Japan Association for Language Teaching

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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, plus one Affiliate Chapter in Japan, 15 Special Interest Groups (SIGs), and two 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).

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JALT Central Office

Urban Edge Building, 5F 1-37-9 Taito, Taito-ku, Tokyo 110-0016, Japan Tel: 03-3837-1630; Fax: 03-3837-1631; E-mail: jalt@gol.com

In this Issue

Articles

The main section of this issue contains three articles. **Tomoko Takada** examines the characteristics of learners who begin language learning early and late in terms of aptitude, anxiety, and motivation. **Kevin O'Donnell** takes a look at the language learning experiences, attitudes and motivations of university freshmen within the changing contexts of tertiary education. **Koichi Tanaka** and **Rod Ellis** investigate a study abroad program for Japanese university students, examining changes in the students' beliefs about language learning and in their English proficiency.

Perspectives

Motivation is an extensively researched, centrally important area in second and foreign language (L2) learning. **Kay Irie** identifies the patterns of motivation that Japanese university students exhibit by examining a representative selection of survey studies conducted since 1990, including works published in Japanese, which predominantly employ factor analysis.

Reviews

Peter J. Farrell reviews a teacher resource book on intercultural business communication, and a book on the roles of teachers and learners within the educational systems that they operate is reviewed by **Tim Knight. Mathew White** examines an introductory book on phonetics. **David Cozy** outlines the use of a chemistry analogy to illustrate and illuminate the issues pertinent to underlying similarities in world languages.

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From the Editors

The editors would like to welcome David Aline, Nicholas O. Jungheim, Aek Phakiti, David Shea, and Minoru Wada to the *JALT Journal* Editorial Advisory Board. We appreciate the generous contribution of their time to help ensure the continued high quality of our publication.

Conference News

IPrA 8th International Pragmatics Conference. The 8th International Pragmatics Conference will be held on 13-18 July 2003 at the University of Toronto. Conference Chair: Monica Heller (University of Toronto). Local Site Committee: Susan Ehrlich (York University), Ruth King (York University), Normand Labrie (University of Toronto), Grit Liebscher (University of Waterloo), Bonnie McElhinny (University of Toronto), Donna Patrick (Brock University), Jack Sidnell (University of Toronto). Special theme: Linguistic pluralism: policies, practices and pragmatics.

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Articles

Learner Characteristics of Early Starters and Late Starters of English Language Learning: Anxiety, Motivation, and Aptitude

Tomoko Takada

Gakushuin Girls' Junior & Senior High School

Two groups of first-year Japanese students at a private junior high school (JHS) were compared in their foreign language (FL) anxiety, three constructs of motivation (interest in FL, instrumental motivation, need for achievement), and language learning aptitude. The first group experienced FLES (Foreign Language in Elementary School) and the second group had no FLES experience. The results revealed that the learners with no FLES experience felt a significantly stronger "need for achievement," whereas the two groups did not differ in the other constructs of motivation and anxiety. These findings suggest that anxiety and motivation may be more strongly affected by factors other than the starting age of FL learning. Thus caution is called for, so as to not overestimate FLES as a motivation booster. Although no statistical difference was seen in aptitude, the learners without previous FLES experience showed somewhat higher inductive learning abilities than their FLES-experienced counterparts. This finding warns against including selection bias in comparative studies of FLES and non-FLES students at private JHSs in Japan.

私立中学1年の生徒を、小学校で英語を学んだグループ、学ばなかったグループに分け、両者の(a) 外国語学習への不安、(b) 動機(外国語への関心、道具的動機、達成の必要性)(c) 言語学習の適性、を比較した。その結果、未経験者が経験者よりも、達成の必要性を強く感じていることが明らかになった。動機のその他の下位区分および不安においては、優位差を認めなかった。この結果は、外国語学習への不安や動機が複雑な概念であり、学習開始年齢以外の要因をより強く受ける可能性を示唆する。小学校での英語教育が英語への興味や関心を育てるとして注目されているが、その効果を過度に期待することへの警告と解釈できる。言語学習の適性においても優位差は認めなかったが、記述的統計では未経験者が経験者よりもかなり高い帰納的学習能力を示した。これは、小学校での英語教育の効果を私立中学で調査する場合、選択の偏りに注意すべきことを示唆する。

he effect of foreign language learning in elementary school has been a controversial issue for decades in Japan as well as in other countries where English is not the first language. Indeed, it has attracted wider, more serious attention since the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology decided to include Foreign Language in Elementary School (FLES) as an optional activity in a new general studies course that was implemented in 2002. Some researchers and educators suspect that FLES will make little difference (Kobayashi, 1996; Shirahata, 1998, 1999, 2002) whereas others emphasize its virtues (Higuchi, 1987, 1990, 1999; Ito, 1987, 1990, 1997; Kuniyoshi, 1996; Kuno, 1987, 1990; Nakayama, 1990). There is vet a middle position. Asaba, Ishida, and Kobayashi (1998) conducted a nationwide survey to investigate university-level English teachers' views on the introduction of FLES. They found that 62% of English instructors at four-year universities showed no response when asked if they agreed or disagreed with the introduction of FLES. Asaba et al. explain that this finding suggests that the respondents were not yet ready to propose an answer to this question.

The disagreement among educators and researchers implies the complex nature of this issue. There is little agreement about the degree of importance the critical period hypothesis (CPH) plays in second and/or foreign language learning. Some researchers support the CPH on the condition that learners are exposed to the target language in a natural setting for an extended period (Krashen, Long, & Scarcella, 1979; Patkowski, 1980; Shirahata, 1994). Ito (1987, 1997) supports the CPH when there is formal instruction as well as informal learning, arguing that a foreign language (FL) that is acquired in childhood stays in the brain and can be activated when learners grow older. Other researchers present survey results or experimental studies that challenge the CPH (Burstall, 1975; Ekstrand, 1982; Nikolov, 2000; Snow & Hoefnagel-Höhle, 1977). In their extensive literature review on age and second language acquisition, Marinova-Todd, Marshall, and Snow (2000) criticize misconceptions regarding the effects of age difference on speed and ultimate levels of acquisition, and caution that administrators and parents should not proceed on the assumption that only early FL teaching will be effective. McLaughlin (1992) also contends that with regard to school settings the younger-is-better hypothesis does not have strong empirical support. Fledge (1987) argues against accepting the CPH on the grounds that the adult-child difference is likely to arise from a variety of factors other than a critical period because the age of learners is inevitably confounded with other conditions that co-vary with chronological age.

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Another reason for the disagreement on the age issue, particularly among Japanese EFL teachers and researchers, may be the scarcity of empirical studies conducted in the Japanese EFL setting. Several studies have investigated the effects of FLES on learners' achievement, but these efforts have met with conflicting results. There is a position that claims that FLES produces a long-term beneficial effect, whereas another position claims that the effect of FLES is dubious.

Higuchi and his associates maintain the first position. One of their series of empirical studies, Higuchi, Kitamura, Moriya, Miura, & Nakayama (1986), made cross-sectional comparisons in speaking skills between FLES and non-FLES groups at three grade levels: the 7th, 9th, and 11th grades. The FLES group outperformed their non-FLES counterpart in the 7th grade but no statistical differences were found in the 9th and 11th grade levels. However, they predict that FLES is effective for two reasons: first, the 11th grade FLES students earned higher scores descriptively, and second, another study they presented in 1985 showed that FLES students had more favorable attitudes toward English speaking communities than non-FLES students. In another study that compared the story-telling ability of FLES and non-FLES students at the 7th, 9th, and 11th grade levels, Higuchi, Kitamura, Moriya, Miura, Nakayama, and Kunikata (1987) found that the 11th grade FLES students uttered a significantly larger number of sentences than the non-FLES students but no significant differences between the two groups were found at the 7th and 9th grade levels. Although the sample sizes in these two studies are relatively small, with each cell size being 11 or 12, Higuchi (1987) argues that FLES is effective in the long run. In addition, he predicts that the difference in speaking skills between FLES and non-FLES groups will be larger when they become college students on the grounds that more FL utterances produced by FLES students can lead to more opportunities for hypothesis testing, which is crucial for interlanguage development.

Megumi, Yokoyama, & Miura (1996) conducted a study to test Shichida's (as cited in Megumi et al., 1996) and Ito's (as cited in Megumi et al., 1996) claims that FLES generates beneficial effects. They administered listening and reading tests to FLES and non-FLES students at the 8th, 9th, and 10th grade levels, finding statistically significant differences at every grade level on the listening test. However, none of the three grade levels showed statistical differences on the reading test.

Three studies support the second position that the effect of FLES is dubious. Tokyo Kyoiku Daigaku Fuzoku Chugakko Eigo Ka (1970), the English department of the junior high school attached to Tokyo College

of Education, administered a pretest and a posttest of aural perception and aural comprehension in April and June of 1970 to its first year students. Their results showed that the non-FLES group caught up with their FLES counterpart in two months. Oller and Nagato (1974) used a cloze test as an instrument, finding that there was a significant difference between FLES and non-FLES students at the 7th grade level, the first year of English language learning at junior high school (JHS). This difference had declined by the 9th grade though it was still significant. By the 11th grade, however, the differences were no longer statistically significant.

Special attention should be paid to Shirahata (2002) in that his FLES participants, unlike those in other studies, learned English in public ESs designated by the Ministry of Education as pilot study schools where FLES was introduced before its official introduction in the 2002 academic year. He compared FLES and non-FLES groups in listening and speaking skills eight months after they started to learn English in JHS. The results showed no statistical differences between the two groups in any of his three test instruments, which led him to conclude that the pedagogical suggestions presented in the handbook for Elementary School (ES) English activities published by the Ministry of Education Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (2001) may not greatly contribute to language acquisition.

