknown gender. One hundred forty-two students (47%) were majoring in English, 84 (27.9%) in economics, 61 (20.3%) in education, 10 (3.3%) in international rela-

tions, and 4 (1.3%) in other fields.

Teachers

A convenience sample of 82 Japanese college and university English teachers collaborated in this study. The teachers included colleagues of the investigators as well as volunteers recruited at a professional conference and through the Internet. Forty-one were native English speakers and 41 were native Japanese speakers, with an average age of 42.1 (**SD**=8.9) and 45.8 (**SD**=12.1) respectively. The native English speaker group consisted of 29 Americans, seven British, three Canadians, and two Irish. Their average length of stay in Japan was 8.77 years, with a range of four months to 35 years. Sixty teachers (73.2%) were teaching General English, 55 (67.1%) were teaching Listening, 52 (63.4%) were teaching Speaking, 54 (65.9%) were teaching Reading, and 63 (76.8%) were teaching Writing. The length of their teaching experience ranged from two years to 45 years, with an average of 15.88 years.

Questionnaires

Two questionnaires were developed, one for the students and the other for the teachers. Each consisted of 36 statements followed by a 6-point Likert scale to indicate agreement or disagreement. The investigators decided to use a 6-point scale rather than a 7-point scale hoping that subjects would more clearly indicate either positive or negative attitudes toward each questionnaire item. The subjects were asked to read each statement and indicate their reaction by choosing a number from 1 (strongly agree) to 6 (strongly disagree). The questionnaires were constructed by modifying the questionnaire Chiba and Matsuura (1998) used previously, adding items to elicit subjects' beliefs regarding important aspects for communicative language learning and teaching.

The student version of the questionnaire was written in Japanese and elicited beliefs about learning. The teacher version was written in English and elicited beliefs about teaching. Although the wording of the two questionnaires was not the same, the statements in both aimed to assess a variety of beliefs in the following five categories: (a) important instructional areas in communicative language learning and teaching, (b) goals and objectives, (c) teaching styles and methods, (d) teaching materials, and (e) cultural matters. Aspects of communicative language learning and teaching included such instructional areas as listening, speaking, reading, writing, grammar, pronunciation, culture, and language function. The term "styles" in "teaching styles" simply

referred to methods of teaching and did not indicate aspects of individual differences such as cognitive styles (e.g., field-dependence vs. field-independence) or the affective styles (e.g., ambiguity tolerance vs. ambiguity intolerance) which have been investigated in language learning and teaching research (see Ehrman & Oxford, 1990; Reid, 1995).

Data Collection Procedures

The investigators distributed the student version of the questionnaire during regular EFL classes at three universities where they were teaching. Response was optional. The teacher version of the questionnaire was distributed as printed copies and on the Internet. Hard copies, with a return envelope, were handed out to approximately 70 college English teachers at a professional conference and at the schools where they worked. Nearly 90% of the teachers answered the questionnaire. The Internet home page address, attached to e-mail messages requesting collaboration, was sent out to approximately 200 teachers randomly selected from a member list of an academic organization for college EFL teaching. Only about 10% of those who received the e-mail responded to the web version of the questionnaire. The investigators speculated that one reason for the low return rate was that the e-mail request could be ignored relatively easily, especially when the e-mail receiver did not know who the senders were. Another reason was caused by technical problems with the software. The investigators received messages from several e-mail recipients reporting that they could not access the web page. Better ways of collecting data through the Internet need to be developed for future studies.

Data Analyses

As stated earlier, the students and teachers in this study answered two different questionnaires, the student version written in Japanese and the teacher version written in English. The stimulus statements in both versions were developed so that students and teachers could indicate their beliefs regarding common concepts. Consequently, the wording and perspectives of each statement were not always identical so it was impossible to compare the answers of students and teachers directly and statistically. For example, Item 12 in the student version was intended to elicit general views of the communicative English classroom through the statement, *"Speaking is an important aspect of learning communication."* On the other hand, the statement in the teacher version was intended to investigate how many teachers taught speaking

in their class and was worded ***"Speaking is an important aspect of teaching communication in my class."***

The following sections compare the percentages of students and teachers who were positive or negative toward each questionnaire item. In addition, some perceptual differences between native English speaking teachers and Japanese teachers of English are analyzed in terms of teaching communicative English. For this purpose independent *t*-tests followed by a Bonferroni correction were used to determine the significance of differences between the responses of the English native speaker teachers and the Japanese teachers to nine items reflecting the four skills of English, cultural aspects, speech functions, and non-verbal communication: Item 6, Functions; Item 12, Speaking; Item 15, Grammar; Item 19, Listening; Item 23, Cultural differences; Item 25, Reading; Item 30, Non-verbal cues; Item 31, Pronunciation; and Item 35, Writing.

Results

Beliefs about Important Instructional Areas

As shown in Table 1, the students tended to consider the nine aspects of the questionnaire (i.e., functions, speaking, grammar, listening, cultural differences, reading, non-verbal cues, pronunciation, and writing) important for learning communicative English. However the traditional instructional areas (reading, writing, and grammar) were not considered as important as speaking and listening. The teachers' views were similar to the students' views except for pronunciation (Item 31). Here only 68.3% of the teachers indicated that they emphasized teaching pronunciation, whereas more than 91% of the students indicated that learning correct pronunciation was important.

Insert Table 1 about here

As shown in Table 2, the teachers' native language appeared to influence their responses. As measured by independent *t*-tests comparing the mean scores for the nine questionnaire aspects, the native English speaking teachers and the Japanese teachers of English gave significantly different responses to most of the items except for Items 15, 25, and 35. However, after application of the Bonferroni correction procedure (dividing the alpha level of .05 by the number of *t*- tests performed [nine], giving a very conservative significance level of .0056), only Items 12 (Speaking) and 30 (Non verbal cues) were sig-

nificantly different between the two groups of teachers. This difference suggested the presence of different attitudes regarding instructional areas other than grammar, reading, and writing, traditionally well-covered areas in educational settings in Japan, and should be investigated further.

Insert Table 2 about here

Beliefs about Goals and Objectives

Students and teachers displayed similar beliefs about the goals and objectives of English learning and teaching (Table 3). Most students believed that learning to respond to each other and to interact with their teachers are necessary (Items 7 and 11). A majority also believed that knowledge of Western-style learning strategies and communication styles is important (Item 17). Furthermore, nearly two thirds of the students believed that teachers should not focus on grammar (Item 22). Likewise, teachers tended to think that students should learn to respond to each other, have more interaction with their teachers, and adopt different learning strategies and communication styles. In addition, 59.8% of the teachers believed that they do not focus only on teaching grammar.

Insert Table 3 about here

On the other hand student beliefs were quite different from those of the teachers for six items. More than 67% of the students thought that their teachers should ask them what they want to learn in class. However, the teachers were divided about who should decide class objectives (Item 1). Furthermore, more than 67% of the students thought that Japanese translation is necessary for English reading comprehension, whereas nearly half (47.6%) of the teachers were against the use of translation for evaluating reading comprehension (Item 2). Most students felt that English should be a required course at the university level, whereas the teachers' beliefs were divided (Item 3). While 46.3% of the teachers agreed with this, 31.7% disagreed either strongly or moderately. Additionally, a majority of the students tended to believe that "interaction" and "communication" are the same or have quite similar meanings (Item 8) whereas 67% of the teachers disagreed. Moreover, the teachers' ideas about correcting grammatical mistakes were

different from those of students (Item 9). While 88% of the students indicated that they wanted their teachers to correct their grammar mistakes, 14.6% of the teachers indicated that they seldom correct their students' mistakes, with only 54.9% correcting mistakes. Furthermore, while nearly 90% of the students indicated that teachers should put more emphasis on listening and speaking (Item 10), the percentage of teachers who actually emphasized these areas more than reading and writing was much lower, at 59.7%. This final point was perhaps related to the instructional areas of the teacher, since the number who were teaching reading and writing combined (*n*=117) was a little greater than those who were teaching listening and speaking (*n*=107).

Beliefs about Instructional Styles and Methods

As shown in Table 4, there were similarities and differences between student beliefs and teacher beliefs regarding instructional styles. Both students and teachers agreed that group work and paired activities are appropriate for Japanese students. For Items 14 and 27, a number of students and teachers supported the ideas that working in a group is more effective than individual work and that paired activities are a productive use of class time. Many in both groups indicated that some knowledge of the Japanese language is needed for teachers to analyze students' mistakes and to explain grammar points (Items 33 and 36). A majority of both groups disagreed with the idea of game-oriented activities being childish, although a larger percentage of students (84.3%) than teachers (67%) disagreed with the idea.

Insert Table 4 about here

While a large majority of the teachers (92.7%) wanted feedback on how their students feel about their class, only 3.7 % of the students strongly agreed that they want to talk to their teachers about their feelings and 8.6% moderately agreed with this idea (Item 13). In addition a high percentage of students (80.4%) supported the idea that listening to a lecture is an effective way of learning English, whereas the teachers' beliefs about this varied. Fewer than half of the teachers saw lectures as an effective means of teaching English and the percentage of teachers who either strongly or moderately agreed with this item was low (2.4% and 13.4% respectively).

Beliefs about Teaching Materials

Students and teachers also held different opinions regarding appropriate topics for teaching materials (Table 5). More than 95% of the students supported the idea that the most appropriate topics for learning English deal with everyday life (Item 29). However only 1.2% of the teachers strongly agreed, 20.7% moderately agreed, and 40.2% slightly agreed with this item and 36.7% held negative attitudes toward this choice of topic. Another discrepancy concerned learning and teaching about social issues (Item 4). More than 66% of the students agreed that learning about social issues is the most appropriate way to study English, whereas only 48.8% of the teachers held positive attitudes toward this idea. More than 50% of the teachers felt negatively about this idea.

Insert Table 5 about here

There were some also differences in beliefs about the nature of appropriate teaching material. A high percentage of students (88.1%) indicated that course material should be up to date (Item 20), and 88.3% thought that their level of English ability should be the most important consideration when selecting material (Item 34). On the other hand, only 56.2% of the teachers thought that up-to-date course material is important, while 42.6% disagreed. However nearly 77% of the teachers agreed that the ability of the students should be the most important consideration in selecting course material.

Beliefs about Cultural Matters

As shown in Table 6, the answers of the students and teachers were quite similar for questionnaire items relating to Japanese culture. There were similar responses with regard to the motivation of Japanese students (Item 5): 42.8% of the students and 45.1% of the teachers agreed that Japanese students are motivated to study English. Slightly more teachers (37.6%) than students (24.6%) thought that Japanese students can be impolite because they sometimes overgeneralize Western culture (Item 18), although a majority of students and teachers tended to disagree with this assertion. Both students and teachers tended to think that the teacher's authority is respected in the Japanese classroom (Item 26). Both groups tended to believe that it is necessary for foreign teachers to know Japanese culture when interacting with Japanese students (Item 32), but more teachers (92.7 %) tended to agree with this state-

ment than did students (81.1%) and the teachers showed a stronger degree of agreement. Furthermore, more than half of both groups (62.2% of the teachers and 64.8% of the students) thought that student reticence is a problem in class (Item 24). However, the wording of the statements on the two questionnaires was slightly different so direct comparison is difficult.

Insert Table 6 about here

Discussion

 This study has identified some discrepancies between Japanese EFL learner and teacher beliefs about English language learning and teaching. A number of students reported that they preferred traditional aspects of language instruction, while the teachers preferred more recent instructional trends. As to what constitutes a traditional approach to language instruction, Renandya, Lim, Leong & Jacobs (1999) have analyzed the differences between the traditional paradigm and the current communicative paradigm in ELT methodology through a review of the work of Larsen-Freeman (1998), Genesee and Upshur (1996), Nunan (1988), Richards and Rodgers (1986), and Tudor (1996). According to Renandya et al. (1999), the traditional paradigm can be characterized by the following eight characteristics: (a) focus on language, (b) teacher-centeredness, (c) isolated skills, (d) focus on accuracy, (e) discrete point tests, (f) traditional tests, (g) emphasis on product, and (h) individual learning. In contrast, the current communicative paradigm is represented by a different set of characteristics: (a) focus on communication, (b) learner-centeredness, (c) integrated skills, (d) focus on fluency, (e) holistic tests, (f) authentic assessment, (g) emphasis on process, and (h) cooperative learning.

One of the attitudinal gaps identified between teachers and students concerned pronunciation (Table 1, Item 31). The students were quite interested in learning correct pronunciation; however the teachers reported that pronunciation is not strongly emphasized in their classrooms. Perhaps this is because current trends in EFL education focus on the development of communicative competence through integrated skills rather than through the teaching of isolated skills such as pronunciation. Unlike the grammar-translation and audiolingual methods prevalent some decades ago, one of the most important things in communicative language learning and teaching is to get one's message across. In communication a smooth transaction is valued more than

linguistic or pronunciation accuracy. However, since students seem to consider pronunciation important, teachers should determine whether their students want pronunciation practice, and if there are reasons why pronunciation is not emphasized in class, these reasons should be explained. For example some teachers might explain that fluency is more important than linguistic accuracy.

Item 1, *I often let students decide what they want to do in class* (Table 3), indicated the teachers' preference for a learner-centered approach where students determine class objectives. In addition many teachers wanted to know their students' reactions to their class (Table 4, Item 13). On the other hand nearly 60% of the students expressed negative attitudes toward the statement *I want to talk to my teacher how I feel about our class*.

Although lectures are seldom delivered in EFL classrooms except in English for Academic Purposes or other content-based classes, about three-fourths of the students believed that listening to a lecture is an effective way of learning English. Students may believe that listening to a lecture improves their listening comprehension skills provided that the lecture content and level of English are appropriate. In addition, student participation is not required during lectures so some students may feel less anxiety. However the teachers' reactions to giving lectures were diverse (Table 4, Item 28).

Most students rely on translation for reading comprehension and a majority of the students thought that translation into Japanese is necessary. This implies that they expect their teachers to use grammar-translation pedagogy since in many high school classrooms reading is taught through *yakudoku*, an instructional style characterized by Japanese translation with grammar instruction as a secondary focus (Gorsuch, 1998). Thus English reading comprehension is almost equivalent to translation into Japanese. Many students in this study experienced the *yakudoku* learning style in high school and this may have made them feel secure when using Japanese translation to comprehend reading materials. On the other hand, although the wording of the questionnaire item was slightly different, the teachers' attitudes toward the use of translation were both positive and negative. Although this might partially be due to differences between native English speaking teachers and Japanese teachers of English, most teachers expressed negative attitudes toward the use of translation, especially for assessing students' reading comprehension abilities.

In addition to student and teacher differences regarding instructional style, another important difference concerned making English a required subject (Table 3, Item 3). About 80% of the students strongly, moderately, or slightly agreed with the idea that English should be a

required course at university level in Japan. This may be because English is closely linked to the concept of internationalization. Internationalization was a buzzword in every educational institution in Japan throughout the 1990s and EFL students may assume that in order to become a ***kokusaijin***, (an internationally-minded person) they should have a good command of English. However, it has been noted that foreign language education at the secondary school level is most likely to affect students' understanding of internationalization (Parmenter, 1999) and even today only a few Japanese students have a chance to learn other languages prior to entering university. As of 1997, only 5% of senior high schools offered Chinese, 1.9% Korean, 3.5% French, and 1% German (Shimizu, 1999). It is thus quite natural for Japanese students to believe that English should be a required subject rather than other foreign languages

While more than half of the teachers in this study supported the idea of English as a required subject, 42% held negative attitudes toward this notion. In the mid-1990s many Japanese colleges and universities reformed their curriculum for general education using two key words: internationalization and computerization. Although many English teachers are aware that English is an important means of communication in the international community as well as in cyberspace, perhaps those who hold negative attitudes towards making English compulsory believe that English is not the only language for internationalization and the Internet. Another consideration is that some teachers may feel that if English were an elective subject, only highly motivated students would enroll in class.