Studies looking at the effect of FLES on learner characteristics are more limited despite the traditional notion that FLES has a positive effect on learner characteristics, such as motivation. One of the few studies, for example, is Higuchi, Kunikata, Miura, Kitamura, Nakamoto, and Moriya (1994), who investigated a total of 1114 students enrolled in the 7th, 9th, and 11th grades and 303 college freshmen. Their survey results showed no significant differences between early starters and late starters of English learning in the total scores obtained for both integrative and instrumental motivation. At the same time, however, they report that FLES students scored higher in two out of four question items. They were (1) I am interested in talking and making friends with Englishspeaking people, and (2) I am interested in talking and making friends with people from other countries. Based on these findings, Higuchi et al. (1994) conclude that FLES-experienced learners have higher integrative motivation than FLES-inexperienced learners. Despite abundant anecdotal reports that FLES enhances learners' interest in the culture of a target language as well as the language itself, empirical evidence is scarce. Further studies on this issue are needed because motivation, which is viewed as a key factor in language learning (Ellis, 1994), is a Takada 9

crucial concept in the Japanese educational setting. According to the Ministry of Education (2001, p. 2) FLES in Japan does not aim so much at language acquisition as at the enhancement of motivation.

Anxiety, another important factor in FL acquisition (Dulay, Burt, & Krashen, 1982; Horwitz, Horwitz, & Cope, 1986; MacIntyre & Gardner, 1991; 1994), has been neglected in FLES/non-FLES comparative studies. This affective factor needs careful investigation because FLES is included as an optional activity, in the new general studies course, a JHS English class can consist of students from an ES that has implemented FLES and students from another ES that has not. This has already been the case at some private JHSs that accept non-FLES students from public ESs as well as FLES students from their affiliated ESs. Under such circumstances inexperienced learners may feel they are behind and therefore may exhibit a higher anxiety level in the language classroom. However, researchers and educators, who have been preoccupied with the introduction of FLES, seem to show little concern for these learners.

The present study attempts to fill this gap by comparing experienced and inexperienced learners of English with regard to FL anxiety and motivation. Are non-FLES students more nervous and anxious about learning English because of their lack of language learning experiences? Are FLES students more motivated toward language learning? These questions need to be answered not only to assess the effect of FLES but also to identify the different educational needs of experienced and inexperienced learners, if any, so that JHS teachers can meet their needs and expectations.

Foreign language anxiety has been extensively studied in social psychology, educational psychology, and speech communication. Second/foreign language (SL/FL) researchers have for some time been aware that anxiety prevents SL/FL learners from performing successfully, but the first to isolate FL anxiety from other forms of anxiety were Horwitz, Horwitz, and Cope (1986). They conceptualize language anxiety as "a distinct complex of self-perceptions, beliefs, feelings, and behaviors related to classroom language learning arising from the uniqueness of the language learning process" (1986, p.128). They maintain that FL anxiety is distinct from other academic anxieties because the immature command of the FL threatens learners' self-perceptions and self-esteem. MacIntyre and Gardner (1991) echo the Horwitz et al. (1986) argument, suggesting that language learning classes can be more anxiety-provoking than other courses. This assumption is also supported by a qualitative study conducted by Price (1991), who

interviewed ten FL learners to obtain learner perspectives on anxiety. She speculates that FL courses may be more demanding, and therefore may elicit higher anxiety than other courses.

The complex nature of the relationship between anxiety and classroom performance has been well documented. In his extensive review of anxiety research, Scovel (1991) identifies a number of intervening variables: intelligence, stage of learning, difficulty of task, and familiarity of task. Citing Beeman, Martin, and Meyers, Scovel suggests that increased anxiety is more likely to negatively affect academic performance of learners at earlier stages than at later stages. Task requirements can be another variable. Horwitz et al. (1986) argue that listening and speaking are more anxiety inducing. Considering that EFL beginning-level classes often place emphasis on listening and pronunciation, we have good reason to think that beginners may be more apprehensive.

Motivation, another variable to be examined in the present study, is defined as "the combination of effort, desire to achieve the goal of learning the language, and favorable attitudes toward learning the language" (Gardner, 1985, p. 10). The distinction made in Gardner's social-psychological model between integrative motivation and instrumental motivation (Gardner & Lambert, 1972), has long been predominant in the field of second language acquisition. However, Gardner's approach has been challenged in the past two decades. Based on an extensive literature review, Au (1988) contends that Gardner's theory is not supported by empirical evidence. Au examined fourteen studies conducted by Gardner and his associates, reporting that seven found no relationship between integrative motivation and second language achievement and that four found a negative relationship. Crookes and Schmidt (1991) claim that Gardner's approach "has been so dominant that alternative concepts have not been seriously considered" (p. 501). Recently, however, an alternative has been presented by Noels (2001). Her comprehensive theoretical framework combines integrative orientation with intrinsic and extrinsic orientations. Whereas Gardner's model was developed based mainly on studies conducted in bilingual situations, and therefore, may not be applicable to FL situations where the target language is not in everyday use, Noels's model emphasizes "the important role that social milieu has for learners' motivation" (p. 61). It reflects the claim that integrative and instrumental orientations should be conducted "within an experimental context which permits the emergence of other orientations characterizing a given population" (Clément & Kruidentier, 1983, p. 276).

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One of the contextual factors that can influence motivation is the ESL/EFL distinction. Based on the assumption that the results obtained from the studies on motivation in ESL contexts are not directly applicable to EFL situations, Dörnyei (1990) administered a motivational questionnaire to EFL learners in Hungary and identified seven motivational components. Of these, he found that two components, instrumental motivation and "need for achievement", contribute considerably to the attainment of an intermediate level of proficiency whereas the desire to go beyond this level is associated with integrative motivation. Another study that investigated a motivational construct in an EFL setting is Konishi (1990, cited in Konishi 1994). Factor analysis results obtained from Japanese JHS students identified "interest in English" along with integrative and instrumental motivation. She argues that "interest in English" is a component typical of the Japanese social and educational context, where English is not a medium of communication.

Based on these EFL factor analysis studies, the present study investigates three components of motivation: (a) interest in FLs and FL-speaking people, (b) instrumental motivation, and (c) need for achievement. Interest in FL and FL-speaking people is particularly relevant to educational policy in Japan since FLES has been introduced to promote international/intercultural understanding in children (Ministry of Education, 2001, p. 2).

In addition to anxiety and motivation, the present study also investigates the language learning aptitude of FLES and non-FLES students. Unlike anxiety or motivation, aptitude is seen as a relatively stable factor, not likely to be improved through training (Carroll, 1981). Aptitude is nonetheless of interest for comparative studies of FLES and non-FLES groups, particularly from a methodological perspective. The FLES/non-FLES distinction in the Japanese school system includes confounding variables, one of which is aptitude. In most of the studies comparing FLES and non-FLES students in Japan, the FLES participants were students from private IHSs who learned English in the affiliated private ESs because English language teaching was not part of the curriculum in public schools before 2001. These students are admitted to private ESs through a screening process at age six and are promoted to the affiliated JHSs automatically whereas their non-FLES counterparts are accepted to private IHSs through a different screening process, commonly by taking entrance examinations in academic subjects. Selecting students at different developmental stages through different processes might result in selecting students who are different in cognitive abilities and family

backgrounds. If FLES and non-FLES students enrolled in a private JHS differ with regard to factors that are not directly related to the starting age of learning English, we should exercise caution in interpreting previous studies as well as in designing future studies. Study results would be expected to exert pedagogical influence as well because if a study infers the superiority of one group over another, it should be reflected in syllabuses and methodologies in JHSs.

Aptitude is distinct from intelligence and refers to the special ability involved in language learning (Ellis, 1985). Carroll (1981) claims that separate dimensions of FL aptitude exist and make independent contributions to the prediction of FL learning success. He identified four factors in aptitude: phonemic coding ability, grammatical sensitivity, inductive language learning ability, and rote learning ability. This theoretical framework led to the development of Carroll and Sapon's Modern Language Aptitude Test (MLAT), an instrument widely used to measure aptitude for screening and selection purposes (Carroll, 1981) as well as for research. Carroll cites a number of studies that used the MLAT as a control variable to screen or match experimental groups. Skehan (1989) emphasizes the multidimensionality of aptitude in educational terms. He argues that a more differentiated view of aptitude could be the basis for more effective teaching. The present research intends to measure FLES and non-FLES students' aptitude for both methodological and pedagogical purposes.

The following question is addressed in this study: How do JHS students who did not learn English in ES (non-FLES students) differ from JHS students who did (FLES students) in: foreign language anxiety, three constructs of motivation (interest in FL and FL-speaking people, instrumental motivation, need for achievement) and language learning aptitude?

Methods Participants

One hundred forty-eight female students enrolled in the first year of a private all-girls' JHS in the Tokyo metropolitan area participated in the study. Out of an intact student body of 204, 56 students were eliminated from the study. They were students who had (a) lived in English-speaking countries for more than one year, (b), attended ESs that did not offer a FLES program but studied English in after-school programs with tutors or at language schools, or (c) missed taking the aptitude test.

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The students who belonged to the first two categories were identified by response to a preliminary background questionnaire.

Of the remaining 148 students, 61 were in the FLES group and 87 belonged to the non-FLES group. The FLES students had studied English for three years from the fourth to the sixth grade as an academic subject at a private ES affiliated with the JHS in which they were currently enrolled. The time allotted for English learning was one hour per week in the 4th and 5th grades and two hours per week in the 6th grade. According to personal communication between their ES English teacher and this researcher, the objectives of instruction were to develop the children's interest in English and to cultivate positive attitudes toward language learning, just as is stipulated in the guidelines from the Education Ministry (2001). The instruction focused on listening and speaking, but it included some activities that involved writing.