Conclusion

This exploratory study investigated university student and teacher beliefs about English learning and teaching in Japan. It was found that a number of students preferred instructional methods characterizing more traditional types of ESL/EFL pedagogy such as learning isolated skills, focusing on accuracy, and learning through a teacher-centered approach. Furthermore, a majority of the students believed that learning correct pronunciation is important for communication, translation is needed for reading comprehension, and listening to lectures is an effective way of learning English. On the other hand, the teachers' instructional style preference has shifted to a more communicative paradigm, including a focus on communication, learner-centered activities, integrated skills, and a focus on fluency rather than accuracy. Many teachers let their students decide what to study in class, do not emphasize teaching pronunciation, and disagree with the idea that giving lec-

tures is an effective way of teaching English. Finally, the students' positive reaction to making English compulsory in universities is suggested to be based on or at least reinforced by the popular Japanese belief that ***kokusaijin*** (internationally-minded people) should be able to communicate in English because English is an international language.

It is very important for teachers to be aware that some of their students may not be used to or may not prefer the instructional styles they use in class. As mentioned, quite a number of students indicated a strong preference for conservative teaching and learning styles. When students enter university and encounter new teaching and learning styles, they may become anxious. Teachers can play an important part in easing their students' anxiety by explaining how the students can learn more effectively with the new approaches. Alternatively, teachers may also consider modifying their style to remove or lessen student anxiety.

Regarding future directions for research, this study has only identified some beliefs. Most of the questionnaire items used here could be categorized as Wenden's "theorizing" (1986). Further studies should therefore be conducted to examine Wenden's other types of beliefs, for example, "diagnosing" (language proficiency) and "evaluating" (outcome of strategies). In addition, future studies should use other types of questionnaire formats. Open-ended types of questionnaires, for instance, would elicit more authentic and more detailed beliefs.

Teachers should also consider how to integrate their students' beliefs into classroom practice. The results of this study provide some pedagogical suggestions for classroom instruction and curriculum design. As shown, students' beliefs about how they should approach English learning may differ from what teachers and researchers believe. In order for students to gain maximum benefit from the methods that their teachers use, constant assessment of learner beliefs is needed to evaluate and adjust current theories and practice.

Acknowledgments

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What Counts in the Acquisition and Attrition of Numeral Classifiers?

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This study compares second language (L2) acquisition and attrition sequences of the syntax and semantics of numeral classifier systems in light of considerations of markedness, frequency, and the regression hypothesis. In classifier data elicited from English-speaking adult learners and attriters of two East Asia languages, Japanese and Chinese, we find in the attrition of both languages, in both syntax and semantics, a regression of the acquisition sequence. An implicational semantic scale, the Numeral Classifer Accessibility Hierarchy, coinciding closely with the relative frequencies of the classifiers in input, appears to provide a path of least resistance for the learning and the loss of the semantic systems.

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Insert Japanese abstract here

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This paper examines interlanguage classifier systems, an aspect of second language (L2) semantics and lexicon that has scarcely been touched upon in previous research. The focus is on the accessibility of numeral classifiers in the learning and subsequent forgetting of two East Asian languages by English-speaking adults. The aims of the investigation are (a) to determine the stages of classifier syntax in learning and loss, (b) to examine semantic accessibility in classifier systems in learning and loss, and (c) to explain the findings in light of considerations of markedness, frequency, and the regression hypothesis. A comparison of data from two groups within the same population who learned un-

related languages, Japanese or Chinese, increases the transparency of the window that is provided into universals in second language progression and regression.

Numeral Classifier Systems

The languages of the world can be divided into two groups with regard to numeral classifiers: those that have classifiers, such as the majority of languages in East and Southeast Asia, and those that do not, such as most European languages, including English (Allan, 1977). In Japanese and Chinese the numeral classifiers, or "counters" as they are also called, are morphemes which occur adjacent to numerals and categorize the noun referent based on semantic features such as animacy, shape, size, arrangement, and function. A counter is obligatory in a noun phrase containing a numeral, and, as shown in the following examples, occurs between the number and the noun referent:

(1)	English	three			books
(2)	Japanese	*san*	*satu*	*no*	*hon*
		(three	classifier	poss. part.	book)
(3)	Mandarin	*san*	*ben*		*shu*
		(three	classifier		book)

There are scores of such counters in both Japanese and Chinese which co-occur only with nouns that share the semantic feature specified by that classifier. In the schematic organizations of the Japanese and Mandarin classifier systems shown in Appendix I, we include the particular classifiers that are examined in the present study. While these two systems have many similarities, they do differ in the details of the semantic classifications as well as in the amount of variability allowed in reference. Chinese noun classes are more variable than those in Japanese, with a greater tendency for fuzzy sets that are often mutually overlapping.

The research on the semantics, frequency, and historical development of classifiers in many languages has established an implicational scale of the semantic features of classification (Craig, 1986). This scale is derived from cross-linguistic investigations such as Adams and Conklin's (1973) study of the classifier inventories of 37 Asian languages. This study reports that animacy, in the form of a human/non-human distinction or an animate/inanimate distinction, is always encoded. The three basic shape categories of long, round, and flat usually appear also. Secondary parameters, such as rigidity and size, are

often found but usually in combination with the primary parameters instead of serving as the sole basis for classification. Functional parameters such as tools, footwear, and written materials also appear frequently, but, unlike the parameters of shape and animacy, are quite language-specific, reflecting the interests of members of the particular culture in which the language is spoken. The points on the implicational scale of semantic features, the Numeral Classifier Accessibility Hierarchy (NCAH), are ordered as follows:

Animate human > Animate non human > Shape > Function

In applying this hierarchy of markedness to the issues raised in the present study, we hypothesize that the accessibility of classifiers in acquisition and attrition follows the order of this implicational scale. That is, we expect the least marked distinction, animate: human, to be the earliest to appear and the longest to be retained, and the distinction at the end of the scale, function, to be the last to appear and the earliest to be lost after the onset of attrition.

Acquisition of Numeral Classifiers

A number of first language (L1) studies have examined the acquisition of numeral classifiers by children in several Asian languages: Japanese (Clancy, 1986; Matsumoto, 1985; Sanches, 1977), Chinese (Erbaugh, 1986; Hu, 1993; Ken, 1991), Garo (Burling, 1973), and Thai (Carpenter, 1991; Gandour, Petty, Dardarananda, Dechongkit & Mukangoen, 1984). In Japanese the first two classifiers learned are the general inanimate (*tu*), and the human classifier (*nin*), followed by the counters for flat, thin objects *(mai)*, small animals (*hiki*), long slender objects (*hon*), small three-dimensional objects (*ko*), and vehicles (*dai*) (Sanches, 1977; Matsumoto, 1985; Downing, 1996). After these basic forms are acquired, Sanches (1977) reports the acquisition of the classifiers for books (*satu*) and for birds and rabbits (*wa*), followed by the counters for buildings (*ken*) and small boats (*soo*). For Chinese, Hu (1993) found that small children acquire the Chinese classifiers denoting animacy earlier than classifiers denoting shape and function, as predicted by considerations of markedness and language universals. In fact, the L1 Chinese children learned to draw a distinction between animates and inanimates as early as three years of age. Hu also reported that the children tended to use this general classifier more than specific ones.

In their comparative study of L1 Japanese and Chinese classifiers, Uchida and Imai (in press) outline three stages of acquisition. In the first, children fail to supply a classifier. In the second, they become

aware of the grammatical role of classifiers but still lack the knowledge to differentiate usage of the classifiers, which results in rampant overgeneralization. Gradually the children proceed to the third stage in which the semantic rules for each classifier are sorted out.

The present line of inquiry (Hansen & Davies, 1998; Chen, 1999; Hansen & Chen, 1999) is the first to investigate the accessibility of numeral classifiers in L2 learning and loss in adults.

The Regression Hypothesis

Since the study of language attrition is relatively recent (for overviews of this sub-field of applied linguistics, see de Bot & Weltens, 1995; Hansen & Reetz-Kurashige, 1999; Hansen, 2000a, 2000b, in press), much more is known about the sequences of language learning than of language loss. In the second language acquisition field, interlanguage, the language of L2 learners, is seen as a series of stages that all learners pass through in acquiring a language. In language attrition, the regression hypothesis is the idea that, in losing a language, attriters will follow an order opposite to the stages of acquisition. Dating back to Jakobson (1968), the hypothesis describes the path of language loss as the mirror opposite of acquisition, with the last learned being the first forgotten, the first learned being the longest retained (for a review of regression theory, see de Bot & Weltens, 1991).

In the language attrition literature the regression hypothesis has been supported in a general sense at the inter-linguistic skills level: receptive skills precede productive skills in acquisition and the reverse holds true for attrition. At the intra-linguistic level (within morphology, syntax, semantics, and the lexicon), however, documenting that the stages of development are reversed in attrition is more difficult. Tracking both acquisition and attrition is time consuming and a universal or predictable developmental ladder has been established for only a limited number of linguistic structures. However, a number of studies have demonstrated through testing that the regression hypothesis holds (Cohen, 1975; Berman & Olshtain, 1983; Olshtain, 1989; Hansen, 1999). In a longitudinal study of the acquisition and attrition of negation in Hindi-Urdu by two American children, Hansen (1980, p. 169) concludes that "the forgetting data from both children could be interpreted as a recapitulation in reverse of the acquisitional sequence." Kuhberg's (1992, p. 138) longitudinal L2 acquisition and attrition study of three Turkish children's German found that "attrition was largely a mirror image of acquisition: First learned, basic syntactic patterns were retained longest." As Yoshitomi (1992, p. 295) cautions, however, "the generalizability of reverse order [the regression hypothesis] at the in-

tra-skills level is limited because the hypothesis has been tested on only a limited number of specific syntactic structures."

Research Focus

In examining the acquisition and attrition accessibility of numeral classifier systems, the present study looks for evidence of regression in semantics and the lexicon as well as syntax. The research questions are:

1. What are the stages in the learning and loss of numeral classifier syntax in Japanese and Chinese by English-speaking adults?
2. What are the sequences of semantic accessibility?
3. To what extent are the accessibility sequences of the numeral classifiers explained by considerations of language universals and frequency in input?
4. Does classifier accessibility in attrition follow a reverse order to that of acquisition?

Method

Subjects and Data Collection

The subjects included two groups of learners and attriters from the same population. They were native speakers of English in the western United States who, as young adults, had worked (or, in the case of the learners, were working) as full-time missionaries in Japan or Taiwan. Immersed in the culture of their target language, Japanese or Mandarin Chinese, they had acquired (or were acquiring) fluent competence in the spoken language through daily interaction with native speakers. The length of time spent in the target culture by the subjects varied from as little as 18 months (for females over the past two decades) to as long as three years (for males before 1959). Upon completion of their missions, the attriters (those who were or would be losing their L2) returned to an English environment in the western United States where L2 exposure was discontinued or greatly reduced.

The L2 Japanese learner/attriter group consisted of 204 learners (153 male, 51 female), 192 attriters (138 male and 54 female), and a control group of 14 native speakers of Japanese. The learners in Japan were selected randomly at missionary conferences attended by all missionaries serving in a particular area. The data were collected individually from each subject in a classroom. The attriters back in the western United States were found through lists of returned missionary organi-

zations which included virtually all who had served during particular times in particular areas of Japan, and also by word of mouth from other missionaries. Ninety-two percent of those contacted agreed to participate in the data elicitation, which was done in their home, office, or an office on a university campus. Of the 14 native speakers of Japanese, seven were students at Brigham Young University, Hawaii. They completed the data elicitation in a university office. The remaining seven were university students in Japan in the same age range, who were met in their residences. Since the data from the native speaker subgroups did not differ statistically, they were combined for the analyses.

The L2 Mandarin learner/attriter group consisted of 167 learners (140 male, 27 female), 143 attriters (109 male, 34 female), and a control group of 35 native speakers of Mandarin. The learners in Taiwan were selected randomly at missionary conferences attended by all missionaries serving in a particular area. The data were collected individually from each subject in a classroom. The attriters in the United States were located through organizations for returned missionaries or from an internet site for Chinese-speaking returned missionaries, and were interviewed by telephone. The 35 native Mandarin speakers were Taiwanese students at Brigham Young University, Hawaii and were met in their homes or in a classroom on the university campus. Because of different preparation times, the data tables include only 189 members of the Japanese attriter group and but 145 members of the Chinese attriter group.

Elicitation Instruments

 The instrument administered to the L2 Japanese learners/attriters consisted of a set of 24 line drawings, each displaying between one and five exemplars of the pictured object on a 4" x 6" card (see Appendix II, Items 1 to 24). Presented in two alternating randomized orders, there were two items for each of the following twelve classifiers: humans (***nin***), small animals (***hiki***), pieces of paper/leaves (***mai***), pens/tulips (***hon***), small round pieces of candy (***ko***), books (***satu***), vehicles (***dai***), buildings (***ken***), birds (***wa***), pairs of footwear (***soku***), large animals (***too***), and letters (***tuu***). Each subject was given the cards and asked to tell the number of items pictured. The responses were recorded on an answer sheet by the investigator.

In the Chinese data collection sessions, one of three tasks completed was a modified version of the Japanese instrument described above.[1] In replicating the Japanese elicitation task for the Chinese study, we found that for three of the 12 Japanese counters (***mai, hon, hiki***) the

exemplar pairs elicited two different classifiers from native speakers of Mandarin. For example leaves and pieces of paper, which had been used to elicit the single classifier, *mai*, in Japanese, fell into two separate semantic categories in Mandarin, *pin* being used for the classification of leaves; *zhang* for paper. In these three cases of semantic split of the Japanese categories, the new classifications were added to the Chinese version of the task, with a pair of exemplars included for each (the additional items are shown in Appendix II, Items 25 to 30). The Mandarin instrument therefore consisted of 30 line drawings (rather than 24 as for the Japanese), two items for each of the following fifteen classifiers: humans (*ge, wei, dui)* books (*ben*), pieces of paper (*zhang*), small animals (*zhi*), large animals (*tao, zhi*), birds (*zhi*), pencils/pens (*he, zhi*), fish (*taio*), letters (*feng*), pairs of footwear (*shuan*), vehicles (*liang, tai, bu*), buildings (*jian, don, zou*), small round pieces of candy (*ke, li*), flowers (*duo*), and leaves (*pin*). The drawings were presented on a picture sheet mailed or faxed to the subjects. In the telephone interview the learners/attriters were required to orally specify the number of items shown in each drawing. Again, the responses were recorded on an answer sheet by the investigators.

Calculating Suppliance

Correct classifier suppliance in both the Japanese and Chinese data was determined by the responses of the native speaking control groups. The patterns of correct suppliance between the two languages vary because of basic differences in their systems of classification. The semantic criteria for determining Mandarin classifier classes appear to be more complex than in Japanese and the relations among different classifier categories in Mandarin are more complicated and overlapping. One outcome of the scoring procedures based on these differences is the appearance of higher correct suppliance of classifiers by the Mandarin learners and attriters than by the Japanese. Therefore, because of the language-specific scoring methods used, and in light of Uchida and Imai's (in press) finding that native Japanese children learn the Japanese classifier system earlier than Chinese children learn the Chinese, we suggest a cautionary approach in comparisons made between our two data sets.

In counting suppliance in Japanese, morpho-phonemic deviations from the native-speaker norm (e.g., *ippiki* vs. *nihiki* vs. *sanbiki*) were considered correct as long as the root form of the classifier was supplied. In Japanese, even though the general classifier, *tu,* can optionally replace specific inanimate classifiers in many instances, the Japanese native speaking control group did not use *tu* in our elicitation

task. It appears that the general classifier is avoided by competent adult speakers, at least in a formal situation when a more specific alternative is available and when the features involved in defining that more specific category are relevant in context.   Thus for the Japanese learners/ attriters in the present study, production of the specific classifier was required to count as suppliance. In Chinese, however, the responses from the Chinese native speaker control group reveal more complicated relations among different classifier categories. The criterion we adopted for correct suppliance in Mandarin was whether a particular response had been elicited for an item from members of the control group. Thus, because of the variation in native speaker responses, three of the fifteen classifier categories are considered to have three "correct" responses, four of the categories have two acceptable answers, and the remaining eight have a single classifier that counts as correct suppliance.

Results and Discussion

Acquisition and Attrition Stages

 Three stages of numeral classifier syntax can be seen in both sets of production data: (1) no classifier in the obligatory context, (2) an unmarked classifier is inserted between numeral and noun, with gradual acquisition of appropriate semantic categories, and (3) correct classifier suppliance. These stages, summarized in Table 1, are reversed in attrition.

Insert Table 1 Here

   Typical examples of developing classifier choice are given in Chart 1, which shows the most frequent responses for *dai*   over the time cohorts, and in Chart 2 for *wa* (since only the dominant responses are charted, not all totals reach 100%)*.* Accessibility of the classifiers is shown for both attrition and acquisition sequences. Notice on these charts that leaving the number "naked," without a classifier, is a prominent strategy only in the early months of exposure, and becomes preponderant again as the language is lost only after many years of language disuse. Notice further that the suppliance of the general classifier, *tu*, also tends to decrease over the acquisition period as the learners gradually move closer to the native speaker norm of specific classifier use in the elicitation task. We see here in the attrition period an inverse relationship to acquisition, with an increase in general classi-

fier use over time at the expense of the specific *dai* or *wa.*

Insert Charts 1 and 2 near here

Sequences of Semantic Accessibility in Acquisition and Attrition

The percentages of target language responses for the elicited classifiers are provided in Table 2 for the Japanese data, and Table 3 for the Chinese data. Notice that under Time on each table, the first four columns, representing the Learning Period, indicate the percentage of correct suppliance for 6-month time cohorts over the two-year exposure period in Japan or Taiwan. On the right side of the table, representing the Attrition Period, are the percentages of correct suppliance for the attriters in time-cohorts based on the number of years since their departure from the target culture. In both the Japanese and Mandarin data sets there are wide disparities between classifiers in their levels of accessibility in the attrition period—an inverse relationship to acquisition, with an increase in general classifier use over time at the expense of the specific counter *dai* or *wa.* The most extreme example of the overgeneralization characteristic of Stage Two is seen in the responses given when counting birds because of the availability in the system of the unmarked counter for small animals, *hiki.* The overextension of *hiki* in place of the marked specific counter *wa* begins in the first months of exposure, becomes the dominant response type by the end of the first year, and continues to increase in frequency throughout the learning period. Thus we see that most of these learners fail to acquire *wa* during two years of extensive exposure, never going beyond Stage Two. Based on our control group data in which two of the fourteen native speakers also used *hiki* rather than *wa* for birds (the only category of less than unanimous NS responses in Japanese), we suspect that this may be related to an early stage in the displacement of *wa* in the language by *hiki*, just as the counter for fish, *kon,* rare in contemporary Japanese, has been virtually displaced by this unmarked, highly frequent classifier (Downing, 1996, p. 77).

Insert Camera Ready Tables 2 and 3 Near Here

Language Universals and Markedness

The accessibility patterns in the L2 data displayed on Tables 2 and 3

show conformity to the constraints of the Numeral Classifier Accessibility Hierarchy: Animate human >Animate non human > Shape > Function. The most accessible non general classifier category in both acquisition and attrition is the least marked position on the hierarchy, animate: human; in Japanese ***nin*** (with its suppletive variants, ***hitori*** [one person], and ***futari*** [two persons]), and in Chinese ***ge, wei,*** or ***dui***. The classifier for small animals also makes an early appearance in interlanguage, ***hiki*** in Japanese, and ***zhi*** in Chinese. As pointed out above, a strong tendency for overgeneralization of these counters to other non human animates is most pronounced in early acquisition and late attrition. As for the next position on the markedness scale, shape, the three Japanese classifiers, ***hon, mai,*** and ***ko*** come in relatively early, while in Chinese the status of this larger, fuzzier set of classifiers is less clear. The counters of function included in our elicitation tasks tend to be least accessible of all, and, particularly in Japanese, in some cases do not occur in the data from the majority of learners and attriters. An exceptional case of earlier than predicted acquisition in both Japanese and Chinese, the functional counter for books, may be so because of its high frequency in missionary language.

Frequency in Input

Inasmuch as numeral classifier frequency data have not been reported for Mandarin, we focus in this section on the evidence from the Japanese data. Notice in Table 2 that the classifiers are arranged according to their frequency in oral conversational input, shown as a percentage in the leftmost column. The oral sample upon which the frequency count is based was collected by Downing (1984) from a number of transcribed Japanese conversations and conversational segments which involved a variety of interlocutors. We see in this frequency data that a small number of forms constitute a disproportionately large percentage of actual classifier usage. As pointed out by Downing (1984), although average Japanese native speakers may have a large inventory of forms at their command, only a small number of these commonly play a part in their everyday language use.

As seen in an overview of the acquisition and attrition data in Table 2, classifier accessibility is quite consistent with a frequency explanation. The most frequent counters, ***nin*** and ***tu***, are acquired earliest and tend to be retained longest. The next most frequent classifiers, ***hiki, mai, hon*** and ***ko,*** pattern in a second acquisition group. Notice also that the counters which are most resistant to loss over decades of nonuse, ***nin, tu, hiki, mai,*** and ***hon***, are the very five that, according to the

frequency count, are most numerous in input during the learning period.

With regard to the two Japanese classifiers that were learned more quickly than Downing's (1984) frequency count or markedness considerations would have predicted, *satu* (the counter for books), and *dai* (the counter for large mechanical objects), we observe that these classifiers were highly frequent in the learning environment of the subjects. Their daily preoccupation with reading and persuading others to accept and read copies of a religious book undoubtedly increased their use of the classifier for books. Similarly, with bicycles as a daily means of transportation and a high level of interest of many in this 19 to 24 age group in mechanical objects such as automobiles, we suspect that the proportion of *dai* used in their conversations may have also exceeded that reported by Downing.

Regression Hypothesis

The overall percentages of accuracy for the individual classifiers are compared between the acquisition data and the attrition data for the L2 Japanese in Chart 3, and the L2 Chinese in Chart 4. Notice the similarities in the relative accessibility of the counters in the acquisition and in the attrition data. These views of our two data sets make even more clear what is also evident in Tables 2 and 3, that, in the case of numeral classifiers, those which are most accessible in learning are retained longest, and those which are less accessible are more susceptible to loss.

Insert Camera Ready Chart 3 and Chart 4 near here

Conclusion

In language acquisition a hierarchy of markedness imposes a path of least resistance, a natural contour which can be modulated to some extent by structures of the L1 and L2 (Gass, 1979). In the present study the unpredicted high accessibility of the counter for "book," a highly frequent classifier in the particular population studied, suggests that input frequency can also exert enough influence to modulate the markedness scale. In the search for more definitive evidence about frequency effects we recommend that future studies compare classifier input and acquisition between L2 groups in different learning environments, such as missionaries, migrant workers, classroom learners, and the like.

An original contribution of the present study is the evidence, from both Japanese and Chinese data, for the loss of semantic categories in an inverse order to which they had been learned. Thus, if frequency in input has influenced the acquisition sequence, one might question the occurrence of the same sequence (in reverse order) in the absence of input during attrition. We suggest that stronger neural connections resulting from the high frequency of an item during the learning period may increase the durability of that item after input is discontinued. Longitudinal studies are needed in which input frequency in acquisition is controlled and the course of attrition is carefully tracked.

In the syntax of classifier acquisition, we have established that novice learners at Stage I initially produce no classifiers in their second language.[2] At Stage Two the learners become aware of the obligatory grammatical role of counters and gradually extract the semantic rules for their use. As in the case of the L1 learners observed by Uchida and Imai (in press), the learning process of the semantic criteria is long and difficult. But unlike the children in Uchida and Imai's study, in the data here the adults vary substantially in the extent to which this is accomplished. A few missionaries may learn all of the semantic categories during the first year while others, including many who are apparently effective communicators in their second language, may attain little knowledge of specific categorization throughout their entire sojourns in Japan or Taiwan.

This individual variation in L2 classifier specificity may relate to Matsumoto's (1985, p. 86) observation regarding L1 classifier acquisition: Although specific counters are not requisite to efficient communication, children are "governed by their motivation to become full-fledged native speakers expected by the language community." Although not investigated in the present study, this may also be an important social orientation for second language learners and may drive learning from the general to the specific. In the design of future research we recommend the inclusion of affective variables to examine the possibility that learners who are socially distant (Schumann, 1976) or lack integrative motivation (Gardner & Lambert, 1972) are the ones who continue in the use of more restrictive simplifications (general rather than specific classifiers, or frequent overgeneralization in the use of a few specific ones), features attributed by Meisel (1983) to relatively weak integration into the host society. When it comes to determining how far a learner will proceed toward acquiring and keeping native-speaker norms of specificity in a numeral classifier system, affect may count for a great deal.

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Notes

1. Analyses of data elicited from the other two instruments, numeral classifier recognition tasks, appear in Chen (1999) and Hansen & Chen (1999).
2. Elicitation data from recently arrived Chinese missionaries in Japan collected as part of a larger study (Hansen, in preparation) indicate that even learners whose first language does contain numeral classification experience an initial stage of classifier non suppliance in their L2 Japanese.

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Research Forum

An Analysis of Discourse Miscues in the Oral Production of Non-native Speakers of English

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When native speakers of English (NSs) listen to non-native speakers' (NNSs) spoken discourse, there is sometimes a perception of incoherence. Tyler and Bro (1992) have suggested that this is often due to miscues. This study examines the unplanned spoken discourse of four NNSs elicited via oral proficiency interviews to see how pervasive such miscues are and what form they take. Miscues in the area of specificity, the verb phrase and logical connection are investigated. The results suggest that specificity and logical connection play a significant part in creating incoherence in the discourse, but miscues in the verb phrase are less important. The implication is that such miscues need to receive more attention from teachers and students in the classroom.

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Most teachers of English as a foreign language (EFL) have experienced the situation of listening to a student produce spoken discourse only to feel that there is something about it that "just doesn't seem right." The words and sentences are understandable, but the discourse as a whole lacks coherence. This can be a frustrating experience because, while the student is told that he or she cannot be understood, the teacher is hard pressed to give explicit advice on how the discourse can be improved. In optimal circumstances, the teacher can repair the grammatical errors and try to paraphrase the student's words, but this rarely enables the student to discover the problem with the original discourse that led to the incoherence. Moreover, the pressure to continue with the lesson means that the cause of such misunderstanding is often overlooked.

This paper examines spoken discourse produced by four Korean non-native speakers (NNSs) of English to identify some of the elements that lead to a lack of coherence. Whereas attention has been paid to NNS grammatical accuracy in this respect, Tyler and Bro (1992) have suggested that the lack of coherence in NNS speech is due in part to "the cumulative result of interacting miscues at the discourse level" (p. 71). These miscues result in information that is presented in an unexpected manner, making it difficult for the native speaker (NS) listener to integrate it into the ongoing discourse.

The research reported here takes this perspective by examining spoken discourse elicited via oral proficiency interviews to see if such miscues are present, how frequent they are and what form they take. However, two caveats must be made. First, coherence is a difficult notion to address since it is a function of many overlapping features, and conducting a multifaceted analysis that simultaneously takes into account all features is complex and lengthy. Inevitably, some readers will point to other features that are potential sources of misunderstanding in the discourse, but this does not mean that limiting the extent of the analysis to a narrowly defined domain, as has been done here, lacks merit. If this were the case, then it would be very difficult to say anything at all about NNS discourse. Second, deciding which features lead to incoherence and to what degree is inherently subjective. A larger study, where coherence is judged by a panel of raters and their coding correlated, would reduce this subjectivity to some degree. However, analyzing such complexity with the need to control for confounding variables is beyond the scope of this study.

With these two caveats in mind, the present study should be viewed as an exploratory examination of miscues in NNS spoken discourse, rather than an attempt to demonstrate statistically that such miscues are the only source of incoherence. Miscues have received scant attention from researchers in the past compared to more traditional error analyses, but in many ways they are more serious because their covert nature prevents students and teachers from seeking ways to overcome them.

Theoretical Framework

Coherence in discourse has been viewed by scholars from two vantage points. One takes the view that coherence is contained wholly within the discourse (i.e., bottom-up). Halliday and Hasan (1976) present the best-known account from this viewpoint and argue that particular lexico-grammatical cohesive ties act to bind a text and provide "texture," synonymous with coherence (see Brazil, 1985; Hoey,

1983; Phillips, 1985; Winter, 1977 for alternative analyses).

The alternative view (Carrell, 1982; De Beaugrande & Dressler, 1981; Green & Morgan, 1981; McCagg, 1990) argues for the need to consider the reader /listener and the mental schemata that he or she brings to the process of interpretation (i.e. top-down). McCagg (1990), for example, says:

> Coherence . . . is an aspect of comprehension that is established in the mind of the reader as a result of a perception of relatedness among a text's propositions and between the text and the knowledge that the reader possesses of the world (p. 113).

Tyler (1994) has attempted to integrate the two perspectives by suggesting that certain "contextualization cues" contained within the discourse act as signals for the listener, indicating how to interpret it. She writes:

> [C]ertain linguistic forms act as contextualization cues which signal to the listener how to interpret information and integrate it into the ongoing discourse. [These forms] act as meta-markers, guiding the listener through the discourse (p. 244).

Thus as native speakers listen to discourse, there are certain cues that meet the expectations of the listener, allowing the new information to be integrated into the ongoing discourse. Examples of cues used in English are lexical discourse markers, patterns of repetition, prosody, anaphora, and the use of syntactic incorporation (Tyler, 1992, p. 714). Furthermore, these cues are language specific, according to Tyler, and thus are a potential source of cross-cultural miscommunication. Tyler & Bro (1992, 1993) have shown that when NNSs use these cues in an unexpected manner, NSs find that the discourse lacks coherence. They suggest that the perception of incoherence is created by the "cumulative result of interacting miscues at the discourse level" (Tyler & Bro, 1992, p. 71), in particular in the areas of logical connection, tense/ aspect, and specificity.

In addition, qualitative studies by Tyler (1992, 1994) have investigated the discourse structure of planned lectures given by NS and NNS teaching assistants at American universities. She found clear differences in the amount and type of hypotaxis and parataxis, lexical specificity and tense cueing devices that made the non-native discourse seem difficult to follow. In a similar study Williams (1992) found that

allowing planning time for NNS lectures led to more "explicit marking of discourse structure" (p. 693) compared to no planning time, and concluded that this marking is a crucial element in the comprehensibility of the NNSs' production. She notes:

> [NNSs] need to use more explicit discourse markers in order to overcome other comprehensibility difficulties that may be the result of more local problems, such as pronunciation. This also means, insofar as the use of discourse markers is concerned, that [NNSs] should not necessarily be targeting NS behavior. In this instance, they may need to go beyond it in order to achieve the same result as the [NS] in terms of comprehensibility (p. 707).

Here Williams is suggesting that NNSs should be overly explicit in their use of discourse markers, more than would be considered native-like, and this point will be considered again below.

The following exploratory analysis considers coherence only from the textual aspect (i.e. bottom-up). There are two reasons for this. First, there is the need to limit the domain of the study. Arguing from a top-down perspective is complex and needs to take into account many pragmatic factors. Second, teachers have some control over the bottom-up process by encouraging students to produce discourse that is coherent, but they do not have much control over the top-down process (i.e., the background knowledge and schemata that the listener brings to the process of interpretation). Therefore the analysis presented here can only be partial and different interpretations could be reached by other listeners.

Discourse Miscues

Three major categories of cueing devices have been investigated by Tyler and Bro (1992, 1993): specificity, tense/aspect, and logical connection. The authors use the term "discourse miscues" (as opposed to "errors") when these devices are used in a non-native like way. Under the heading of specificity, the use of articles, pronominalization, and lexical specificity (which includes certain aspects of adjectival modification and appropriate lexical choice) is included. Tyler and Bro (1992) note:

> The overarching notion [of this category] is that the referent in the discourse should be sufficiently identified to avoid undue ambiguity or confusion for the audience (p. 75).