In JHSs, the FLES and non-FLES students receive English instruction in separate classes in their first year. The teaching materials are the same, but the FLES classes cover the materials for a shorter period of time during the first term by skipping the introduction of words and phrases already familiar to the students. Extra time is spent on additional communicative activities FLES classroom. In the second and third terms, the content and the speed are the same for both FLES and non-FLES classes

Instruments

Three instruments were prepared to measure individual differences in FL anxiety, motivation, and language learning aptitude.

Foreign Language Anxiety

FL anxiety was measured by administering a modified version of the Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale (FLCAS), which was developed by Horwitz, Horwitz, and Cope (1986). The original version of the FLCAS consists of 33 items that reflect communication apprehension, test-anxiety, and fear of negative evaluation in the FL classroom. The number of items in the original version was reduced to 20 by eliminating the statements that did not apply to beginners or to the participants' current learning context. For example, "Even if I am well prepared for language class, I feel anxious about it" and "I don't feel pressure to prepare very well for language class" were eliminated because preparation was not expected in the beginners' class. The entire questionnaire was

translated into Japanese.

Thirteen items, which were positively keyed, were followed by a five-point scale with 1 being "strongly disagree" and 5 being "strongly agree." The other seven items, which were negatively keyed, were followed by a five-point scale with 1 being "strongly agree" and 5 being "strongly disagree." Thus, the smaller numbers on the scale represented less anxiety in all 20 statements. Possible scores ranged from 20 through 100: the larger the number, the higher the anxiety level.

At the end of the survey, an open-ended question was added, in which the participants were asked to write any concerns they had about learning English. The researcher hoped that qualitative data would provide some useful information in interpreting the results obtained from the quantitative test instruments, as suggested by Brown (2001).

Motivation

For each of the three motivational components examined, four statements were prepared. They were based on Dörnyei's (1990) question-naire items comprising 18 motivation/attitude variables. This motivational questionnaire, developed for adult learners in Hungary, was modified to suit the particular context of this preliminary study. Each item was followed by a five-point scale with 1 being "strongly disagree" and 5 being "strongly agree". Possible scores in each section ranged from 4 to 20: the larger the number, the stronger the motivation. Administrative concern over limited available time and these young students having to complete a lengthy questionnaire called for a smaller number of items to measure each motivational construct.

The 12 motivation items were combined with the 20 anxiety items into one questionnaire sheet, all written in Japanese (see appendix for Japanese and English versions). Approximately 20 minutes was allowed to complete the questionnaire.

Language learning aptitude

Language learning aptitude was measured by administering a test called the Lunic Language Marathon (LLM), which was developed specifically for Japanese EFL learners (Sick & Irie, 2000). This test asks test takers to learn an artificial language called Lunic. Borrowing its format from the Modern Language Aptitude Test (MLAT) and the Pimsleur Language Aptitude Battery (PLAB), it consists of four parts, which measure the following constructs: (a) auditory memory and learning ability, (b) phonemic coding ability, (c) rote learning ability and a preference for

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visual learning, and (d) inductive language learning ability and a preference for analytical learning tasks. Possible scores in each part ranged from 0 through 100. The time allotted to complete this was 50 minutes.

Procedures

The LLM aptitude test was administered in the second week of the first term. Students' aptitude had to be tested right after the new school year started in order to eliminate the influence of learning English in JHS. The surveys on anxiety and motivation were conducted in the seventh week of the same term. These surveys were delayed five weeks because a minimum amount of experience of learning English was needed to respond to the questionnaire, particularly for the non-FLES students, who had no previous exposure to learning English.

Data Analysis

Each participant responded to eight measures: anxiety, the three components of motivation (interest in FL and FL-speaking people, instrumental motivation, and need for achievement), and the four parts of the aptitude test (auditory memory, phonemic coding, rote memory, and inductive ability). Means and standard deviations of the FLES and non-FLES groups were calculated for each measure. For statistical analysis, a profile analysis (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001) was performed on these eight measures of learner characteristics. The primary question was to what extent profiles of the first-year JHS students on learner characteristic measures differ if the students are grouped on the basis of experience with FLES (the parallelism test). Secondary questions were how closely previous learning experience is associated with learner characteristics (the levels test), and whether the pattern of learner characteristics for the combined group is flat (the flatness test).

A total of 12 outlying data points out of 1184 (or about 1%) were identified and those scores were adjusted to fit within the distributions by moving them to the next highest or lowest score in the group to which they belonged. After deletion of outlying data points, the assumption of homogeneity of variance-covariance matrices (F = .835, p = .75) was found to be met.

The eight measures were converted to *t*-scores in order to make comparisons possible between all of them. This standardization procedure was necessary because the eight measures were not uniform in their possible total scores. For example, each part of the aptitude test was out

of 100 whereas the motivation measures were each out of 20.

A two-way repeated-measures ANOVA was then used to analyze the dependent variable scores for the effects of the two independent variables, groups and measures, and their interaction. The alpha level was set at .0063 (.05/8) to achieve an experiment wise error rate of .05 (Brown, 1988).

Results

Table 1 shows the descriptive statistics for the two groups on all eight learner characteristic measures. In each case, the mean (M) and standard deviation (SD) are given; for each subset of the instruments, a reliability coefficient is given. The profile analysis, shown in Figure 1 and Table 2, deviated significantly from parallelism, F = 3.43, p < .01. For the levels test, a significant difference was found among groups, F = 5.63, p = .02. Naturally, no significant differences were found for flatness, F = 0.10, p = 1.00, because all of the means for the measures were set at 50 by the t score transformations.

When the individual deviations from the parallelism of the profiles were examined, the only significant variable was need for achievement (Table 3). In other words, the non-FLES students showed stronger need for achievement (M = 52.18) than the FLES students (M = 46.93). Notice that the non-FLES students descriptively scored higher than their FLES counterparts in 3 other variables: anxiety, interest in FL and FL-speaking people, and part 4 of the aptitude test. These results may be attributed to the insufficient power of our measures (See Table 3). For future studies a revision of the questionnaire is needed in order to obtain higher reliability and an increase of power. Another solution would be to conduct the survey with a larger sample size.

Tables 4 and 5 show some of the responses to the open-ended questions. The responses of the two groups showed more similarities than differences. Half of the non-FLES students felt insecure about their ability to keep up with the others whereas one-third of the FLES students had the same concern. Around one-fifth of the FLES students and nearly a quarter of the non-FLES students were worried about pronunciation.

Table 1: Descriptive Data of Eight Measures of Learner Characteristics

Learner Characteristics Measures	Program	M	SD	Reliability
Anxiety	FLES	48.07	10.60	
•	Non-FLES	51.35	9.38	
	Total	50.00	10.00	.87
Interest in FL and FL-speaking people	FLES	48.02	10.73	
	Non-FLES	51.41	9.26	
	Total	50.01	10.00	.62
Instrumental motivation	FLES	51.16	10.29	
	Non-FLES	49.17	9.78	
	Total	49.99	10.01	.70
Need for achievement	FLES	46.93	10.13	
	Non-FLES	52.18	9.36	
	Total	50.02	9.99	.62
Aptitude (Part 1)	FLES	50.80	10.80	
(Auditory memory)	Non-FLES	49.44	9.42	
	Total	50.00	10.00	.85
Aptitude (Part 2)	FLES	51.18	10.80	
(Phonemic coding)	Non-FLES	49.17	9.42	
	Total	50.00	10.00	.78
Aptitude (Part 3)	FLES	48.48	10.44	
(Rote memory)	Non-FLES	51.07	9.60	
•	Total	50.00	10.00	.73
Aptitude (Part 4)	FLES	47.54	10.36	
(Inductive ability)	Non-FLES	51.73	9.41	
- '	Total	50.00	10.00	.61

Notes. The M values represent T-score means for the eight measures. n = 61 (FLES), n = 87 (Non-FLES), n = 148 (total).

Table 2: Analysis of Variance for Learner Characteristics

Source	SS	Df	MS	F	P
Between-Subjects Effects					
Groups (levels)	797.03	1	797.03	5.63	0.02
Error	20652.67	146	141.46		
Within-Subjects Effects					
Measures (flatness)	64.65	7	9.24	0.10	1.00
Measures by Groups (parallelism)	2209.43	7	315.63	3.43	0.00
Error	93912.43	1022	91.89		

Figure 1. Profiles of eight measures of learner characteristics

Profiles of eight measures of learner characteristics

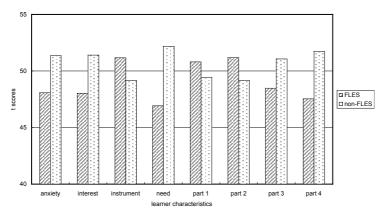


Table 3: Analysis of Variance for Eight Measures of Learner Characteristics

Source		SS	Df	MS	F	p	power
Anxiety	Between Groups	386.78	1	386.78	3.95	0.049	.505
,	Within Groups	14310.47	146	98.02			
	Total	14697.25	147				
Interest in FL and FL-	Between Groups	410.79	1	410.79	4.20	0.042	.530
speaking people	Within Groups	14275.82	146	97.78			
	Total	14686.61	147				
Instrumental	Between Groups	142.32	1	142.32	1.43	0.234	.220
motivation	Within Groups	14575.06	146	99.83			
	Total	14717.38	147				
Need for	Between Groups	989.52	1	989.52*	10.56	0.001	.898
achievement	Within Groups	13684.56	146	93.73			
	Total	14674.09	147				
Aptitude (Part 1)	Between Groups	66.35	1	66.35	0.66	0.417	.128
(Auditory memory)	Within Groups	14630.80	146	100.21			
	Total	14697.14	147				
Aptitude (Part 2)	Between Groups	143.72	1	143.72	1.44	0.232	.222
(Phonemic coding)	Within Groups	14556.42	146	99.70			
	Total	14700.15	147				
Aptitude (Part 3)	Between Groups	239.35	1	239.35	2.42	0.122	.339
(Rote memory)	Within Groups	14466.81	146	99.09			
•	Total	14706.16	147				
Aptitude (Part 4)	Between Groups	627.63	1	627.63	6.51	0.012	.718
(Inductive ability)	Within Groups	14065.15	146	96.34			
	Total	14692.78	147				

^{*}p < .0063

Table 4: Top Five List of FLES Students' Foreign Language Anxiety

Response	Number of responses	Percentage of responses
I may not be able to keep up with others.	21	34.4
I may not be able to learn vocabulary.	16	26.2
I may not be able to pronounce properly.	13	21.3
I may forget to listen to the radio program.	7	11.5
I'm not sure if I'll be able to communicate with native speakers.	6	9.8
I may not be able to meet the course requirements.	6	9.8

Note. n = 61

Table 5: Top Five List of Non-FLES Students' Foreign Language Anxiety

Response	Number of responses	Percentage of responses
I may not be able to keep up with others.	44	50.6
I may not be able to pronounce properly.	21	24.1
I may not be able to learn vocabulary.	16	18.4
I may not be able to meet the course requirements.	6	6.9
I'm not sure if I will be able to read English.	5	5.7

Note. n = 87

Discussion

These findings suggest that FLES students are not necessarily in a more advantageous position than their non-FLES counterparts in terms of anxiety, motivation, or aptitude. Indeed, the only measure that captured a significant difference between the two groups was the need for achievement, in which non-FLES students surpassed FLES students. These results suggest that FLES, which has been introduced in the hope of enhancing motivation and developing a positive attitude toward learning English, does not lead to substantial benefits, at least for this group.

Anxiety was not a significant variable for the FLES and non-FLES groups. The FLES students were no less anxious than the non-FLES students about learning English despite their previous learning experience. In addition, the responses to the open-ended question revealed similar patterns in the two groups. The number one fear for both groups was whether they would be able to keep up with their classmates. As mentioned before, FLES students take English lessons

separately from non-FLES students in the first year but they are integrated in the second year. This policy may pose a threat to both groups through different routes. The non-FLES students may assume that they are expected to catch up with FLES students in a year, which seems to be a formidable task for them. FLES students, on the other hand, may regard this policy as an unstated message that the progress they have already made in ES is only a small step towards becoming successful language learners and that the advantages of having learned English in ES will eventually be cancelled out.

Another possible source of anxiety might be the novelty associated with taking a new academic subject in a new setting. Daly (1991) reports that encountering new situations or unfamiliar problems can lead to a tendency to withdraw or remain quiet. In a sense, FLES students may regard English as a new school subject because the teaching methods and the materials as well as the teachers in IHS are unfamiliar to them. They know that games and songs have been replaced by more academically oriented language activities and that homework and quizzes are an important part of language learning in JHS. Their responses to the open-ended question revealed that about 25% of the FLES students are worried about learning vocabulary and that about 10% are worried about listening to a daily NHK English program, neither of which were part of the requirements in ES. Judging from the fact that the classroom activities in ES emphasize face-to-face communication that centers on children's familiar situations (Higuchi, Kunikata, & Hirasawa, 1997; Higuchi, 1997), we can safely say that FLES is Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skill (BICS) oriented. In contrast, language activities in IHS gradually involve Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) as learners move on to advanced levels. Learning the different aspect of English may induce apprehension, as anxiety is more directly implicated in the formal activities of language learning than in informal learning (MacIntyre & Gardner, 1991; Scovel, 1991).

These interpretations, although tentative, may suggest some pedagogical implications. In order to reduce FLES students' apprehension, JHS teachers may assure them that their learning experience in ES is an important asset, and explain clearly that the goals of English learning in ES and in JHS are different. Teachers should incorporate BICS-related activities, which are familiar to them, and phase in CALP-related activities as students move on to higher levels. Meanwhile, teachers should be sensitive to the anxiety of first timers and deal with nervous non-FLES students by paying individual, attention to

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each student. Considering that nearly half of them are afraid they may not be able to keep up with their classmates, teachers should never spare supportive remarks and warm encouragement for their achievements.

No significant differences were found in two subsets of motivation: (1) interest in FL and FL-speaking people, and (2) instrumental motivation. These results contradict the assumption of the Education Ministry that FLES enhances learners' motivation, particularly their interest in FLs and FL-speaking people. The interpretation of these results seems to call for some contextual considerations. A private JHS as a research site implies a relative homogeneity of the student body in terms of academic achievement and family background since it admits students through entrance examinations and interviews. This might explain the relatively high mean scores of both FLES and non-FLES groups in the interest in FL and FL-speaking people (FLES, raw mean = 14.00; non-FLES, raw mean = 14.95, both out of 20.00) and in instrumental motivation (FLES, raw mean = 14.79; non-FLES, raw mean = 14.01, both out of 20.00). We do not deny the contribution that FLES may make to the enhancement of motivation, but other factors may also come into play. At this research site, students who are blessed with access to FL-speaking people and opportunities to travel overseas are not uncommon. Some students have parents who have studied or worked in other countries, from whom they receive the message that English is a crucial skill for their future career. These factors may affect their motivation, making the effect of FLES less prominent.

Another potential reason for no statistical differences between the two groups may be attributed to some methodological problems. The statistical power of the survey questionnaire must be increased by upgrading the reliability. As was mentioned in the method section, the questionnaire was short so as to minimize the amount of effort and the time to complete it for fear of burdening students who had been enrolled in JHS for only a few months. Obviously, however, a longer questionnaire would yield more reliable results. Another methodological problem is lack of clarity in the relationship between the questionnaire items and the constructs. We need to clarify the extent to which each statement of the questionnaire adequately reflects the subset of motivation that it is purported to measure. This is difficult because, as Au (1988) contends, one statement can be related to several constructs. However, a refinement of the motivation questionnaire is clearly needed.

The only variable that captured a significant difference was the need for achievement, and what is more, it was the non-FLES students who had a stronger need for achievement. In order to interpret this result, we

could turn to McClelland, Atkinson, Clark, and Lowell (cited in Skehan, 1989), who, in their theory of need for achievement, maintain that different levels of the need to achieve are the result of previous learning experiences. Their theory posits that, on the basis of former learning experiences, achievers perceive new learning situations as outside their present capabilities but attainable with some effort. It is true that non-FLES students have no previous experience of learning English, but on the basis of their experiences learning other academic subjects, they can be labeled as successful achievers. The private institution where this study was conducted serves kindergarten through university. It accepts students to the ES through a screening process, but automatically promotes them to the affiliated IHS regardless of their academic achievements. The institute also accepts additional students into the JHS, selecting them through entrance examinations that are heavily academically oriented. A typical non-FLES student intensively prepares for entrance examinations at a cram school for at least three years, whereas a typical FLES student has no such learning experience. Thus, non-FLES students perceive themselves as survivors of the entrance examinations, and take pride in the persistence they demonstrated in the process of striving for their goal. Therefore, if we apply this need for achievement theory, we may say that they regard learning any new academic subject as attainable with some effort. Successful achievers may consider a new learning situation to be a welcome challenge because they know that they will gain confidence after achieving their goal. FLES students are just as high achievers as non-FLES students are, but they have not experienced the sense of accomplishment that non-FLES students have as a result of competing in the examinations. Since English is one of the academic subjects in the Japanese school setting, we could speculate that successful achievement in other subjects may help learners build confidence in a general academic context, and hence, may strengthen their need for achievement in a new academic subject, that is, in English. This speculation does not imply support for the "examination hell" students suffer, but it does lend support to Marinova-Todd, Marshall, and Snow's (2000) warning that administrators and parents should not proceed on the assumption that only early FL teaching will be effective.

As was previously mentioned, language learning aptitude was measured to examine whether the FLES/non-FLES distinction in a Japanese private educational institutione also distinguishes the two groups in terms of aptitude as a confounding variable, that is, that non-FLES students may have been differentially selected in the entrance exam based

on their aptitudes. The statistical analysis showed that the two groups are homogeneous in all four subsets of aptitude. It is noteworthy, however, that we observed large descriptive differences in inductive language learning ability (FLES, raw mean = 48.46; non-FLES, raw mean = 55.89, both out of 100, p = .012). We should keep in mind the possibility that non-FLES students, with a larger sample size, might show greater inductive language learning ability than their FLES counterparts. For this reason, future studies that pursue the effect of FLES are recommended to examine the aptitude of participants and to confirm that aptitude is not a possible confounding variable.

Conclusion

The present study failed to find positive effects for FLES on any of the eight measures of learner characteristics. Although it does not necessarily mean that there could not be an effect, it does suggests that FL anxiety and motivation are complex constructs that might be affected by factors other than the starting age of FL learning; for example, academic and family background. It offers some empirical evidence for Wada's (1996) suspicion that FLES is not a panacea for solving the problems that confront English language teaching in secondary schools. He expresses strong doubts about the widespread belief in today's Japan that children who learn English in ES will continue to be interested in the language in later stages of language learning. This study adds some empirical evidence to support his concern. The guidelines published by the Ministry of Education (2001) are based on the assumption that FLES is effective in motivating learners, but this seems to require critical reappraisal. Hunches, intuitive judgments, and common notions presented as facts should not be accepted "unless they can be given rational sanction" (Widdowson, 1990, p. 2). All this urges caution against the overestimation of FLES as a motivation booster.