In the second category, tense and aspect miscues of the verb phrase are considered. Bardovi-Harlig (1995) suggests that tense is used to signal foreground and background information as well as showing chronology, and thus acts as a discourse structuring device.

The third category, logical connection, looks at how the information in discourse is packaged through discourse markers and how prominence relations are brought about through the use of hypotaxis and parataxis. Hypotactic constructions are complex sentential constructions which involve two or more clauses, (e.g., ***The woman who lives next door is pregnant***) whereas parataxis constructions involve single clauses juxtaposed or linked by coordinate conjunctions, (e.g., ***The woman lives next door. She is pregnant***). Studies have shown (Chafe, 1982; Danielewicz, 1984; Lakoff, 1984) that English speakers make use of hypotactic structures (relative, complement and subordinate clauses) in conjunction with paratactic structures as important discourse structuring devices to signal prominence relations amongst the various ideas and information, although their use is greater for planned speech than unplanned speech (Danielewicz, 1984). Tyler (1992) has argued that:

> [H]eavy reliance on coordinate conjunction and juxtaposition in lieu of syntactic incorporation [i.e., hypotaxis] essentially strips the discourse of important sources of information regarding prominence and logical relationships (p. 721).

In addition, Flowerdew and Tauroza (1995) suggest that the use of discourse markers, both macro and micro, serves to bring out the relationships among different pieces of information.

The Present Study

This study is similar to Tyler's work in that it considers the three categories discussed above (specificity, verb tense/aspect and logical connection), but there are several differences. First, aside from the 1992 study with Bro (Tyler & Bro, 1992), Tyler's work considered planned speech (lectures) whereas this study looks at unplanned speech. A number of studies (e.g., Danielewicz, 1984; Biber, 1988) have shown that planning affects the discourse produced. The discourse analyzed here is unplanned, yet consists of formal interviews to elicit speech so it is suggested to lie somewhere between unplanned narrative and planned speech in terms of the discourse features being investigated. Second, Tyler (1992) only considered four turns (monologues). This

study attempts to take a wider view by looking at a larger number of turns to see how pervasive miscues are. Finally, this study includes turns from four NNSs at different language proficiency levels, thus enabling some consideration of variation according to proficiency.

Method

Data Collection

The NNS discourse studied was elicited via oral proficiency interviews (OPI) that were conducted in the first week of an intensive 8-week English language program for employees at a large corporation in Korea. The OPI had been used for several years and all interviewers were skilled in elicitation techniques and subsequent rating. An interview setup was used because it was felt that extraneous variables could be held relatively constant compared to more spontaneous data. The OPI used was that published by the Educational Testing Service (ETS, 1982) and the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL, 1986). This consists of a 20 to 30 minute relatively unstructured interview with a candidate over a range of topics. The general format is for the interviewer to ask a question and then allow the candidate to respond with minimum interruption. When the candidate has finished answering, the next question is posed. The interviewer will normally ask a number of probing question to find out the candidate's sustained level (the level at which the candidate's discourse is relatively fluent and accurate) and breakdown level (the level at which the discourse becomes markedly less fluent and/or accurate).

Participants

Four male participants were chosen for the study and constituted a convenience sample. All were adult native speakers of Korean and had been employed by their company for between three to six years after graduation from university. Subject A was rated at level 1 (intermediate-low), subject B at 1+ (intermediate-high), and subjects C and D were rated at level 2 (advanced) according to the OPI rating scale.

Procedure

Subjects A and B were interviewed twice and subjects C and D once. Subjects A, B, and D were interviewed by the author and subject C by a colleague. The interviews were tape recorded and transcribed by the author, and particular turns were selected for analysis. The criterion for selection was chiefly length, with anything between 30 seconds

and 2 minutes being considered. Shorter turns were judged to be too brief for suitable discourse patterns to emerge and very few turns of more than two minutes were found. In addition, turns that were deemed to be very incoherent were omitted.

In total, 40 turns were selected for analysis, 13 from subject A, 14 from subject B, 6 from subject C, and 7 from subject D. Fewer turns were available for subjects C and D since they were only interviewed once. This gave a total of 2,063 words in just under 47 minutes, representing about half of the total production from the subjects in the interviews. Table 1 summarizes each participant's turns.

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Data Analysis

After a small pausology study, it was decided to remove certain hesitation phenomena, or what Clark (1996) terms "disruptions" (p. 258), in order to facilitate analysis. These included fillers (e.g., ***um, er***), repeated items (e.g., there were, ***there were. . .***, some false starts (e.g., ***there are*** there must be...), and repairs (e.g., like at ***the school*** at school . . .). While some researchers may object to removing parts of the utterance, the technique facilitates analysis, and only items that were deemed not to significantly interfere with comprehension were removed.

Next the turns were divided into idea-units. According to Chafe (1980), an idea unit is a brief "spurt of language" (p. 13) that is typical of spoken language and can be identified by intonational contours, pauses, and syntactic boundaries. Pausing and intonational contours were far from native-like in the discourse studied here, especially at the low and intermediate proficiency levels. Since sophisticated equipment was not available for intonation measurements, more emphasis was placed on syntactic boundaries for idea-unit segmentation.

Finally, the main part of the research, the discourse miscue analysis, was conducted by the author. Each turn was analyzed for the presence of major discourse miscues and minor discourse miscues in the area of specificity, the verb phrase, and logical connection. A major discourse miscue was one considered to significantly interfere with the coherence of a turn on a global level, a miscue that affects listener understanding of the whole or a major part of the turn. A minor discourse miscue occurs on a local level and leads to misunderstanding of a relatively smaller part of the turn (i.e., at the level of one or two idea-units). The next section will exemplify how major miscues are identified.

There is obviously a degree of subjectivity that is difficult to avoid in deciding what counts as a miscue and whether it is major or minor. Unlike an error analysis, where errors can usually be identified on formal grounds (although this is by no means clear), a discourse miscue analysis conducted within Tyler's framework is inherently subjective since it attempts to take into account both the text and the listener and, in particular, how the two interact. Future research should therefore make use of a panel of raters to obtain inter-rater reliability estimates for miscue coding.

Results and Discussion

Table 2 presents the average number of miscues per turn for each subject. Generally, subjects A and B (the intermediate proficiency students) produced more miscues per turn (2 or more) than subjects C and D (the advanced proficiency students).

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Table 3 gives the number of miscues for each category (specificity, logical connection and verb tense/aspect) and sub-category for each student. Overall, the category of specificity had the greatest number of miscues (33) while logical connection was second (24) and verb phrase third (12). Most of the miscues in the verb phrase tense/aspect were minor miscues. However it is not the absolute number of miscues per turn but the degree of severity of each miscue that is important, hence the major/minor distinction. For example, it is quite possible that a turn with five minor miscues might be perceived as being more coherent than a turn with only one major miscue.

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Specificity

In this category the overall aim is that "the referent in the discourse should be sufficiently identified to avoid undue ambiguity or confusion for the audience" (Tyler & Bro, 1992, p. 75). Since miscues in this category were the most frequent of the three categories, semantic accuracy may be as important, if not more important, for students and teachers than the traditional area of syntactic accuracy.

Within the category, lexical choice, which includes adjectival modification, was the most common miscue. Sometimes the lexical item could have been integrated into the discourse better if the subject had given more supporting detail or used it more appropriately. An example of this can be seen below. In this and all other examples, the interviewer's question is in italics.

> Example 1: ***Do you think that the reasons for divorce in America are the same as those in Korea or do you think there is a difference due to culture?***
> (a) I think, (b) there is to same. (c) It's different from our and American (d) but human is all the same. (e) But a little bit cultural differences. (f) America a little some personalism, (g) but we Korean have communicative group mind. (h) I don't know group mind, (i) we have group mind. (j) Okay, (k) that's the different point.

Units (f-k) basically can be paraphrased as ***America has X and Korea has Y and that is the difference.*** However, the referents of the noun phrases ***personalism*** and ***communicative group mind*** are difficult to resolve. The first probably refers to ***individualism*** and the second to ***group consensus*** or ***collectivism***. But these are abstract concepts and the lack of support leaves the listener with the feeling that the turn is incomplete. This lack of support for abstract concepts is quite common for NNSs. They frequently learn vocabulary in isolation, often using a mother tongue translation, but then get little practice and feedback in using the new items in communicative contexts.

At other times, the lexical choice was wrong and confounded the listener's attempt to integrate it into the ongoing discourse. This can be seen in the turn below:

> Example 2: ***What do you think are the benefits of trial by jury in America compared to trial by judge in Korea?***
> (a) I am very surprised about that. (b) Basically I think the O.J. Simpson have to be dead. (c) This result is not dead. (d) The money from economical power is very important in America and other Western. (e) Judge systems are affected by the money and economy. (f) We have, in Korea that is not occurred.

In unit (e), the subject simply makes a mistake and selects ***judge*** instead of ***jury***. This is critical to the turn since up till then we have been listening to a criticism of America and the West and their ***jury***

system, which is introduced in the question. Then the subject suddenly refers to the ***judge*** system that the listener associates with Korea. This interrupts the flow of meaning and creates a perception of incoherence for the whole turn, not just the idea-unit.

Pronominalization was the second largest cause of miscuing in this category. All cases involved third person pronoun miscues, such as ***it, they, her, he***, never first or second. This is shown in the following turn:

> Example 3: ***Do you think presidents should have a privileged position after they retire?***
> (a) After they retire? (b) Yes. (c) There is no people who is respected now after (d) he retired the president. (e) But the future, (f) many people respect someone who was president.

The subject uses the third person pronoun ***he*** in (d) but its intended referent is not clear. The problem is compounded by the choice of the lexical item ***people*** in (c). Ehrlich (1988) has suggested that a typical pattern in English is for the pronoun to bind to the nearest antecedent, provided that it matches for gender and number. This would make ***people*** a potential candidate, although the pronoun and antecedent do not agree in number. There seem to be two possible interpretations of the subject's intentions here. Either the pronoun ***he*** refers exophorically to the former Korean president who had just retired at the time and the noun ***people*** refers to the general public, or ***he*** refers back endophorically to ***people***, which refers to presidents in general. That is, either (c-d) have specific reference and are roughly paraphrased as ***There is nobody who respects him now since he (the former Korean president) has retired from the presidency***, or they have generic reference and can be paraphrased as ***There is no president who is respected now after he retires from the presidency***. The choice of ***people*** suggests the first interpretation, but the grammatical construct of the sentence suggests the second.

Article miscues rarely caused anything but a minor miscue. Although the English article system is one of the most difficult areas for Asian learners to master, it is one of the most benign in its contribution to coherence. Another explanation is that article misuse is less obvious at the intermediate-low proficiency level, where it tends to be overshadowed by more obtrusive miscues.

Verb Phrase

Miscues in the verb phrase did not prove to be as damaging to the construction of coherence as they were initially envisaged. Only three

major miscues were recorded, all by subject A, who seemed to have a particular problem with this area. Probably the most harmful is seen in the turn below where the subject fails to signal the modality of the idea-units presented in (h-l); they are presented as on-going states of affairs when in fact the speaker intends them to be taken as suggested points of action. The situation is aggravated by the weak marker **so** in (h) that introduces them. A firmer commitment would be ***Therefore I think we should do the following things***.... Although this type of marker may not be so frequent in unplanned NS speech, Williams' (1992) idea that students should "go beyond [NS behavior] in order to achieve the same results as the [NS] in terms of comprehensibility" (p. 707) justifies this type of explicit commitment.

> Example 4: ***What do you think is the biggest problem in Korea and if you were the president, what would you do to solve the problem?***
> (a) The biggest problem is pollution. (b) Another problem exists (c) but pollution is very serious. (d) All pollution . . . er . . . (e) I can't explain. (f) All pollution frighten . . . er no . . . our lives. (g) Threatens, okay, okay. (h) So we preserved our national source and our environment positively. (i) Civil movement group are more grow and, (j) preserve environment positively. (k) Make the law prevent air pollution and elect . . . (l) Make the law to prevent air pollution. (m) And . . . I can not explain.

Tense proved only to be a minor miscue. For subject B, who made the most tense miscues, there was often some type of marker outside the verb phrase that helped the listener to successfully locate the temporal reference, such as an adverb or adverbial phrase. Where an overt marker is not present, the discourse helps to determine the temporal location of the unit to a high degree.

Logical Connection

Logical connection was the second biggest source of miscues. Most of the major miscues occurred due to discourse marking rather than syntactic incorporation. This is not surprising since second language learners, especially Asian students, have difficulty forming hypotactic constructions and tend to avoid using them (Schachter, 1974; Tyler, 1992). This was confirmed by the data, which tended to contain fewer dependent clause structures and more pre-noun modifications (as op-

posed to post-noun) when compared to Danielewicz's (1984) findings for unplanned native speaker speech (See Table 4).

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While unplanned NS speech does not contain many hypotactic constructions (20% according to Danielewicz, 1984, p. 237), it is possible that discourse of the type presented here, if produced by a native speaker, might contain more. The questions and expected answers are on a level of complexity and abstractness that demands a degree of syntactic incorporation over and above that required for unplanned narratives or simple descriptions of personal topics. Thus, we would expect the discourse to be somewhere between unplanned narratives and planned speech in the degree of syntactic incorporation it contains. Indeed, the instructions for the OPI call for the interviewer to push the student to a level beyond their sustained level (i.e., narratives and simple descriptions for intermediate students) to determine the breakdown level. This breakdown level occurs for a number of reasons (fluency, grammatical accuracy, etc.) but is also due to the lack of syntactic incorporation of the types that Tyler (1992) has suggested signal prominence relations within the discourse. Teachers often observe that students who can give a lengthy and coherent narration of a personal experience are often unable to coherently articulate an extended turn on a more complex topic. This is one reason that discourse miscues under the logical connection heading (i.e., how the idea-units are packaged) require further investigation.

Although there were not many instances in the data where a lack of syntactic incorporation caused a major miscue, this was due in part to the absence of hypotactic constructions and the difficulty of marking a feature as a miscue through its absence. The following shows where a piece of discourse might benefit from some syntactic incorporation:

> Example 5: (a) Our company's master plan is fixed. (b) We have to observe the schedule and time. (c) I must put the drawings to the field that schedule time . . .

The idea-units here are presented as an unarticulated set of relations. The only clue given to the listener for integration of the ideas is the lexical cohesion. An alternative rendering using syntactic incorporation and discourse marking to make it more easily understood could

be *We have to observe the schedule and time of our company's master plan which is fixed. Therefore I must send the drawings to the field on time.*

The problem for the teacher is what advice should be given to students regarding syntactic incorporation. Both Korean and Japanese students tend to avoid using such devices (Schachter, 1974; Tyler, 1992). In addition, Tyler (1994) has shown that even when they are used, if they are not used in a native-like way, they can cause more confusion than if not used at all. The ability to construct a relative clause in a syntactically correct way does not guarantee its success since the speaker also needs to know what information to foreground.

The use of syntactic incorporation is quite complex and further understanding of how it is used by NSs is needed. It is certainly not something which could be explicitly taught to students in a few lessons, but students should acquire competence in this area if they are to handle the complexity of questioning and the type of speech investigated here.

Miscues through discourse marking are more overt and easier to identify since most students have the resources to articulate them. It is their misuse that is of more concern. Several major miscues occurred in this sub-category. The common markers such as *but* and *so* were used correctly in many cases but there was a tendency to overextend their use to act as cover markers in some instances. Subject A sometimes used *but* as a cover marker for arguments, and subject B used *so* at times to introduce idea-units that were not logical consequences of preceding discourse, its normal usage. Tyler (1992) found a similar pattern with the marker *as* for Chinese students of English. At other times, markers were dropped or missing leaving idea-units "stranded."

The turn below is an interesting case of how miscues in logical connection can lead to difficulties:

> Example 6: *Why are Korean parents so concerned about their child's girlfriend or boyfriend?*
> (a) In Korea, (b) parents always want to know about her children. (c) They want to know their children's behavior like at school or at company or something like that. (d) So, because of the wedding is very important, (e) because of wedding is very important, (f) I think, (g) they decided a whole life (h) when someone marry someone. (i) So, parents concentrated their interest on her or his girlfriend or boyfriend.