This researcher is well aware of some of the methodological objections to the study. One possible objection is related to the questionnaire design. A clearer relationship between the questionnaire items and the motivational constructs to be measured should be established. An increased number of questionnaire items will also augment reliability. However, even if we devised a more reliable test instrument and decided to administer it, we would then need to consider problems related to administering a time-consuming questionnaire to JHS students. Another possible objection is that the pattern of results obtained in this study may be peculiar to a Japanese private school setting, and therefore,

lack generalizability. A replication of this study is needed in different educational contexts, particularly in public schools, because they are free from the selection bias that is inevitable in private schools. Further research with more refined instruments will broaden the perspective of FLES and provide insights into policy making for English teaching in Japan.

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Tomoko Takada is a teacher at Gakushuin Girls' Junior and Senior High School. She also lectures at Gakushuin University and Gakushuin Women's College. Her research interests include teaching writing and learner characteristics.

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Appendix

The 32 Items in the anxiety/motivation questionnaire (Japanese version)

- 1. 英語の授業で間違いをしても気にしない。
- 2. 授業中、自分があたると思うと不安になる。
- 3. 先生が英語で話していることがわからないと、不安になる。
- 4. もっと英語の時間があってもよい。
- 5. 自分より他の人の方が英語できると思う。
- 6. テストでは緊張しない。
- 7. 悪い成績をとらないかと心配になる。
- 8. 英語の授業はとても緊張する。
- 9. 授業中、自分から発言するのは恥ずかしい。

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- 10. ホリエ先生と英語で話す時、緊張しない。
- 11. 英語で答える時、自信をもって発言できる。
- 12. 先生が、自分の間違いを全部直すのではないかと心配になる。
- 13. 自分があたる番になると、心臓がどきどきする。
- 14. クラスの人の前で英語で発言するのははずかしい。
- 15. 英語の授業は早く進むので、取り残されるのではないかと心配になる。
- 16. 英語の時間は、他の科目の授業より緊張する。
- 17. 英語の授業が始まる前は、楽な気持ちである。
- 18. 先生のおっしゃる英語が全部わからないと、不安になる。
- 19. 英語を話せるようになるために覚えることが多くて、圧倒される。
- 20. 英語を母国語とする人と一緒にいても緊張しないと思う。
- 21. チャンスがあれば留学したいと思う。
- 22. 英検(実用英語検定試験)をとりたいと思う。
- 23. これからの社会では英語を使えることが大事だと思う。
- 24. 将来、英語を使う仕事をしたいと思う。
- 25. 英語の授業は楽しい。
- 26. 英語のほかにも外国語を勉強したいと思う。
- 27. 英語を通してほかの国の文化を学びたいと思う。
- 28. 英語を使ってほかの国の人と友達になりたいと思う。
- 29. 基礎英語を聞いている。
- 30. 英語の教科書の復習をする。
- 31. 英語でよい成績をとりたいと思う。
- 32. 英語を勉強するのは、自分にとって大事なことである。

The Items in the anxiety/motivation questionnaire (English Version)

Endorsement of items #1 through #20 was interpreted as indicating language learning anxiety.

- $1. \quad I \ don't \ worry \ about \ making \ mistakes \ in \ English \ class.$
- 2. I get nervous when I know that I'm going to be called on in English class.
- 3. I get nervous when I don't understand what the teacher is saying in English.
- 4. It wouldn't bother me at all to take more English language classes.
- 5. I think that the other students are better at English than I am.
- 6. I am usually at ease during tests in English class.
- 7. I worry about getting poor grades in English.
- 8. In English class, I get very nervous.
- 9. It embarrasses me to volunteer answers in English class.

10. I am not nervous speaking English with Mrs. Horie, my native-speaking teacher.

- 11. I feel confident when I speak in English class.
- 12. I am afraid that my English teacher is ready to correct every mistake I make.
- 13. I can feel my heart pounding when I'm going to be called on in English class.
- 14. I feel very self-conscious about speaking English in front of other students.
- 15. English class moves so quickly that I worry about getting left behind.
- 16. I feel more tense and nervous in English class than in other classes.
- 17. When I'm on my way to English class, I feel relaxed.
- 18. I get nervous when I don't understand every word the English teacher says.
- 19. I feel overwhelmed by the number of rules we have to learn to speak English.
- 20. I would probably feel comfortable around native speakers of English.

Endorsement of the items #21 through #24 was interpreted as indicating instrumental motivation.

- 21. I would like to study abroad in the future.
- 22. I would like to take a STEP (Society of Testing English Proficiency) exam.
- 23. I think English proficiency is an essential skill for my future.
- 24. I would like to choose a career that requires English proficiency.

Endorsement of the items #25 through #28 was interpreted as indicating interest in FL and FL-speaking people

- 25. I enjoy taking English classes.
- 26. I am interested in learning foreign languages other than English.
- 27. I am interested in learning other cultures by learning English.
- 28. I am interested in making friends with people from other countries by communicating in English.

Endorsement of the items #29 through #32 was interpreted as indicating need for achievement.

- 29. I never skip an English radio program lesson.
- 30. I study English at home every day.
- 31. I want to get good grades in English.
- 32. Learning English is an important thing for me.

Uncovering First Year Students' Language Learning Experiences, Attitudes, and Motivations in a Context of Change at the Tertiary Level of Education

Kevin O'Donnell

Suzuka International University

Demographic and supply-side changes are occurring in the tertiary educational sector in Japan. These changes have begun to diminish the importance of the highly competitive and influential university entrance examination system, as many students, particularly at the non-elite level, are able to gain university entrance without having to sit for an entrance examination. Given this evolving context, this study uncovers how incoming freshmen at a small non-elite university studied English in secondary school and examines the attitudes and motivations that they hold about language learning. The findings reveal that participants' English language educational experiences at the secondary level remain little changed from the past; parents and teachers continue to emphasize the importance of studying English in order to prepare for entrance examinations. Most participants have a generally negative assessment of their secondary English language experiences. Student beliefs about both the general nature of language learning and learning and communication strategies continue to parallel many of the traditional practices of their secondary language experiences once they reach the tertiary level. The author concludes that university instructors of English must come to know their students' language experiences and consequent attitudes and motivations in order to bridge possible cultural and pedagogical gaps. In this way, instructors may find ways to help their students find a purpose for increasing their language proficiency while they are studying at university.

人口分布の変動と供給サイドの変化の波が高等教育界にも押し寄せている。厳しい競争で大きな影響力を持っていた大学入試システムの重要性は薄れ、多くの学生、特にノン・エリート層の学生が大学入試を経ずに大学に入学できるようになってきた。このような状況の変化を見据え、本研究では小規模の非エリート大学に入学してくる新入生が高校時代にどのように英語を学習してきたか、そして語学学習に対する態度や動機がどのようなも

のであるかを調べた。その結果、学生の高校時代の英語学習経験は以前とほとんど変わりなく、親や教師は相変わらず入試対策としての英語学習を重要視していることがわかった。多くの学生は、高校時代の英語学習経験を否定的に捉えている。学生の語学学習とコミュニケーション方法の学習に対する本質的な考え方は、一旦高等教育レベルに達してしまうと旧態依然のものと変わらないものになってしまう。大学の英語担当講師は、そのような文化的、教育的なギャップを埋めるために、そういった学生の経験やその結果もたらされる態度と動機をよく知っておく必要がある。そうしてはじめて、学生が大学にいる間に語学力を伸ばす目的を見つけられるような手助けができるのではないだろうか。

recent decline in the number of students graduating from secondary schools in Japan has led to a demographic crisis, presaging the largest disruption of the post-secondary educational system in fifty years (Kitamura, 1991; McVeigh, 2002). In the past decade, the number of university places has increased while the number of university-bound students has decreased. In years past, the historic undersupply of places at the tertiary level of education led to the development of the highly competitive university entrance examination system. Increasingly, as the number of seats available to students proliferates, particularly at the non-elite level, many students are able to gain university entrance without having to sit for an entrance examination.

Without question, the highly competitive university entrance examination system has had a strong influence in shaping secondary English education in Japan (Amano, 1990; Collins, 1989; Lee, 1991; Mochizuki, 1992; Rohlen & LeTendre, 1996). Commentators and scholars alike are familiar with the catechism: in the past, it was necessary for most secondary students to study English grammar and translation for six years in preparation for rigorous university entrance examinations. Passing an entrance exam was crucial for obtaining admittance to the best universities and of necessity, the process of English-language education centered on entrance exam preparation, rather than promoting fluency. Of course, once students had gained admittance to university, their purpose for studying English would have been fulfilled. If students could not develop a new purpose for studying English at the university level, improvement in language proficiency would be limited (Berwick & Ross, 1989).

Given the present demographic and systemic changes occurring in this educational setting, it is necessary to discern whether the standard narrative, which has so affected English language education in Japan, still holds true today. The purpose of this study is threefold: to examine the attitudes and motivations that incoming freshmen at a small, non-elite university have about language learning; to uncover how these students studied English in secondary school; and to explore how their

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attitudes may have been shaped by their language-learning experiences while in secondary school and by the expectations of both their parents and teachers. This study will also look at the implications of how those beliefs about language learning might impact student success while they are studying English at the university level.

Background

The University Entrance Examination System and its Influence on Secondary English Education

Research literature on the Japanese education system is replete with the history and influence of the university entrance examination system since its establishment during the Meiji Restoration (Frost, 1991, Lee, 1991). The washback effect, defined by Anderson and Wall (1993) as, "the power of examinations over what takes place in the classroom", (p.115), is said to be so powerful as to cause, "the curriculum offered at general high schools...[to be] designed in such a way that the main emphasis is on preparation for university entrance examinations" (Amano, 1990, p. xix). Criticisms of this exam preparation known as juken jigoku (examination hell) have illustrated the system's deleterious impact on the lives of students inside and outside of the classroom. Certainly, the supplementary educational industry of juku and yobiko [cram/exam prep schools] could not exist without the system and, it is argued, this industry has played an active role in continuing to increase the highly competitive nature of the country's education system (Collins, 1989; Mochizuki, 1992). It has been asserted by other commentators that educational problems like school-refusal syndrome and bullying are tied to these same pressures (Brown, 1995; Mochizuki, 1992).

The particular role that these examinations have played in the teaching and learning of English in Japan has been a widely researched area of language education. Studies have examined how the system has influenced course planning, teaching resources and teaching methods. (Brown, 1995; Furukawa, 1996; Lee, 1991). The enormous importance placed on entrance examinations by educational officials, teachers, students and parents has meant that English has been taught and learned, like many other subjects, only as a means to gaining admittance to the best university possible. As Hendrichson (1989) contends, "English became a means of sorting students rather than a path to communication" (p. 121). Contrary to the belief that English should be taught in order to help students increase their communicative competence in the

language, Brown asserts, "the EFL student in Japan...may be partly or wholly motivated by the desire to pass an English entrance examination" (1995, p. 24).

Whether this situation is entirely exam-driven or a product of a deeper historical connection to foreign language study, the preferred teaching method has continued to be grammar translation or *yakudoku*. Criticism of *yakudoku* and its harmful effects on language learning, where the learning of authentic language is of less value than the memorization of discrete language rules, began almost a century ago and has gone mostly unheeded (Hendrichson, 1989).

Furukawa (1996) provides an illustration of a typical *yakudoku* middle school English lesson, which shows the characteristic pattern of teacher and text-centered model of grammar translation. Students study *about* English; the language is not used in the classroom. Following Krashen's model, Japanese students of English are said to become monitor overusers, where an "over-concern with conscious rules prevents them from speaking with any fluency at all" (Hendrichson, p. 169). After six years of studying English at the secondary level, students taught in such a manner, "would not be likely to acquire communicative ability, particularly with regard to the listening and speaking skills" (Brown, 1995, p. 26).

There are other scholars who provide more general criticism of the familiar discourse on the Japanese educational system. Some like Rohlen and LeTendre (1996) caution observers to consider whether "...the often reified Western theories that have dominated our perceptions and research seriously hinder our ability to perceive ...[the] uncodified world of teaching and learning that abound[s] in each society" (p. 1). If we are not aware of our beliefs we run the risk of "...simplify[ing] Japan at the risk of adequate understanding" (p. 3). Susser (1998) goes further, using Edward Said's discourse of Orientalism to criticize what he calls the othering of the EFL learner through its research literature. We are warned to avoid the othering, stereotyping, representing, and essentializing of Orientalism (p. 51) so that, "...these fictions, [which] have been woven into a pervasive discourse that shaped our descriptions and then our perceptions of Japanese learners and classrooms" (p. 64) might be seen in the light of our own preconceptions.

Tertiary Sector in an Era of Change

Criticism of the university entrance examination system has held sway in the research literature and in the public imagination over the last fifty years as the post-secondary system has operated as a seller's market O'Donnell 35

(Kitamura, 1991); there were always many more applicants than places available in universities. That era ended as the university-building boom of the early and mid-1990's and the shrinking number of high school graduates combined to create a buyer's market in university education. The number of high school graduates has declined from a recent high of 1.8 million in 1992 to 1.3 million in 2001. By 2009 that number is estimated to fall even lower, to one million (Furusawa, 2001). This research project is situated within that changing context. How the tertiary system at large and the university entrance examination system, specifically, will change is open to a great deal of conjecture. Kitamura (1991) asserted that, "in the coming age of declining enrolment, a substantial number of marginal institutions will be forced to make a strong effort to attract not only traditional full-time students but also non-traditional clients....The days of simply emphasizing the traditional screening functions [entrance examinations] are over for Japanese higher education" (p. 318). Unlike universities in North America and Europe, Japanese universities have relied almost exclusively on drawing their student population from the 18 to 22 year-old demographic (Kitamura, 1991). "The survival of institutions in a period with a sharply declining college-age population is perhaps one of the single most serious problems..." (p. 310) as it will "...certainly influence the financial condition of many tuition-dependent universities" (p. 309).

Furusawa (2001), calling the present day, "the era of all-applicantadmission" (p. 12) revealed that applicants to an unnamed university declined by half in just three years. All applicants were accepted in the 2000-2001 school year (p. 9). At the very least, as Mulvey (1999) asserts, universities are faced with a new reality, "to compete more energetically in order to maintain enrollment at levels sufficient to ensure their economic viability, including, perhaps, a continued relaxation of admission standards" (p. 135). McVeigh (2001) describes this change occurring in Japan's university system as one, "... heading toward a post-meritocratic state... [where demographic conditions seem to be promising] a place in university for every student who can take a test" (p. 31). However, even with this change in demographics, McVeigh argues that exam hell is still not only suffered by those who want to enter the highly competitive elite circle of universities, but that, "even...the most indolent students aiming for the lowest ranked university have told me how nervous they are sitting for entrance exams" (p. 31).

Baker (1992) describes research in learner attitude and motivation as a, "central explanatory variable" in individual second language acquisition and proficiency (p. 9). The author defines attitude as, "a construct used to explain the direction and persistence of human behavior (p. 10), . . . which is a convenient and efficient way of explaining consistent patterns in behavior" (p. 11).

In his survey of L2 motivation literature, Dörnyei (2001) describes Gardner's contributions to motivation in the second-language field as some of the most influential. Gardner (1985) and his colleagues were among the first to begin explaining the relationship between motivation and attitude, and second language acquisition and proficiency, arguing that, "attitudes towards aspects of the language could play a role in determining how successful an individual could be in acquiring it" (1985, p. 7). Gardner is best known for identifying two motivational orientations, . . . integrative (a desire to learn the L2 for the purpose of affiliation with and acculturation of the target culture) and instrumental (a desire to learn the L2 for personal pragmatic and utilitarian reasons) motivation. While acknowledging other factors of language acquisition, Gardner has emphasized that, "integratively motivated students tend to be more active... and tend to be more proficient in a second language" (1988, p. 113).

Gardner's motivational dichotomy is not without its share of critics. LoCastro (2001), researching the motivational orientation of Japanese university students, highlights this necessary tightrope walk of identity construction and maintenance. She asserts that advocating the abandonment of one's first language and culture for English, "smacks of neocolonialism and hegemonic pretensions" (p. 83). She challenges Gardner's integrative/instrumental paradigm, arguing that the integrative orientation, "as defined, cannot be a useful analytic framework" (p. 72), particularly in the Japanese context and for those students who have not lived for any lengthy period in an English-speaking country. Gardner's framework must be "expanded to give greater role to individual differences, particularly related to a learner's identity as a non-native speaker of the target language" (p. 83). Norton's work in this area centers on the construct of learner investment in language acquisition, where, "to invest in a language is to invest in an identity" (Churchill, 2002, p. 3). Norton (2000) argues that the integrative/instrumental dichotomy "do[es] not capture the complex relationship between power, identity and language learning...[while the concept of investment]...signals the socially and

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historically constructed relationship of learners to the target language, and their often ambivalent desire to learn and practice it" (p. 10).

Another commonly used approach to motivational research is the intrinsic/extrinsic dichotomy. A person who is intrinsically motivated is said to participate in an activity because of the satisfaction or enjoyment, which that participation provides. Conversely, extrinsically motivated people participate in a task in order to achieve a reward outside of simply completing the task itself. Extrinsic motivation has been commonly seen as something that often undermines intrinsic motivation (Dörnyei, 2001). Deci and Ryan's self determination theory (1985) views this dichotomous construct on a multidimensional basis, placing intrinsic and extrinsic motivation on a continuum. They maintain that extrinsic motivation, once internalized, can bolster intrinsic motivation.

The work of scholars like Dörnyei (1998, 2001) in second language motivational research has been illustrative of a reorientation in this area of study since the 1990's. A more directly educational focus has sought to extend the work of pioneers like Gardner in a two-fold manner: to look into the learner's classroom context in search of motivational influences, and to allow teachers to make better use of L2 motivational research by making it more applicable to their classrooms. Dörnyei asserts that, "group-related issues are at the heart of the affective dimension of classroom learning..." (2001, p. 81).

The research literature on student attitude and motivation toward English language study in the Japanese context has taken a variety of approaches, from examining differing student attitudes and expectations about foreign and Japanese instructors (Shimizu, 1995) to focusing on the effect of students' attitudes and motivation toward their English studies while preparing for entrance examinations during their years at secondary school (Benson, 1992). After years of studying English in order to pass examinations, it has been demonstrated that, once students' primary motivation for studying is achieved, without reorientation of motivation, there is little purpose for continuing to study and improve proficiency in the language (Benson, 1992; Berwick & Ross, 1989; Long & Russell, 1999). In their longitudinal study of firstvear student attitudes and motivation toward English, Berwick and Ross confirmed that upon entering university student motivation was low because, "motivation to learn English hits its peak in the last year of high school..." (p. 206). So students, "...arrive exam-worn survivors with no apparent academic purpose at university" (p. 206). Long and Russell (1999) set about examining the attitudes first-year students developed

from their experiences while studying English in secondary school for the purpose of uncovering "what content and teaching practices to emphasize or avoid" (p. 17). These authors assert that students, after years of learning grammar, want to improve their English conversation ability "to have more confidence and better speaking skills" (p. 27).

Kimura, Nakata, and Okumura (2001) examine the motivations of EFL students in a variety of learning contexts in Japan. Providing the reader with an overview of the variety of research approaches to motivation, they argue that, "it is difficult . . . to divide language learning motivation into two distinct types such as integrative/instrumental dimensions or intrinsic/extrinsic motivations. Inevitably, there will be some areas where these four types overlap" (p. 49). Their results show a complex mixture of both intrinsic and integrative orientations operating within the Japanese learners surveyed.