Here the relationship between the information in (d-i) is not made explicit. This is largely due to the connectors linking (d-i). A paraphrase

of the NNS's probable intention is *Marriage is very important since a person's future is determined when they marry; thus Korean parents are very interested in their child's girlfriend or boyfriend*. However the logical connections are not made clear. First, the NNS confuses things by introducing (d) with the marker *so* and then immediately substituting it with *because of*. Idea-unit (d) is then repeated in (e). Then units (f-h) are simply juxtaposed with (d-e) giving no indication of how they should be integrated into the discourse. They are in fact parenthetical remarks but there is no marking to indicate this. On the contrary, they are more likely to be taken by the listener as the logical consequence of (d) even though this is not the NNS's intention. Finally, the real logical consequence of (d) is given in (i), but the listener cannot be sure what it is the logical consequence of. In this particular turn, miscues in lexical specificity and repetition add to the confusing nature.

The turn below reiterates how discourse markers can be given, but then the subject does make clear what information is supposed to fall under the "umbrella" of the marker.

> Example 7: *Why do you think the communist north (Korea) is continuing to send infiltrators to the south?*
> (a) I didn't think about that deeply, (b) but the situation in north is very dangerous now, (c) I think. (d) So, There . . . (e) relatively we South Korea is so calm down relative to north. (f) So the top of the North Korea wants to disturb us, (g) because they are now disturbing. (h) The situation of the north is very boring. (i) The situation is very dangerous, (j) I think, (k) so the top of the north send the person or people to disturb our country.

This turn is relatively well formed until (g) where the subject gives the marker *because* and then attempts to give the reason why North Korea is disturbing South Korea. However, the information contained in the unit (they are now disturbing) cannot logically be a reason since it merely repeats what has been said before. Idea-unit (h) is then given but without any connector to show how it should be integrated into the discourse. It is possible that the previous *because* was intended to carry over to this idea-unit but again it is difficult to see how the fact that *the situation of the north is very boring* could be a plausible cause, since boring situations do not normally lead to confrontation. Idea-unit (k) is given in a similar manner and again we are not sure if it is the reason. Finally, the subject introduces (k) with the marker *so* signaling that it is the consequence of the preceding discourse. However, the

information in (k) has already been stated and thus is not a candidate for logical consequence. The listener is not clear why North Korea is disturbing South Korea.

The idea-units are quite well formed syntactically, apart from the direct object *us* missing in (g), so merely repairing the grammatical errors would not make the turn any easier to understand. The chief reason why it is difficult to understand is that a series of ideas have been presented in a disconnected manner. Some of the idea-units are obviously not what the subject intended to say, and clearly he is having a hard time formulating his idea into exact words. But connectors such as ***sorry***, ***no that's wrong***, ***what I mean is*** . . . and ***as I said*** would have helped the listener to integrate the information more successfully. Again, while NSs may avoid such overt marking in their speech, NNSs need all the help they can get to maintain coherence, and a certain degree of overuse is a suitable communication strategy.

As a final example, consider Example 1, discussed in terms of specificity previously. It presents an interesting case that shows how logical connecting can work in tandem with specificity miscues to create a degree of incoherence. The first half (a-e) has poor logical connection, saying the reasons for divorce are the same and then saying they are different. The subject's opinion is not clear. From (f) onwards, the packaging of information improves but then specificity miscues come in to play (see the Specificity section above).

Cross-Student Comparisons

Before leaving the data, it is interesting to make some cross-student comparisons. Two of the subjects were rated at advanced level and two were rated at the intermediate level according to the ETS /ACTFL proficiency rating scale. This is a major boundary in the rating scale, and although a study of this size cannot demonstrate this statistically, it does appear that there is a difference in the number of miscues and their quality between the advanced and intermediate speakers. In particular, subject A (level 1) consistently made major discourse miscues in all three areas. The advanced level subjects C and D made fewer miscues per turn (see Table 2) and had fewer major miscues. It is possible that requirements for reaching the advanced level on the rating scale include the ability to address topics with a certain degree of complexity/abstractness using extended discourse that is structured coherently and relatively free of miscues. Although additional research with a substantially greater number of turns is required to support this assertion, teachers should be aware that their students need to be pushed to deliver extended discourse if their proficiency level is to be

correctly determined.

Conclusion

This exploratory study has investigated the discourse of four Korean non-native speakers of English to see if miscues in the area of specificity, logical connection, and the verb phrase tense/aspect contribute to the perception of incoherence for the native speaker listener. The analysis indicates that miscues in the category of specificity and logical connection were present to a high degree and, in many cases, were major miscues that caused confusion for the NS listener. Miscues in the verb phrase category, however, were not as common. It was suggested that a focus on semantic accuracy and communication strategies emphasizing explicitness would help to correct these miscues. In addition, there appeared to be a difference in the quality and quantity of discourse miscues between the advanced speakers and the intermediate speakers, although this could not be demonstrated statistically.

As mentioned, coherence in discourse is a function of multiple variables. This study has only been able to look at a subset of these variables, and the author acknowledges its limitations. However, these features have received little attention in the past, even though they are potentially more problematic than grammatical errors. It is hoped that this study will raise teacher and student awareness of these features and lead to further discussion. It is therefore suggested that the following are important areas for future research:

1) A study needs to be conducted with a panel of raters independently judging coherence. The raters could subsequently be interviewed to determine what features led to their perception of incoherence. This would permit as assessment of inter-rater reliability.

2) A greater number of discourse turns from a wider variety of students would enable the results to be generalized to other students from the same population. In particular, more turns would highlight the variation in features of students above and below the advanced level, which is a major boundary in the ETS /ACTFL rating scale.

3) More research into unplanned NS speech is needed to highlight the variation in syntactic incorporation due to changes in topic complexity and/or the degree of abstractness. It should not be assumed that unplanned NS speech is homogeneous in this respect.

Acknowledgements

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Perspectives

Tools of Recursion, Intermental Zones of Proximal Development, and Critical Collaborative Autonomy

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Exploratory teaching (Allwright, 1991) was conducted in a Japanese university EFL course in which students were asked to study themselves as learners in participatory action research (Auerbach, 1994). Weekly student commentary shows how reflection-in-action, reflection-on-action (Schön, 1987), and reflection literacy (Hasan, 1996) were encouraged by the recursive micro-discursive tools of shadowing and summarizing while recording conversations, and by the recursive reflective tools of action-logging and newsletters. Highlighting student voices through newsletters seemed to enrich the participants' sense of a common intermental space in which to negotiate and scaffold meaning. These tools of recursion helped students manifest what their minds were modeling, making comprehensible what they were thinking to themselves and to others, and create overlapping intermental zones of proximal development (Vygotsky, 1934). Comments from student action logs are used to support the idea that intermental interaction can lead toward critical collaborative autonomy (Murphey & Jacobs, 2000).

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Insert Japanese Abstract here

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 I alone cannot step out from the world I constructed. If I study alone, I may be confined to this finite world forever. But, by taking cooperation into learning, I can expand and enrich this world and its expanding is infinite. (From a

student's action log, included in class newsletter #7)

> ***The quality of the conversation is not necessarily decided by English proficiency, but by the attitude of trying to understand each other well.*** (From a student's action log, included in class newsletter #8)

I read these comments in Rika and Miki's (pseudonyms) action logs toward the end of the first semester and put them into the newsletter for the next class. I wanted everybody to read those lines, to think about them, and talk about them. I also wanted to think about them myself. "What we want for one student is what we should want for ourselves" (Leibowitz, 2000, p. 77).

In my weekly university EFL class held in a language laboratory, the students audio-recorded conversations and then listened to them and reflected on their performances. They had also grappled with the concept of ***constructivism,*** the idea that knowledge is not simply transmitted to learners; rather, learners construct their own individualized understanding of concepts based on their previous experience, abilities, learning styles, the context, and probably much more. The students became aware that new learning often first occurs ***intermentally***, or intersubjectively (between people during discourse), and then through various processes these become ***intramental*** (within the self). Often the students' comments about their interaction with classmates inspired me to reflect as one of their collaborators and to intermentally learn from them and employ their ideas within my own thinking.

This descriptive, hypothesis-generating paper suggests that at least some students in one advanced university EFL class in Japan were able to grasp this social-constructivism through "tools" (activities) that allowed them ***to make manifest what their minds were modeling*** in temporarily shared social worlds (Thorne, 2000). These tools also allowed them to construct intermental moments that led them through the five movements toward critical collaborative autonomy (CCA) presented by Murphey and Jacobs (2000) and discussed and exemplified below.

The main tools used by the students were (a) ***shadowing*** (immediately repeating part or all of an interlocutor's words during a conversation), (b) ***summarizing*** (retelling the interlocutor's points to show comprehension after listening to a chunk of discourse) (see Murphey 1995, 1999a, 2000, in press for additional reports), (c) ***action logging*** (writing a reflective account of class activities), and (d) class newsletters, consisting of student comments selected from their action logs (Murphey, 1993; Woo & Murphey, 1999; Kindt & Murphey, 2000).

These tools made possible recursive participatory action research cycles of spoken and written communication that have been suggested to develop learners' reflection literacy (Hasan, 1996). In this paper I define **tools of recursion** in language acquisition as procedures that allow language and topics to reoccur frequently within a short time, giving learners more exposure to them by producing an input and output flood of target tokens within meaningful communication. Thus, shadowing, summarizing, action logging, and newsletters are tools of recursion since they allow repeated use of the same or similar language items, from simple repetition, to reformulation, to new production and novel use. Tools of recursion also involve listening, speaking, writing, and reading looped into activities repeatedly. However, these should not be seen as steps, but rather as different ways of repeatedly presenting language and ideas so that they are better understood and acquired. **Micro-discursive** activities deal with word and phrase level interactions with language and ideas, whereas **macro-discursive** activities involve reflecting about class activities and evaluating them and one's performances globally. Macro-discursive tools are therefore more metacognitive in nature.

In this paper, I first introduce the SLA course and describe the tools of recursion used in the course. Key concepts of CCA and Vygotskian sociocultural theory are then described. Next I use comments from student weekly action logs to illustrate how the movements toward CCA manifested themselves in student reflection.[1] In choosing this description format, I am guided by Thorne's suggestion: "When SLA researchers attempt to 'get at what's going on' in processes of second and foreign language learning, the unit of analysis and the context within which such research takes place become crucial for the validity of the results." He further reminds us that "context, language (learning and use), and subjectivity are analytically separable, but must be understood holistically and interdependently to make sense of 'situated activity'. . . [and] context is not another variable, but rather is in part productive of, and in part produced by, collective and individual human activity" (2000, p. 263).

Course Description and Structures of Invitation

During the spring semester of 2000 I taught an advanced level university EFL course titled Second Language Acquisition. It is described as follows in the course handbook:

This course introduces students to the guiding questions,

theory, and research methods in the field of Second Language Acquisition. The class will attempt to model the latest SLA findings in learning theory by having interactive classes that are fun. Students will be able to use their own experience as second language learners and will conduct a short research project on themselves. Students will read a good deal and discuss the material in class.

The students were third- and fourth-year Japanese university students, all about 21 years of age except for one woman in her thirties. Four male and 32 female students finished the course out of the 50 students originally enrolled. Most were English majors and had had some experience abroad. Many were planning to be teachers and six or seven were going to study abroad for a year starting the following semester. Some wanted to study with an English native-speaking teacher and were not particularly interested in SLA at the outset.

The two texts for the course were *How Languages are Learned* (Lightbown & Spada, 1999) and *Seven Kinds of Smart* (Armstrong, 1999). *How Languages are Learned* surveys the field of SLA in a very accessible manner for language learners and teachers. *Seven Kinds of Smart* describes Howard Gardner's theory of multiple intelligences for a general non-academic audience. During the semester students also read eight articles relevant to class content.

Students began the course by writing action logs. These were double-entry journals citing passages from the assigned readings on the left-hand page and commenting on them on the right. In the third week of the course I introduced mind-mapping[2] (Buzan, 1977), which proved to be a constructive and interesting way for them to conceptualize the material and discuss it with their peers.

The details of the SLA course are given to situate it, while the components described below are not specific to the course. I do not wish to emphasize the class content but rather the tools which allow students to move toward CCA, whether in a content based instruction (CBI) class or in a language class. The present class entailed both kinds of focus.

The Use of a Language Laboratory

The weekly 90-minute class was held in a Sony LLC-9000 System language laboratory. The laboratory console permitted the random or adjacent pairing of students for recording conversations. Since students recorded a weekly average of 25 minutes of conversations with randomly chosen peers from each class for listening to and evaluating at

home, the recording activity took up a third of the class time. The rest of the class was spent on other activities, including teacher-fronted lectures and discussions.

Shadowing, Summarizing, Extending, and Rejoinders

The students were initially taught shadowing and summarizing (Murphey, 1995, 1999a, 2000, in press) and later extending and rejoinders. As mentioned, shadowing is repeating parts of another's speech as a confirmation, and summarizing helps to encourage negotiation and retention. Extending refers to asking questions in order to extend conversations and get more information. Rejoinders (e.g., Wow! Really! Oh, that's too bad!) are short expressions made by the listener to give the speaker feedback and to show comprehension and empathy.

Action Logs

Action logging (Murphey 1993; Woo & Murphey, 1999) refers to the students' written evaluation of the activities done in class and their subsequent reflection on the activities' usefulness for their learning. These comments were kept in notebooks which I read weekly to find out what the students liked and what they thought helped them to learn. I was also able to give feedback personally to individuals. By writing logs, students could review what they had done and could feel more involved in the course since they had ongoing communication with the teacher and could actually influence the course procedures.

Newsletters

I often chose student comments from their action logs to place in a short class newsletter (Murphey 1993; Woo & Murphey, 1999; Kindt & Murphey, 2000). These comments highlighted important issues raised by the students. Some comments were positive reports of strategy-use that inspired other students. However, questions and confusions were often noted and I responded to them either in the newsletter or orally in class. Different views that showed students constructing different ideas and opinions were also included. The newsletters were passed out at the end of class and were read as homework. Students were also asked to talk to their partners about the newsletter contents and to write about what impressed them in their next action logs. Newsletters were given out eight times (weeks 5, 6, 7, 8 and in 10, 11, 12, and 13) in the thirteen-week semester. This way of sharing student voices with the rest of the class took advantage of the knowledge present in

the group and promoted intermental focus on certain ideas.

A Typical Class

A typical class started off with the students finding new partners to sit with, thus adjusting to new people and receiving different influences upon their understanding of the course readings and concepts. During the first few minutes of each class, the students exchanged names and telephone numbers (so they could call for homework if needed or assigned), then read, compared, and discussed each other's action logs. Next they recorded conversations with their peers. Each conversation lasted from 5 to 10 minutes and often began with an easy topic to warm up their English discussion skills (e.g., "Tell me three things you did last weekend."). Later conversations involved questions about course content. The students usually had three to five conversations on their tape to listen to after each class.

The recordings were usually followed by a teacher-led portion of the class in which I told stories and anecdotes relevant to some idea in the course, gave short lectures on different theories and practices, or addressed ideas raised in the action logs. I did not lecture directly on the content of the class readings unless misunderstandings had been noted in the action logs. Instead the students relied mostly on each other, their recorded discussions, and mind maps for learning the material in their books. I often demonstrated the key learning tools (e.g., shadowing, summarizing, extending, rejoinders) with a student partner.

The last few minutes of each class entailed copying down the homework assignments. These usually included the readings for the following week, listening to the tapes, meeting or calling their partners and asking them questions concerning the readings, reading and commenting on newsletters and articles, and perhaps asking informants not in the class for some sort of information. Students turned in their action logs on Fridays and they were returned on Monday, before the next class.