Horwitz (1988) developed the Beliefs About Language Learning Inventory (BALLI) so that instructors and researchers might understand that students bring their own ideas about language learning to the classroom and that these attitudes can, in turn, influence learner effectiveness in increasing their language proficiency. Horwitz used her inventory first with American students, who had made the transition from secondary to undergraduate studies in foreign language studies. The author's inventory includes sections eliciting survey participants' beliefs about the difficulty of language learning, foreign language aptitude, the nature of language learning, learning and communication strategies, and motivations and expectations about language learning. Certainly within a Japanese context and with careful translation, the use of such an instrument would be helpful for uncovering students' attitudes and beliefs after six years of English language study at the secondary level, those "preconceived notions about language learning, [which] would likely influence a learner's effectiveness in the classroom" (Horwitz, 1988, p. 283).

Research Questions

Given the increased number of places available in the tertiary educational sector, with the consequent easing of competition for entrance (in particular, to non-elite universities), the following research questions will be explored:

1. Do students' educational experiences in secondary school continue to be influenced by entrance examination

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preparation?

2. What role do teacher and parental expectations play in influencing student motivational orientations toward learning English in secondary school?

3. After six years of language study, what beliefs about language learning do students hold and what impact might such beliefs have on students' interest in increasing their English language proficiency while studying at the tertiary level?

Method

Participants

This survey was completed by 135 first-year students at a small private university near Nagoya. These students had completed their secondary education in Japan. 93 (68.9%) of the respondents were male, 42 (31.1%) were female. The mean age was 18.25.

Sixty-one students (45.2%) were from rural areas. Twenty-one students (15.6%) were from urban areas, and 53 (39.3%) were from suburban areas of Japan. The vast majority of the students came from within the prefecture where the university is located or from neighboring prefectures; 90 students (67.2%) came from the Tokai region while 32 students (23.9%) came from the Kansai region of Japan. 112 students (82.4%) came from regular program schools, 9 (6.7%) came from commercial schools, 8 (5.9%) came from industrial high schools, 3 (2.2%) came from agricultural high schools, 2 (1.5%) came from fisheries high schools and 1 student came from a school for the handicapped.

Only 15 students (11.1%) gained entry to the university through a regular university entrance examination (*ippan-nyuushi*). The largest number of students, 92 (68.1%) entered the university by recommendation from their schools under the recommended examination (*suisennyuushi*). Students who entered under the newly established Admissions Office (AO) examination system, where students can apply without recommendation from their secondary school and gain entrance based less on academic achievement than on how they perform during their interview, made up 28 or 20.7% of the total.

Materials

A questionnaire was developed which used a six-point Likert scale format based on selected sections from Horwitz' (1988) Beliefs about Language Learning Inventory (BALLI). Item concerning foreign language aptitude, the nature of language learning and learning and communication strategies were selected. Three additional questions (#60, #62, #74) were added to the section on the nature of language learning. Additional sections of this instrument pertained to integrative and instrumental orientations as well as parental involvement in student language learning drawn from Gardner's Attitude/Motivation Test Battery (1985). Gardner's (1985) semantic differential scale was also used to elicit attitudes towards their English lessons in their last year of study in secondary school. Neither the Likert-scale nor the semanticdifferential scale was originally created to be used specifically in a Japanese EFL context, and therefore, both were translated with care. The survey was first translated by the author, checked by several Japanese with teaching experience and finally checked and back-translated by a Japanese professor who specializes in language education issues. Although Gardner's work has been under considerable scrutiny by critics both it and the BALLI continue to be used for their superior psychometric qualities (Dörnyei, 2001). Cronbach's alpha statistics were computed for all questions and a reliability of 0.877 was obtained.

It must be stated here that the participants' self-reports used in this study are students' beliefs about their own behavior, and beliefs about what their parents and teachers believed in the course of participants' six-year secondary language study. This study cannot make the claim that participant responses describe actual behavior—only participant beliefs about that behavior.

Procedures and Statistical Analyses

This survey was completed in Japanese during the first week of classes in April 2002 (see Appendix 1 for an English version of the survey). Participants were given an unlimited amount of time to complete the instrument. Personal demographic data were gathered as students completed the survey. The data gathered revealed students' gender, age, location of home, length and type of English language study at the secondary level, student ratings of their own motivations while studying at the secondary level, students' perceptions of their teachers' motivations for teaching them and students' perceptions of parental motivations for their studying the language. The survey also asked how students gained

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university admittance and included students' self-rating of their English language ability.

All Likert scales were scored from 1 (strongly agree) to 6 (strongly disagree). The semantic scale used to measure student attitudes toward their English classes from the previous year were scored from 1 (very strongly agree that the adjective on the left represents the participant's impression) to 6 (very strongly agree that the adjective on the right represents the participant's impression). The author tabulated and entered all scores into SPSS 11 for Windows. Descriptive statistics for all questions were generated and reported.

Pearson correlations and paired *t* tests were run between questions 33, 34, 35, 36 and questions 35, 36, 39, 41. Dörnyei (2001, p. 224) reported correlations between 0.30 and under 0.50 which in language education are considered meaningful. The alpha level for all statistical decisions was set at 0.01.

Results

English Study Before University Entrance

The survey revealed that pervious English study fell into a characteristic pattern. One hundred and nineteen respondents (88.1%) had begun their English language studies during their first year of junior high school. Of the 16 students who had begun studying English earlier, the largest number, 15 students, had started between the ages of 8 and 10. Seventynine students (58.1%) had supplemented their studies at cram school (juku). Of these, 25 (31.6%) had attended once a week, 38 (48.1%) twice a week and 16 (20.3%) more than twice a week. One hundred and thirty students (97%) did not use English with their parents at home, while five students had occasionally practiced English conversation with their parents. One hundred and five students (77.2%) had never left Japan nor used English while abroad. Twenty-five (18.4%) reported that they had spent less than one month abroad. Three had spent between one and five years abroad. Most of the students received a majority of their learning within the traditional institutions involved in English language education, beginning their training at junior high school, with a large number of them also attending classes at cram schools.

Juku and English Language Study

Seventy-nine students (58.1%) had attended cram schools during their

secondary education. Of those who attended, forty-six students (59.7% of *juku* students) said they had done so in order to prepare for their entrance exams, 50 (64.9%) to improve their English ability and 23 (29.8%) for both reasons. Eight students (10.3%) had gone to cram school for neither reason. These findings suggest that, for some students, the two English study orientations may not be mutually exclusive nor exhaustive: there may be other salient reasons for students to study at cram school.

English Study Before University Entrance: Study at the Secondary Level

Students described the general teaching strategies, used while they studied at the secondary level. Table 1 shows the prevalence of the use of strategies that define the grammar-translation tradition of teaching. The most common teaching style that students reported was the use of translation between Japanese and English, yakudoku (M = 2.14; mode = 1.00), and the study of grammar (M = 2.68; mode = 3.00). The practice of English conversation and learning with a native English speaker (i.e. with an ALT) were less frequently used. The mean number of English lessons per week was 3.75.

Table 1: Method of Teaching English at the Secondary Level.

Teaching Method Used	Mean	Median	Mode	SD
25. Use of translation between Japanese and English.	2.14	2.00	1.00	1.34
23. Study of grammar.	2.68	3.00	3.00	1.12
24. Use of listening practice.	3.48	4.00	4.00	1.30
26. Practice of English conversation.	3.66	4.00	5.00	1.40
27. Learned English with a native speaker.	3.97	4.00	5.00	1.23

n = 134. Note: 1 = always, 2 = often, 3 = sometimes, 4 = rarely, 5 = never.

Students' Self-Evaluation of English Ability

As Table 2 shows, after six years of studying English, students' self-rating of their English ability in the four skill areas of language learning is rather low, showing almost no difference among the students' language skill areas at the highest level. The area of greatest range was found at the lowest levels of ability, under the rating of a little and not at all. 30.4% of respondents reported that they could not read English at all and 61.5%

of respondents reported that they could not speak English at all. Except at the highest self-ratings of level of ability, speaking was shown to have the lowest self-evaluation. Overall however, it must be noted that even in the area of reading, where students appear to have the most relative self-confidence, 86% of respondents claimed to be able to read a little or not at all. Such low levels of confidence are even further diminished in the area of speaking, where those students who responded that they cannot speak at all or only a little made up 96.3% of respondents. Confidence levels were shown to be very low in all areas of language study.

Language area	No a	ability	1	A little	Fai	rly well	Ve	ry well
31. Reading	41 ((30.4%)	75	(55.6%)	18	(13.3%)	1	(0.7%)
30. Writing	62 (46.7%)	64	(47.4%)	8	(5.9%)	1	(0.7%)
32. Listening	63 ((46.7%)	58	(43.0%)	11	(8.1%)	3	(2.2%)
29. Speaking	83 ((61.5%)	47	(34.8%)	3	(2.2%)	1	(0.7%)

Table 2: Self-Evaluation of English Ability

n = 135

Students' Perceptions of Teacher/Student Purpose for Teaching/ Studying English in Secondary School

Participants were asked to distinguish their purposes for studying and their teachers' purposes for teaching them: Was it for the purpose of preparing for entrance examinations or was it for the purpose of increasing fluency? Responses indicated that their teacher's purpose for teaching them tended to be more often oriented toward preparing for entrance examinations than students' own orientation in this area, for which student and teacher motivation differed widely by a mean difference of 0.8431 (see Table 3). Unlike teachers, student motivation for studying is shown to be stronger in the area of increasing fluency in the language than in preparing for entrance examinations. Participants' purposes came to a mean of 3.45 (mode = 3.00) while teachers' purposes produced a mean of 3.56 (mode = 3.00), a difference of only 0.119.

Table 3: Students' Perception of Teacher/Student's Purpose for Teaching/Studying English in Secondary School.