I felt that if students could connect the SLA concepts they read about with their own language learning, they would become more self-aware. For example, recording conversations on weekend activities using shadowing, summarizing, extending, and rejoinders (SSER) was, at first glance, merely an activity to focus attention on certain conversation techniques, thereby encouraging the students to reflect in action (Schön, 1987). However, the students also ***reflected on*** their performances while listening to their cassettes at home by evaluating their use of the techniques. This metacognition was meant to develop their

reflective literacy (Hasan, 1996). In fact Swain's recent research suggests that students learn during stimulated recall sessions (2000b), and writing an action log while listening to and reflecting on one's tape is suggested here to be one type of stimulated recall. This activity allowed the students to participate in SLA research concerning their own language learning.

The Essential Concepts of CCA and Constructivism

Recently Murphey and Jacobs (2000) proposed the concept of "critical collaborative autonomy" as a potentially fruitful way of conceptualizing student development. Whereas combining collaboration and autonomy may sound like an oxymoron, the concepts actually go hand in hand. The more that people interact and collaborate, the more choices they become aware of and the more autonomously they can act (see Vygotsky's intermental to intramental process [Wertsch, 1991]). Being autonomous was therefore not defined as acting alone, but rather as being able to take responsibility for one's learning and development (Murphey & Jacobs, 2000). The critical component was suggested to be necessary since there is some danger in overly acquiescent and sheepish collaboration as well as in overly self-centered autonomy. Being critical is thus meant to enrich both the community and private domain with open questioning and a continual search for improvement.

Murphey and Jacobs (2000) proposed that learners tend to move through several overlapping "movements" or stages on their way to CCA: (a) socialization, (b) dawning metacognition, (c) initiating choice, and (d) expanding autonomy. Inherent in the idea of these movements are Vygotsky's concepts of the zone of proximal development (ZPD), intermentality, social-constructivism, and tools of mediation (Vygotsky, 1934/1962; Wertsch, 1991).

The ZPD refers to those things that one is not quite ready to do alone, but can do with the help of another person. For example several students in the SLA class had no previous experience with juggling and could not juggle alone but were able to do it to some degree with a partner. In this example the activity is at first located within the learners' ZPDs (their potential) and enacted (scaffolded) *inter*mentally—between two people. Only later, through further participation, does it become an *intra*mental ability, residing within the mind of the learner. These phenomena are captured by M. C. Bateson when she writes "Participation precedes learning" (1994, p. 41; see also Lave & Wenger, 1991). Participation opens the door to activities that involve intermentally constructed understandings in temporarily shared social realities (Thorne, 2000). These can lead to individual appropriation

and use.

    Social-constructivism is a metaphor that can be more illustrative of student and teacher learning than the widespread metaphor of transmission (see Oxford et al., 1998; van Lier, 2000). To put it simply, when teachers and students think along the lines of transmission, teachers speak and students listen. When teachers apply a metaphor of constructivism to learning (often unconsciously), they tend to scaffold (or present) appropriate experiences. This encourages their students to construct individual understanding and to share it with others in the group to further their learning. Such teachers realize that students construct their understandings in different ways and that the results are continually and dynamically developing and are rarely identical. When these constructions are shared, as in newsletters, they produce the awareness (Langer, 1989) that there is not necessarily one correct answer or way to say something, and that we are continually constructing our language, our understanding and our lives. It then follows that collaborating with others (e.g., creating intermental spaces) enriches our ability to construct our own understanding.

    Finally, in Vygotskian sociocultural theory, tools are seen to mediate the way that we perform activities (Wertsch, 1991). Just as telephones, faxes, and computers mediate how we communicate with others, the tools described in this article ***mediate*** (e.g., facilitate and change) how students socially negotiate their language learning, SLA content, their beliefs and attitudes, and their relationships with one another.

Evidence of Movement

Evidence for the development of CCA through five stages or movements (socialization, dawning metacognition, initiating choice, expanding autonomy, and CCA) discussed in Murphey & Jacobs (2000) is presented below as comments from student action logs as well as teacher classroom observations. Action log (al) numbers (1 to 13) or newsletter (nl) numbers (1 to 8) are provided to locate the comment in time. Minor corrections were made to the student comments before putting them into the newsletters but comments from action logs have not been corrected.

    Of the 36 students finishing the course, about 12 students were regularly published in the newsletters, another 12 occasionally, and another 12 perhaps not at all. However as the comments appeared in the newsletters anonymously and the logs were returned to students, there is no record of the authors. The newsletters were designed to be a communal space in which the ideas expressed became topics for discussion for all. Even though some students may not have had their com-

ments published in the newsletter, most were discussing them in their conversations and action logs and were obviously learning from their peers. However, it is possible that some students may have felt slighted when their comments were not published and this point may need teacher attention. Furthermore, since the comments came from near peer role models (Murphey, 1998) they were within most students' ZPDs and were easy for the other students to understand and identify with.

The following section presents student comments which support the suggestion (Murphey & Jacobs, 2000) that there are five movements involved in reaching CCA.

Socialization

Socialization, the first movement toward CCA, emphasizes building rapport. This is seen as a prerequisite for learners to be able to work comfortably together. Evidence for socialization comes from student comments about getting to know each other and their feelings of solidarity with their classmates:

> It was a lot of fun to juggle in the Green Area! When we made a big circle and played juggling, I felt that we are united through juggling. I was very happy. I feel a bigger happiness when many people succeed in a thing (ex. juggling) than when I succeed alone. The more people there are, the greater joy I can get. (nl-5)

The newsletters appeared to be instrumental in helping students develop a sense of community:

> I enjoyed reading it [nl-8] as usual but I felt missed [sad] because this could be the last NL for me. NLs are interesting for students because it is not only the review but also like a real letter from friends. (al-13)

That socialization develops over time and supports learning was expressed well by one student in her final action log:

> At first, I was very nervous, because this course was very difficult, and I couldn't understand well. But gradually, I noticed that I should ask other classmates what I couldn't understand. After I noticed it, I could relax very much. The mid-term exam was unusual, but it improved me very much. We could help

each other [on the exam] and learned a lot of things. . . This class's system that to tell others what I understand and ask others what I could not understand is very good. (al-13)

A language laboratory with immovable consoles is not a particularly amenable environment for the development of community feelings. However, the limitations of the setting were overcome by regularly changing seat partners, varying partners for the recorded conversations, and providing socializing activities.

Dawning Metacognition

The second movement involves the development of metacognition. Many students expressed a variety of emotions on hearing their first tapes, showing that they were reflecting on their performances:

Before listening to the tape I was not sure if there would be interesting or valuable parts on it. But actually there are a lot. . . Taping tells me lots of valuable things about my English. (nl-1)

The students were also surprised at what they could learn from their peers. The passage below appeared in the first newsletter:

I was most impressed by my second partner [on the tape].
She shadowed almost every key word I said. For example:
Me: Well, first of all on Friday,
Her: Friday
Me: My friend and I went to Takashima-ya
Her: Takashima-ya, okay
Me: For the first time.
Her: How was it?
She shadowed the most important words in the sentences!
So I could see she really understood me while I was speaking. And the other impressive thing about her was "expanding questions!" She asked me "How was it?" after I said Takashima-ya. She tried to expand the topic and it was very helpful to me to continue the conversation. And at the end of the conversation, she said "So, let me summarize" and she summarized what I said briefly!! I was really impressed. (nl-1)

Midway through the semester, at least some students were grasping

the gray areas of SLA research and were reflecting on their emotions as well:

> When I read the HLL [**How Languages are Learned**] book, I was irritated sometimes because it did not have clear answers for each question. However, I realized that as research proceeds, questions tend to have no single or simple answer. And that is why the research is so interesting. (nl-3)

By the end of the semester, several students were extending metacognition beyond the classroom, thus providing evidence of generalizing learning to other contexts. In a final action log I read this insightful reflection that is contributing to my own research on shadowing:

> Young children [in the kindergarten I work in once a week] always shadow. Their eyes are fixed on my lips when I speak English to them. After two or three times of exposure to the phrase or word, they start to move their lips. They are going backwards if we use your concept. They start from silent shadowing to selective and to full shadowing. Once they acquire the new phrase/word they move forward from full to selective to silent. It seems. So Shadowing must be good for learning second language. It's sad we forget how to shadow as we get older. (al-13)

It is suggested that the multiple recursive opportunities afforded by the reflective tools of taping while shadowing and summarizing, action logging, and newsletters facilitated the development of metacognition. Such tools allowed discourse and ideas to be re-observed and analyzed. As Swain (2000b) has pointed out, the act of verbalization is an act of learning and it also serves to externalize thoughts which can then be objects of further reflection. Obviously recording the students' verbalizations on tape and in action logs and newsletters provided the potential for further reflection and learning.

Initiating Choice

The first three movements towards CCA, socialization, metacognition, and initiating choice, can happen from the beginning moments in a new group. However, the teacher can structure activities so that the movements happen more intensively. Teachers can help students who

have had little previous choice in what or how they studied to gradually consider options in the ways they learn. The students in this class were asked to choose a different seat and a different partner in each class. They also had to choose the content of their conversations, although topics were often given in the beginning (e.g., discuss three things you did last weekend). They were often asked to focus on one of the four aspects of SSER (shadowing, summarizing, extending, rejoinders) in their conversations for the day. They chose the points they wanted to highlight in their action logs and they formulated their own questions for the mid-term test. These choices were greatly expanded by the end of the semester, when they created presentations and did their own self-evaluations.

One could rightly argue that these activities were not chosen but were required by the course, that the **instructor** was forcing students to choose. Indeed, many students would have preferred to sit beside a friend for the whole semester. Ultimately, however, this disruption of the students' passive choices and the requirement to recognize the advantages of different choices may have increased their ability to create choices in the future. That some students were creating choices by the end of the course was shown by two students' independent suggestions to change the form of the final assessment. Spurred by their suggestions, the class decided to do group presentations. This developmental sequence is also captured by the student comment below concerning action logging:

> At first (and two years ago in Oral Communication) I didn't like writing Action Log. [Now I understand] by writing action log, I can do "meta-activity," or "meta-my idea." It helps me to try to understand the purposes of activities and think of what I want to do. What I want to do, what a student wants to do, leads my interest. And I can let a teacher know my idea, interest . . . etc. Such things improve the class I attend. (nl-3)

Expanding Autonomy

The fourth movement, expanding autonomy, or taking of greater control over one's learning (termed "self-regulation" in sociocultural theory), is greatly facilitated by reflection on one's own performance. Listening to audio recordings intensifies such reflection by providing the students with performance data, as the comment below attests:

> When I listened to the tape, I noticed something so nice. It was when I talked with my partner and made a mistake. I noticed that I made a mistake and corrected it myself. Before today, I thought I always do not notice when I make a mistake, so I thought I will never correct it without listening to my conversation. But it was not true. I noticed it!! I am not sure whether I corrected myself consciously or not. However, this experience gave me confidence for not being afraid of making a mistake. I also noticed that when I made a mistake, or my partner made a mistake, we both corrected it in shadowing. And, when we heard the correction of our mistakes in shadowing, we noticed that we made a mistake and what the correction was. In this case, we could correct the mistakes very naturally. Therefore, I think it is very important to tell a correction in shadowing when we notice that our partner made a mistake. (nl-6)

It can be suggested that such metacognition leads to autonomy which may first be localized to these activities and only later generalized. Expanding autonomy can carry student learning beyond the classroom and can bridge the classroom with the students' outside lives, as the example below indicates:

> A few weeks ago I had a chance to talk with Singaporeans in English. (I was helping their research work by translating their questionnaire into Japanese.) When we were talking during the break, I realized I was shadowing unconsciously. I shadowed what they said quite often. Before I took this course, I didn't respond with shadowing. But now, shadowing became a kind of habit. I shadowed a last word of the speaker. It didn't sound strange. It was a good way to make sure that I really understood what they said. So, I think using shadowing isn't strange thing to do when you talk with native speakers. I rather encourage everyone to use shadowing when they talk to native speakers! It is a great way to respond to what the speaker said and to make the conversation smooth. (al-13)

The comment below shows the ability to experiment with learning strategies and to search for personally useful strategies as a way to expand one's control over learning. This is also an explicit account of reflection-in-action (Schön, 1987):

> The moment I watched today's video, I felt very nervous because I recalled the first time when I watched it [an excerpt for a few minutes] and I couldn't listen at all and understand at all. But I changed my mind and tried to shadow. [We saw it in three parts with discussion after each.] First I shadowed what the narrator was saying. Shadowing made me able to understand most of it. I was really surprised because I could understand! After watching, we discussed what we watched. At that time, I found that I could understand but there were a lot of parts I couldn't remember in detail. So I decided to write down [take notes] next time. Then I wrote down what I could catch and shadowed. This work was very useful when I discussed it. I could reconstruct easily. In the third part, I tried to read [the outline] while shadowing and writing my own notes. Then after watching, I asked my partner only parts I couldn't catch. This way of learning I found to be very desirable. From now on I will apply this way to as many subjects as possible. (nl-6)

That the students felt safe enough to experiment with different ways of learning, to write about them, and to share them with the group shows that they were comfortable with the group. Publishing such comments in newsletters which were read by all students perhaps inspired even more near peer role modeling (Murphey, 1998).

Critical Collaborative Autonomy

CCA may not be an end state, but rather something that we flow into periodically in our attempts to run our lives as we cyclically travel through moments of intense collaboration, retreat into solitude, reflect deeply about our practices, and drift unconsciously on automatic pilot. The key may be to regularly question ourselves, our beliefs, and what we read and hear from others. At the same time, we need to be brave enough to critically make a stand based on what we know, as in the student comments below:

> One thing that makes me unsatisfied with concerning the attitude of teachers in university is that generally speaking, teachers in a university are apt to prefer to provide more new information they have not taught the students rather than give a supplementary explanation and comments on exams after the tests. It might seem to be based on false beliefs that, since "students learn what they're taught," saying the same thing

or reflecting on exams is a waste of time. However, that is not true. Even in conventional written exams, students continue to learn. (nl-5)

In the last class the students were given a short article describing a perceived incoherence in the Japanese educational system regarding Japanese university entrance examinations (Murphey, 1999b). It was a critical piece and I was curious to see how the students would react. I should note here that in my view SLA is by its nature political and entrance examinations in Japan, due to their extreme washback effect, tend to pervert SLA processes from the top down. Such topics, to my knowledge, are practically never addressed openly in the teacher-training curriculum in Japanese universities. I contend that, by reading the article and having an attentive collaborative community to communicate with, these student voices were freed perhaps for the first time. Considering that tests of unknown validity act as gatekeepers to universities that put students on the fast track to important social positions and that high school teachers feel chained to this "exam hell," it is an especially apt topic for all SLA and teacher-training courses in Japan. Many students did indeed engage themselves in the discussion and showed deep involvement, and even anger:

> Actually the entrance exams themselves are not practical, I think. I took the exam, and I studied only for it. It was no fun, and not useful. I hope the exams can be changed. (al-13)

> When I was a junior high and high school student, many teachers were thinking about their students very seriously. [However] their concern was only how many students would go to good high schools or universities. (al-13)

> The Japanese entrance exam system produces people who know lots of vocabulary and rules but can't communicate in English. There is a TV show that makes fun of these people. But actually it's not funny. People who are laughing at them can not speak English either. It's not time for laughing. We should change the system. (al-13)

Teachers-to-be were especially concerned about this article as they were seeing the incongruence between what they were learning in methods courses about communicative language teaching and what they were expected to do in school to prepare students for entrance

exams.

> In today's situation, students and teachers get too used to accepting the status quo, even if it has contradictions. They might think nothing would be changed. But they are the one who practice and receive education. They should be responsible for their education. And movement from students and teachers do have power to change the system. (al-13)

> It must be really hard, but trying to be faithful to what you believe is a very important thing, I think. (al-13)

> I went to my hometown to take an interview test for "practice teaching." One teacher said, "This school never has oral communication classes. " I couldn't believe that! Are they crazy!? But when I read this article, I thought I experienced the last paragraph. An ideal of the Monbusho [Ministry of Education] and actual teaching are different. Teachers should not be satisfied with their way of teaching. Teachers should think (check) students can understand well and enjoy learning. (al-13)

Obviously the students were on different time schedules in their development toward CCA. However, it is crucial for the teacher to find multi-functional tools which provide opportunities for learning at any particular moment. For example, action logging offers the chance for all students to socialize, reflect, and be critical, yet they may be used by different students in particular ways depending on their developmental trajectories. As teachers, our effectiveness may depend in part on equipping ourselves with such multi-functional tools which provide a host of doorways for students. But (to paraphrase a line from the movie ***Matrix***) it depends on learners which doors (and in which order) they wish to open.

Conclusion

This description of exploratory teaching and participatory action research is aimed at hypothesis generation rather than testing, and the ideas presented here obviously need further research. It is suggested that the key tools described above allowed students to progress toward CCA and to form a collaborative community of ***interthinkers*** (Mercer, 2000) The micro-discursive tools of shadowing and summarizing and the reflective tools of action logging and newsletters can be used with

practically any group to encourage overlapping zones of proximal development and the creation of shared intermental spaces. These tools allow student to manifest what their minds are modeling, scaffolding or creating overlapping intermental ZPDs, and allowing a flow between intermental and intramental processing (Lantolf, 2000; Vygotsky, 1934/1962; Wells, 1999). As Swain (2000a), with reference to Pica (1994), states, "Through negotiation, comprehensibility is achieved as interlocutors **repeat and rephrase** for their conversational partners" (p. 98, my emphasis). Based on student comments, encouraging shadowing and summarizing during communicative activities would seem to ensure greater comprehensibility and jointly scaffolded ZPDs that allow for movement toward CCA. Action logging and newsletters intensify this process. With these tentative findings as support, this exploratory research can be summarized in the form of the following hypotheses:

> 1) The tools of recursion allow students to reveal, construct, restructure, and scaffold understanding recursively and intermentally using their own and their group's verbalizations. The tools allow students to participate more intensively in less threatening ways, and to gain quicker access to more central participation.
> 2) The tools of recursion can create a community intermental space of overlapping ZPDs.
> 3) These intermental spaces facilitate socialization, metacognition, and movement toward CCA.

It might further be hypothesized that teachers' own teaching ZPDs might be better adjusted to student ZPDs by learning what-learners-are-learning (e.g., through action logs), and by letting what-learners-are-learning become part of the subject matter of their courses (e.g., with newsletters) in order to better scaffold learning. As opposed to simply supplying input, this is very close to what van Lier (2000) refers to as supplying **affordances** through:

> [a teacher's ability to] . . . structure the learner's activities and participation so that access is available and engagement encouraged. This brings ecological language learning in line with proposals for situated learning (and 'legitimate peripheral participation') by Lave and Wenger (1991) and the guided participation, apprenticeship, and participatory appropriation described by Rogoff (1995) (p. 253).

Finally, Gee (1996) writes of "Discourses" (with a capital D) as,

> ways of behaving, interacting, valuing, thinking, believing, speaking, and often reading and writing that are accepted as instantiations of particular roles (or 'types of people') by specific groups of people . . . Discourses are ways of being "people like us" (p. viii).

While I was not conscious of this at the outset, I now see this SLA course as a kind of invitation to participate in, and create, several Discourses: (1) the Discourse of the critically collaborative and autonomous language learner, intensively collaborating and taking more control of the learning process; (2) the Discourse of the novice SLA researcher, appropriating some of the perspectives, knowledge, and language of the field through personal experience; (3) the Discourse of the critically aware teacher-learner who reflects on past learning experiences and who dares to question and criticize present situations and construct an image of something better. Gee (1996) further contends:

> Schools . . . ought to be about people reflecting on and critiquing the 'Discourse-maps' of their society, and, indeed, the wider world. Schools ought to allow students to juxtapose diverse Discourses to each other so that they can understand them at a meta-level through a more encompassing language of reflection. Schools ought to allow all students to acquire, not just learn about, Discourses that lead to effectiveness in their society, should they wish to do so. Schools ought to allow students to transform and vary their Discourse, based on larger cultural and historical understandings, to create new Discourses, and to imagine better and more socially just ways of being in the world (p. 190).

Striving to realize critical collaborative autonomy through the tools of SSER recordings, action logging, and newsletters seems to have created Discourses of potential. As professional educators, perhaps our own Discourses of potential lie within our ability to find recursive means to become aware of one another's thinking, to scaffold intermental spaces of overlapping ZPDs, and to create collaborative learning communities.

Acknowledgements

After eleven years at Nanzan University, Professor **Tim Murphey** voluntarily resigned last March over differences in values concerning their entrance examinations. He has published books with Oxford University Press, Longman, Peter Lang, and MacMillan Language House, and has authored several book chapters, and articles in journals including **TESOL Quarterly, Language Teaching Research,** and **System** .

Notes

1. This article presents some tools of recursion and supports their use by consideration of student written comments, not by actual "first order" transcribed data. This would have been possible, however, especially for the micro-discursive strategies of shadowing and summarizing, through listening to the recorded tapes. Such research has been done by narrow transcriptions and the results support the idea of collaborative intermental ZPDs. For example, see the chapters by Ohta, Swain, Kramsch, and others in Lantolf, 2000.

2. Mind maps are simple web-like drawings with words, icons or pictures which represent larger ideas. The main topic is usually placed in the middle and the subtopics branch out in different directions. For a mind map of this article, I might draw a toolbox at the center of a page and have four branches extending to represent the four tools used. I might have other branches for CCA and the Discourses of potential. In turn each of these branches might sub-branch and interconnect.

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Reviews

Researching and Applying Metaphor. Lynne Cameron
and Graham Low, Editors. Cambridge: Cambridge
University Press, 1999. 295 pp.

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Metaphor is a major research area in cognitive linguistics, literature, and philosophy, but it has mainly been ignored by applied linguists. Those who have ventured into the territory are pioneers and, to extend the metaphor, pioneers are often misunderstood. They go forth in search of rewards that others do not see or care about, leaving the less adventurous behind in a state of bemusement.

Metaphors tend to highlight aspects of the topics they refer to and conceal others in the process. The metaphor in the preceding paragraph is no exception. It suggests that pioneering research can be rewarding but also difficult for others to follow. At the same time, the metaphor is misleading. It conceals the fact that, from the perspective of other disciplines, applied linguists are not pioneers but newcomers who face the challenge of staking out a claim in densely populated territory.

In the first chapter of **_Researching and Applying Metaphor_**, Lynne Cameron proceeds to stake such a claim. Her paper is a solid, if daunting, attempt to establish what applied linguistics could contribute to metaphor research. Cognitive science provides Cameron's main point of reference. Cognitive scientists are interested in what goes on in the mind, and they might approach the "pioneer" metaphor above as a realization of the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY. They would be interested in how this conceptual metaphor guides our understanding of the "pioneer" metaphor, but not necessarily in its linguistic form. Cameron feels that applied linguists should also consider linguistic form and discourse context. With regard to form, the explicit marker "metaphor" foregrounds the "pioneer" metaphor. The metaphor's location at the beginning of this review suggests that it has an attention-getting discourse function.

Raymond Gibbs, a conceptual metaphor researcher, discusses six research guidelines in the book's second chapter. Inevitably, the chapter is colored by his own interests, but the value of his advice extends well beyond conceptual metaphor. Indeed, his very first guideline is that researchers should "distinguish different kinds of metaphor in language" (p. 30). Metaphor ranges from the mundane "I'm at a crossroads" to Robert Frost's "Two roads diverged in a wood, and I—//I took the one less traveled by." Conceptual metaphor theory would approach both of these as linguistic realizations of LIFE IS A JOURNEY, but it would have trouble with certain other forms of metaphor. Gibbs suggests that no current theory can "account for all of the different kinds of metaphor" (p. 36). Consequently, researchers have to be clear about what they are doing and not assume that what is true for one metaphor is true for all.

Graham Low's introductory chapter about metaphor research design is also excellent, especially his discussion of who should identify metaphors in research—the researcher or third-party analysts. Metaphor comes in degrees of conventionality, ranging from "dead and buried" through "sleeping" and "tired" to "active" (Goatly, 1997, pp. 31-38). This means that subtle decisions may be necessary if a researcher wants to work with, say, active metaphors. Low discusses an example of disagreement between analysts and a researcher about what was metaphorical in a short text to illustrate the problem. Four metaphors that the researcher had expected to be identified were not noticed by the analysts. This demonstrates the (familiar) dangers of relying on researchers' intuitions and the value of analysts as "supplementary or alternative identifiers" (p. 55).

Metaphor identification is also a prominent topic in the book's second section, "From Theory to Data," especially in the chapters by Gerard Steen and Lynne Cameron. Steen is known for his work on the processing of literary metaphor, which involved using informants' judgements of metaphoricity. At the time, Steen did not connect these judgements with formal linguistic properties of the metaphors he used. Steen recognizes here that such a link is an "obvious and promising direction of research" (p. 81), and he attempts to make that link with a detailed checklist. The checklist has three levels of analysis, linguistic, conceptual, and communicative, and Steen demonstrates how it works with two metaphors in Bob Dylan's "Hurricane." One of these, "justice is a game," is found to be a conceptually conventional realization of the metaphor LIFE IS A GAMBLING GAME. Linguistically and communicatively, however, the metaphor gains prominence from its position in the sentence it occurs in and from its function in the lyrics as a

whole.

Cameron's contribution to this section focuses on the subjective angle of metaphor identification. In her work on children's experiences of metaphorical language she found that children sometimes process apparently non-metaphorical language in a metaphorical way, that is, by interpreting a weather forecaster's "hot spells" as "connected to the domain of witches" (p. 109). Such "asymmetric interpretation" (Goatly, 1997, p. 127) could be readily identified in discussions between Cameron and her young subjects, but more intuitive methods were necessary when she analyzed educational discourse data. In practice this meant including "metaphors" that, "with knowledge of the individual discourse participants, seem likely to be processed metaphorically" (p. 115).

After all this theory the third section, "Analysing Metaphor in Naturally Occurring Data," provides a welcome change of pace with, among others, papers on the relationship between metaphor and perception. Perceptions of teachers in different cultures are one of the topics in Martin Cortazzi and Lixian Jin's chapter. Chinese students, for example, tend to conceptualize teachers metaphorically as "friends" or "parents" and this may cause frustration when their teachers are British. The students may expect these "friends" to volunteer to help them, while the teacher is assuming that help, when needed, will be asked for.

While most of the preceding papers used authentic data, examples of work with constructed metaphors are given in the book's fourth section, "Analysing Metaphor in Elicited Data." Zazie Todd and David Clarke discuss using their "False Transcript Method" to produce manipulated conversations. Low, for his second paper, used manipulated essay introductions and constructed sentences to investigate the acceptability of certain verbal metaphors in academic writing: Can one write that an academic paper *thinks*, *knows, believes*, or *argues* something? A group of Low's academic peers mainly rejected "this essay thinks/believes" but accepted "this essay argues/takes the view" (p. 246).

Researching and Applying Metaphor is bound to become required reading for both experienced and inexperienced researchers. The book is particularly strong on theory and methodology, especially the introductory chapters. At the same time, two important criticisms can be made, the first being that the book assumes too much background knowledge. Experienced metaphor researchers will have this but, for newcomers, an outline of the main research traditions would have been invaluable. Although the editors did not include such a chapter, they have published a very good introductory overview elsewhere (Cameron

and Low, 1999).

Against the background of Cameron and Low's stated intention of promoting applied linguistic research into metaphor, a second major gap is the lack of an overview of what they see as the most promising research areas. Unfortunately, the book does not compensate for this by giving a sufficient range of examples of metaphor research. There are three chapters on metaphor and perception, for example, but not one on the linguistics of metaphor.

To return to the "pioneer" metaphor, it seems fair to conclude that Cameron and Low have provided excellent guidelines on how to navigate through metaphor country and what pitfalls to watch out for in the process, but that they have not indicated adequately what has drawn others there in the past or what rewards might await applied linguists who venture there in future.

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Language Teaching: New Insights for the Language Teacher. C. Ward and W. Renandya, Editors. Singapore: SEOMEO Regional Language Centre, 1999. 308 pp.

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In April 1998, 120 papers were presented at the annual RELC seminar in Singapore. This anthology contains sixteen of those papers grouped under three main headings: "Focus on the Teacher," "Computers and Language Learning," and "Language Teaching and Learning."

For me the most interesting paper in the "Focus on the Teacher" section was that of Donald Freeman on individual development in an educational setting. Basically Freeman outlines what is meant by reflective teaching and how it is possible to "do the same things differently" in the context of schools. His paper promotes a critical approach to evaluating status quo explanations of what teaching should involve.

In the section on computers, Martin A. Siegel outlines various facets of a digital learning environment and the section on a "worldboard" system sounds like something from a futuristic space-age movie. Yet perhaps in a few years special eyewear for virtual reality post-it notes and video mailing will be as integral a part of schooling as pen and paper.

If you don't know what "CALL" stands for, Michael Levy will enlighten you. It is "Computer Assisted Language Learning," a topic about which people seem to be highly polarized. Levy outlines a utilitarian view, a middle path. His startling finding that "only about 20% of the rules in grammar checkers work reliably with non-native speakers of English" is a salutary warning against the uncritical incorporation of this particular software feature into the language classroom. Levy's text is insightful, but it would have been easier to read had headings and subheadings been provided.

Anyone who is interested in SLA theory will want to read the papers by N. S. Prabhu and by Merrill Swain. These two noted SLA researchers would probably disagree on some issues such as the value of output and a focus on form in the classroom, but both present excellent papers on their respective topics. Swain focuses mainly on the nature of collaborative tasks and on how to systematically integrate language instruction into content instruction. Realism is emphasized in Prabhu's paper: "Teaching is at Most Hoping for the Best." The author gives a lucid account of both learning and teaching, two intrinsically different processes or activities. It follows that a procedural syllabus is to be preferred over a product syllabus.

The field of pragmatics is amply covered in this anthology. Asim Gunarwan surveys the development of pragmatics within linguistics and analyzes such notions as speech acts, implicatures, and politeness. Jenny Thomas explores ten areas of pragmatics of interest to the language teacher and learner. She offers an analysis of various areas in semantics, pragmatics, and speech act theory. Regarding apologizing in Japanese and English, Thomas notes that differing notions are involved, making this area "notoriously risky." Cognitive aspects of language usage, such as homonymy, polysemy, and possible extensions of meanings are also discussed.

Some of the papers of this anthology are of general interest to language teachers everywhere and others have a more narrow focus. The latter category might include papers on specific topics, such as those on EAP oral communication instruction, teacher supervision, new approaches to grammar in child literacy development, and papers on specific educational settings, namely Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand,

and Japan.

While Florence G. Kayad's paper offers a Malaysian perspective on language learning strategies, her report is of interest to educators everywhere. It provides a valuable account of what characterizes the good language learner and how to implement effective strategy training. The appendix lists fifty learning strategies under various headings (memory, cognitive, compensation, metacognitive, affective, and social) and is particularly helpful.

Similarly, the paper by Chaleosri Pibulchol on Thai national English textbooks for primary schools is mainly of interest for those involved in education in Thailand, but it may also be of interest to those involved in curriculum design for English language instruction in Japanese elementary schools.

Of more general interest is the paper entitled "Text and Task: Authenticity in Language Learning" by Andrea H. Penaflorida. Drawing on the work of David Nunan, Penaflorida makes a clear exposition on the "indissoluble" bond between text and task. She gives helpful classroom examples and explains concepts like task dependency, authentic materials, and principles of task design. David Crabbe's paper on learner autonomy provides an analysis of various dimensions of autonomy and of how learners individualize their classroom experiences. Rather than simply meaning working alone, autonomy refers to an internal ability to manage one's learning processes. Language curricula should accommodate learner autonomy as an essential learning goal.

Most *JALT Journal* readers are involved in education in Japan and will probably be interested in "Teaching English as an International Language in Japan" by Nobuyuki Honna of Aoyama Gakuin University, Tokyo. Joan Morley's paper on EAP oral communication emphasizes the need to aim for an appropriate level of speech intelligibility rather than a "native-like" proficiency in English. Honna echoes these views, saying that educators and students in Japan need to be more realistic and accept Japanese English as a legitimate variety as long as intelligibility is maintained. A less idealistic attitude should spring from an awareness of the international spread and diversification of English and its role in multinational and multicultural communication. How can such awareness be promoted? Honna suggests expanding the base of participants in the JET (Japan Exchange and Teaching) program to include speakers of English from India, Singapore, and other "outer circle" regions. Few would take issue with this suggestion, but one assertion made by Honna is problematical. The statement that, in the JET program, "a Japanese teacher of English is expected to cooperate only with a native English speaker in instructing a class" seems erroneous

to me. I have participated in the JET program for the past two years and the message I have received from training programs and seminars was that instruction should always involve team-teaching by equal partners fully cooperating with one another to achieve their pedagogic goals. However Honna's main point still stands. The uncritical Japanese preference for Anglo/American native speaker English is worrisome and initiatives for improvement and reorientation are long overdue. College entrance examinations are becoming more focused on practical communicative competence but they, along with high school teaching, remain very grammar oriented. Honna sees the introduction of English instruction in public elementary schools from the year 2003 as an opportunity for change, and reports positively on results from awareness training sessions. The next generation should not have the Anglophone goal as its guiding light. He adds that the "young ALTs, who can be linguistically and culturally perfectionist," should be given training to help make a more valuable contribution, establishing English as a language for multinational and multicultural understanding. The bottom line is mutual intelligibility.

Overall, this anthology provides insights for language teaching. These may not be cutting-edge new, but no doubt those who attended the RELC seminar in April 1998 were enriched by what they heard.

Issues for Today: An Intermediate Reading Skills **Text**, 2nd edition. Lorraine C. Smith and Nancy N. Mare. Boston, MA: Heinle & Heinle, 1995. 253 pp.

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Issues for Today is a reading text consisting of short stories followed by reading comprehension exercises. This book is designed for the intermediate adult ESL/EFL student. The stories require the background knowledge of an adult student and would be inappropriate for younger readers. The chapters can stand alone or be taught in succession.

The book is organized thematically yet each chapter is an independent unit. Chapters 7-12 have dictionary skill building exercises. The beginning of the chapter contains a story, which is followed by vocabulary and reading comprehension exercises. Independent thought is required of the students in certain exercises, for example, by asking

for background information about their countries. Pair work and dictionary exercises are also abundant within each chapter.

Chapters 7 and 8 are representative of the text and will be reviewed here in detail. The story in Chapter 7, dealing with the criminal justice system, is appropriately challenging to an intermediate non-native speaker of English. The vocabulary is also rigorous in that the words are highly specific to the theme of the story such as "booking a suspect." Many of the words can be more than one part of speech, thus emphasizing the need for examining words in context. Some exercises in the chapter are slightly beyond the capability of an intermediate ESL/EFL student, although the follow-up exercises at the end of the chapter are useful for independent thought and whole-class discussion.

Chapter 8 has a story dealing with the reliability of eyewitnesses. The lexicon is again very specific yet was helpful in giving students a more detailed vocabulary and dictionary skill exercises effectively evaluated students' comprehension of context. However, the number of exercises in the chapter is not adequate so teachers will have to create their own exercises to supplement the text since, without supplementation, an intermediate class could finish the chapter's exercises in three or four classes and achieve only spotty comprehension of the story. The follow-up exercises in chapter 8 were again a breath of fresh air for students who may have become tired of the reading analysis grind.

Some aspects of the book may present difficulties for the classroom teacher. These include the dictionary skill-building exercises that ask students to find where the part of speech is located in a dictionary entry, what the context is, and which entry is applicable to the context. Teachers may find that an intermediate level class is quite adept with a dictionary so these activities are below the students' level. On the other hand, the information organization exercises tend to be too difficult for an intermediate level class.

Aspects of the book that readers will enjoy are the stories and the included vocabulary. The stories are challenging at the intermediate level and students must read critically to understand the story. As mentioned, the vocabulary is related to the particular subject matter, yet is beneficial for intermediate students because it helps them to build vocabulary in specific areas. The exercises are helpful for students to gain reading comprehension skills.

This book will give students a useful knowledge of issues and topics within the United States. Students may further develop their reading comprehension, dictionary, and context clue-gathering skills. Creative thought on the part of the student is a welcome addition to *Issues for Today*. This text, even with its shortcomings, can be a valuable reading

text for such a class.

The Rise and Fall of Languages. R. M. W. Dixon. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. vi + 169 pp.

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KLC College

If you have not read Dixon's latest book, drop everything and read it today. Then you will be able to conduct yourself calmly among the uncertainties that beset language workers. You will understand how languages change and interact, and you will have your own opinions about issues that exercise linguists.

This is not a careful book. It contains no academic hedging. It is written with the passion of a front-line fighter in the war to understand languages. If Dixon drops a comment about theory it is a pungent insight wrested afresh from battle. Perhaps for that reason, this book does more to clarify theoretical issues than any other linguistics book I know of. Two major services are to place Universal Grammar in context and set us straight about family trees of languages.

Dixon's treatment of formal theoreticians is deliciously wicked. There is, he says, a pernicious myth, wrong on all counts, that the profession of "theoretician" (people who do not gather data themselves but rather interpret data) is "more difficult, more important, more intellectual, altogether on a higher plane than the basic work undertaken by the descriptivists" (p. 134). Formal "theories" (he names 20 of them, beginning with Transformational Grammar), grounded only in the few languages known to the formalists, come and go with alarming rapidity. Surely "if a discipline can spawn, reject and replace so many 'theories' (in most cases without bothering to actually write a grammar of a language in terms of the 'theory') then it could be said to be off balance" (p. 132).

Dixon's discussion of family trees starts with the insight that groups of languages go through periods of equilibrium and periods of turbulence ("punctuations"). During periods of punctuation (such as, for example, the known history of Indo-European languages), languages split, evolve, die, and can be observed to descend from other languages. Under these circumstances, the metaphor of a family tree of languages may be applied. During periods of equilibrium (such as in Australia

from about 50,000 years ago until the British invasion in 1788), languages in contact tend to borrow from each other, sometimes grow apart, and sometimes become more alike.

In the 100,000-year (or so) history of human languages, equilibrium must have been much more common than punctuation. What, then, of putative family trees of languages such as those of Ruhlen (1991)? Their applicability is limited to periods when languages have undergone fission but not fusion. Accordingly, the idea of drawing up a single family tree of human languages is about as practical as trying to reconstruct a game of billiards by studying which balls ended up in which pockets.

Dixon criticizes such scholars as Greenberg (e.g., 1987), who, armed with only the family tree metaphor, find too many familial relationships. When Greenberg-style "mass comparison" turns up fascinating similarities among languages, Dixon says, the proper behavior is not to declare family trees but to investigate both family relationships and influences.

Dixon points out that professional linguists share many assumptions and understandings but have never troubled to find a name for what they believe together. He proposes the name Basic Linguistic Theory (BLT) for this body of lore. BLT consists of descriptive and analytical techniques, methods of comparison, and criteria for drawing conclusions. A linguist-in-training, then,

> must be taught the principles of Basic Linguistic Theory, and also receive instruction in how to describe languages (though Field Methods courses). The ideal plan is then to undertake original field work on a previously undescribed (or scarcely described) language, and write a comprehensive grammar of it as a Ph.D. dissertation (p. 130).

Dixon reserves his greatest passion for a final plea for fieldwork. He presents a view that Whorf (1956) would have recognized:

> Each language encapsulates the world-view of its speakers—how they think, what they value, what they believe in, how they classify the world around them, how they order their lives. Once a language dies, a part of human culture is lost—forever (p. 144).

Dixon predicts that, at the current pace of extinction, in a few hundred years there will be only one language in active use in the world.

The situation is urgent. He calculates that to describe a language takes one Ph.D. candidate three years and requires about US $200,000. He pleads for a revolution in values to produce money, students, and right-minded professors.

For his part, loaded with immunizations and malaria pills, as he finished this book Dixon was setting off for the Amazon to investigate some particularly interesting languages there.

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Alphabet to Email: How Written English Evolved and Where It's Heading. Naomi Baron. London: Routledge, 2000. xiv + 316 pp.

Reviewed by
John Katunich
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Naomi Baron's *Alphabet to Email: How Written English Evolved and Where It's Heading* is a survey of the English language focusing on the history of the conventions of English writing. While it does not reach as far back as the emergence of the English Roman alphabet, the book details a fascinating history of written English from medieval scribing through the relatively recent development of authorial copyright and the impact of technology. The narrative is accessible to nonhistorians and highlights how written English conventions as basic as punctuation are products of a social evolution that is very much still in progress.

Baron intends this book for "teachers of composition (as well as grammar and literature), [and] teachers (and students) of English as a second language," among others (p. xiii). Addressing the relationship of written and spoken Englishes, the book is particularly relevant to teachers of ESL within the context of debates over prescriptivism in writing.

While Baron does not "solve" the debate, her history gives an abundance of examples of earlier debates during the last two centuries. Additionally, in a history of authorial copyright in written English, Baron offers a narrative that explains how copying another's words changed from requisite flattery (in the 17th century) to unethical plagiarism (arising from British court rulings of the early 18th century). This is particularly valuable to the ESL and composition instructors teaching in contexts where collaborative writing, Internet publishing, and postmodernism are once again questioning the sacredness of authorial ownership of a text.

Alphabet to Email's inquiry into the most recent changes of written English use, catalyzed by telegraph, telephone, and computer-mediated communication proves insightful. Its history of written English in the 20th century, specifically in the United States, shows a gradual convergence of written and spoken English conventions. Baron argues that the telegraph and telephone began this trend by replacing written letters with speech in a variety of social functions. The speed allowed by typewriters and then PC word processors also made it possible to "write as we speak". Finally, e-mail conventions of the late 1990s have further blurred the distinction between written and spoken English, raising the question of whether email is "spoken language transmitted by other means" or "like a letter sent by phone" (p. 247). The trend is so marked, according to Baron, that it is possible for her to envision a world where written English as a form distinct from spoken English may cease to be used.

The entire narrative of the book presages Baron's discussion of the contradictions in email language usage. She introduces language contact theory to explain the "schizophrenic" quality of email. It can be understood as a "creole" of sorts emerging from individuals "bilingual" in spoken and written English, operating in a new "social circumstance" and performing functions often conveyed in speech through the medium of writing. While not entirely satisfying, this theory offers new insight into the relationships between writing and speaking as displayed in new technology.

As a resource for language teachers in Japan, *Alphabet to Email* is easy and interesting. However, it also offers a thought-provoking discussion of where written English may be heading. Baron provokes the reader to ask how one can teach written English that is authentic and relevant within a context of profound technological and linguistic change. While the book does not offer a solution, it does give lucid description of earlier ideological, social, and technological change that one can use to inform current teaching of English composition.

Rights to Language: Equity, Power, and Education.
Robert Phillipson, Editor. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence
Erlbaum Associates, 2000. 310 pp.

Reviewed by
David P. Shea
Keio University

There is a growing recognition that not only do the world's linguistic resources need to be protected, but that ethnolinguistic minorities have been threatened by the rapid transnational spread of information, media, and markets. At the same time, consideration of minority language rights is often excluded from professional discussion about English language education. This is partly because of the tendency to define language teaching in strictly linguistic terms, divorced from social and political conditions of actual use, and partly because questions of power often prove threatening to English speakers, especially English teachers. It is all too common to hear English uncritically promoted as the world's **lingua franca** and the indispensable means of economic advancement. However these overdrawn formulations make it all the more important for EFL professionals to discuss issues of minority language rights. This collection of essays, a **Festschrift** to Tove Skutnabb-Kangas, would be a good place to start the discussion.

The book is a collection of essays written by a broad range of sociolinguists, discourse analysts, linguists, and language teachers who have worked with and/or been influenced by Skutnabb-Kangas, one of the most impassioned advocates for the linguistic rights of ethnolinguistic minorities around the world. There are 47 contributions covering a range of geographical contexts from Scandinavia and the U.S. to South Africa and the Pitcairn/Norfolk Islands. All of the contributions are short (most are 6 to 8 pages) and accessible, written in a style that comes from a "distillation" of personal experience, and grounded upon the principles of linguistic diversity and social justice long advocated by Skutnabb-Kangas.

The essays successfully blend theoretical discussion with micro-level case studies of the defense/loss of indigenous and threatened languages. There are too many contributions to mention in a brief review, but some are particularly instructive. Maffi introduces the Non-govern-

mental organization Terralingua (www.terralingua.org) and points out that preserving the natural environment inevitably involves protecting cultural diversity. De Varennes delineates how international law has increasingly come to acknowledge linguistic rights of minority cultural groups.

Chapters by Alexander and Heugh are particularly useful to help understand South Africa's constitutional recognition of eleven official languages and complement Desai's "imagined" conversation with parents cautioning that additive bilingual education is "not a matter of either African languages or English" (p. 176). Jokinen points out that the rights of deaf children to education in sign language are neglected in most countries of the world and, even where legally stipulated, the necessary "segregation" of Deaf children that would allow peer interaction often does not take place.

Municio-Larsson reviews the 1976 Swedish Home Language Right which officially recognized mother tongue education but which has been undermined by ideological resistance and lack of implementation on the local level. Clyne points out that Australia's multilingual policy adopted in 1992 has also been attenuated by a utilitarian emphasis on languages with instrumental economic value coupled with efforts to protect the advantage of the monolingual majority. Annamalai outlines India's constitutional provisions of language rights, yet notes how most government bureaucrats hold the view that minority languages are "not worthy of use in education, and the interests of their speakers [would] be served best by learning the majority language and . . .ignoring their mother tongue" (p. 9). Similarly, Garcia describes the dominant trend in the United States to redefine bilingual education as remedial and transitional, while the concurrent promotion of academic standards has worked to handicap minority language speakers with requirements that conflate standards with standardization.

Not all the essays are critical examinations of involuntary language shift and discursive practices that have "excluded or marginalized" ethnic minorities, rendering them invisible and reproducing discrimination (e.g., papers by van Dijk and Hussain). Some are encouraging reports of attempts to promote additive bilingualism. Pura describes Finnish parents in Sweden who established their own Finnish-medium elementary schools to develop a "strong bilingual, bicultural identity" (p. 221), and Huss describes her own family's efforts, in the face of warnings from "unsympathetic doctors and teachers" (p. 188), to raise her children bilingually. Cummins introduces three exemplary schools in New Zealand, the U.S., and Belgium that "empower" language minority cultural identity by supporting multilingual language develop-

ment. But it is Vuolab's personal insight that is perhaps most moving:

> In my young days people used to command us not to speak or use my mother tongue, the Sami language. We were told we would not even get as far as the nearest airport, in Lakselv, if we used our native language. Now I can inform people who hesitate to use their own mother tongue: The struggle is really worthwhile. You can get to the other side of the Earth by being yourself (p. 16).

Phillipson's "integrative" chapter concludes the volume, synthesizing the key themes of the collection, and pointing to a non-imperialist model of the linguistic rights that rejects the "invisible and covert" (p. 276) agenda of globalized economy and affirms the rights of all peoples to use and maintain their mother tongue(s) and, at the same time, to learn the wider language(s) of social communication in additive (not subtractive) educational contexts. While this position is a challenge to the "monolingual myopia" (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1984) that infects Japan and most "developed" industrial democracies (what Skutnabb-Kangas terms A-Team countries), Phillipson draws on Said's notion of the "committed intellectual" who shares responsibility to "confront orthodoxy" rather than reproduce it (p. 265).

With its impassioned interdisciplinary focus and truly global scope, this book is an inspiring introduction to the issue of language rights, invaluable for the sociolinguistics classroom as well as the individual scholar interested in engaging more deeply with the challenge of language diversity.

Reference

Skutnabb-Kangas, T. (1984). *Bilingualism or not: The education of minorities*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

JALT Journal

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