Survey Questions	Mean	Median	Mode	SD
33. Teacher's purpose for teaching was preparation for entrance examinations.	3.41	3.00	3.00	1.45
34. Teacher's purpose for teaching was to increase English fluency.	3.56	3.50	3.00	1.32
35. Student's purpose for learning was preparation for entrance examinations.	4.25	5.00	5.00	1.46
36. Student's purpose for learning was to increase English fluency.	3.45	3.00	3.00	1.50

n = 134 *Note*: 1=strongly agree, 2 = Agree, 3 = slightly agree, 4 = slightly disagree, 5 = disagree, 6 = strongly disagree.

Pearson correlations and paired t tests were calculated for these teaching and studying orientations. The clearest (yet weak) correlation between these orientations was found in the area where both the students' and teachers' purpose was tied to teaching and learning for the purpose of passing the entrance examination (r = 0.434; t = -6.316). Almost no correlation was found between teachers' purpose of preparing students for *juken* (entrance examinations) and students' purpose of increasing fluency (r = 0.093).

Table 4: (Correlation Matrix Question 33- 36, Question 39 and Question 41)

	S33	S34	S35	S36
T33	1.000	0.137	0.434*	0.043
T34	0.137	1.000	0.093	0.318*
T35	0.434*	0.093	1.000	0.273
T36	0.043	0.318*	0.273	1.000
P35	0.434*	0.093	1.000	0.273
P36	0.043	0.318*	0.273	1.000
P39	0.153	0.208	0.233	0.340*
P41	0.027	0.206	0.122	0.401*

^{*}p< 0.01

Parental Influence and Orientation Regarding English Language Study Parental encouragement of participants' progress in English was shown to be indirect. Very few students reported receiving any help from their parents with homework. However, many more parents appeared to feel that their children should have worked harder at learning the language. It appears that the number of parents who were concerned about their children learning English as a tool for gaining entrance to university (M = 3.74; mode = 3.00) was greater than the number who were concerned about encouraging their children to become fluent in the language (M = 4.42; mode = 6.00).

Table 5 Paired Comparisons for Teaching/Studying Orientations

Paired Questions	<i>t</i> -value	df	<i>p</i> -value
33./35. Teacher's purpose for teaching was for entrance examination preparation./Student's purpose for learning was for examination preparation	-6.316	133	0.000
34./35. Teacher's purpose for teaching was to increase English fluency./ Student's purpose for learning was for examination preparation.	-4.242	133	0.000
33./36. Teacher's purpose for teaching was for entrance examination preparation./Student's purpose for learning was for fluency.	-0.211	133	0.833
34./36. Teacher's purpose for teaching was to increase English fluency./Student's purpose for learning was to increase English fluency.	0.835	133	0.405

^{**}Alpha is significant at the 0.01 level (two-tailed).

In an effort to uncover correlations between parent and student orientations about studying for *juken* and fluency, Pearson correlations and paired t tests were run. A weak correlation was found between parents who were said to have encouraged their children to become fluent in English, and students who said that their purpose for learning was to increase their English fluency (r = 0.401; t = -6.789). The next significant albeit weaker correlation was between parents who were said to have emphasized the importance of studying English for entrance examinations and students whose purpose for learning was to increase English fluency. This rather weak relationship may illustrate again that the dichotomous 'study' orientations used in the study may not be seen as entirely mutually exclusive to participants or parents. There was no sta-

tistically significant correlation found between parents who emphasized the importance of English for the purpose of entrance examinations and with students' purpose for learning being entrance examination preparation (shown in table 6).

Survey Questions	Mean	Median	Mode	SD
37. Parents helped with homework.	5.65	6.00	6.00	0.74
38. Parents believed that student should study English more.	3.42	3.00	3.00	1.77
39. Parents emphasized how important English was for entrance examinations.	3.74	3.00	3.00	1.61
40. Parents emphasized how important English was because of international use of the language.	3.32	3.00	2.00	1.68
41. Parents encouraged student to become fluent in English.	4.42	5.00	6.00	1.48

Table 6: Parental Support and Influence

Note: 1 = strongly agree, 2 = agree, 3 = slightly agree, 4 = slightly disagree, 5 = disagree, 6 = strongly disagree. n=134.

Impression of English Lessons in the Last Year of Secondary School

In order to explore students' general impressions about their English lessons during their last year of secondary school, this study used an adapted Japanese version of Gardner's semantic differential scale (p. 184, 1985). The results in Table 7 illustrate the generally negative impressions that students had of their English classes in the last year of high school. The clearest indications of this were represented by their impressions of the classroom atmosphere as simple/complicated (M = 4.40; mode = 5.00), pleasant/unpleasant (M = 3.97; mode = 6.00), satisfying/unsatisfying (M = 3.96; mode=3.00), clear/confusing (M = 3.86; mode = 5.00), and monotonous/absorbing (mean = 3.02; mode = 3.00). However, students seem to believe that this experience is necessary (mean = 3.07; mode = 3.00) and that they may be rewarded in the future (mean = 3.79; mode = 4.00).

Table 7: Paired Comparisons for Parental/Child Orientations

Paired Questions	<i>t</i> -value	df	<i>p</i> -value
39./35. Parents emphasized how important English was for entrance examinations./Student purpose for learning was for preparation for entrance examinations.	3.126	133	0.002
41./35. Parents encouraged student to become fluent in English./Student's purpose for learning was for preparation for entrance examinations.	-1.022	133	0.309
41./36. Parents encouraged student to become fluent in English./ Student's purpose for learning was to increase English fluency.	-6.789	133	0.000
39./36. Parents emphasized how important English was for entrance examinations./ Student's purpose for learning was to increase English fluency.	-1.879	133	0.062

Alpha is significant at the 0.01 level (two-tailed).

Motivational Orientation

The following section attempts to reveal participants' general motivational orientations after six years of language study. With the exception of question 63 (Horwitz, 1988), all the questions were taken from Gardner's Attitude/Motivation Test Battery (1985), Integrative/ Instrumental Orientation sections. Participants' motivational orientation shown in Tables 8 and 9 illustrate a mixed pattern of responses in the same way as Kimura et al. (2001) report. Modal figures of students' integrative orientation appeared to show a slightly stronger orientation toward that area (modal responses = 3.00) than toward instrumental: mean figures show slightly less agreement. More participants show a greater interest in studying the language for the purpose of understanding the culture than because they were interested in living in an English-speaking country. Instrumental orientation figures showed more varied modal responses of 3.00 and 5.00 shared equally. Students seemed to be little interested in learning English for the purpose of gaining respect from their peers. Many students seemed not to be learning English for the purpose of future employment. At the same time, they seemed to believe more that their English skills would be useful in helping them find a job. As stated above, while the integrative/instrumental orientation sections of this survey were taken from Gardner's (1985) work on the same topic, these responses show how closely some of the characteristics used to investigate these motivational orientations actually express some of the characteristics of intrinsic and extrinsic motivation. This was particularly noticeable with questions 62 and 67.

Table 8: Student Impression of English Class in the Final Year of Secondary Education

Characteristic of Classroom	Mean	Median	Mode	SD
42. Meaningful/ not meaningful	3.0963	3	3	1.5056
43. Enjoyable/not enjoyable	3.7852	4	4	1.5759
44. Monotonous/ absorbing	3.0222	3	3	1.5056
45. Effortless/ hard	3.3134	3	3	1.4899
46. Interesting/boring	3.7333	4	3	1.6217
47. Good/bad	3.6889	4	3	1.6275
48. Simple/ complicated	4.4074	5	5	1.4573
49. Worthless/valuable	3.5481	4	4	1.4899
50. Necessary/unnecessary	3.0667	3	3	1.6263
51. Appealing/unappealing	3.5778	4	4	1.6321
52. Useless/useful	3.4889	3	3	2.9897
53. Elementary/complex	3.2593	3	3	1.3492
54. Educational/non educational	3.1185	3	2	1.4663
55. Unrewarding/rewarding	3.7852	4	4	1.4882
56. Satisfying/unsatisfying	3.9627	4	3	1.4685
57. Unimportant/important	3.5259	4	4	1.5685
58. Pleasant/unpleasant	3.9704	4	6	1.7101
59. Exciting/dull	3.8148	4	3	1.6508
60. Clear/confusing	3.8667	4	5	1.5788

Six point scale: 1 = strong belief that the adjective on the left represents classroom atmosphere. 6 = strong belief that the adjective on the right represents classroom atmosphere. n = 135.

Table 9: Integrative Orientation

Survey Questions	Mean	Median	Mode	SD
61. I would like to study English because I want to live in an English speaking country.	3.80	4.00	3.00	1.61
62. I would like to study English because I don't want to be nervous when I speak with native English speakers.	3.91	4.00	3.00	1.48
63. I would like to know English so that I can get closer to the literature and culture.	3.31	3.00	3.00	1.45

Note: 1 = strongly agree, 2 = agree, 3 = slightly agree, 4 = slightly disagree, 5 = disagree, 6 = strongly disagree. n = 134.

Beliefs about Language Learning and the Future

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In many areas, the following discussion of student attitudes concerning language learning, foreign language aptitude and the nature of language learning illustrates how, as Horwitz (1988) asserts, students' own beliefs about language learning may hinder their efforts and curtail their ability to increase proficiency while studying at university. Table 10 provides an illustration of participants' often-contradictory beliefs. While most students agree that anyone can learn a foreign language (M = 2.50; mode = 2.00) and that some people are quite good at learning languages (M = 3.06; mode = 3.00), students did not believe that they possessed a special ability for learning foreign languages (M = 4.47; mode = 5.00) or that Japanese people are particularly good at learning foreign languages (M = 4.21; mode = 5.00). Taking into account that 68.9% of survey participants were men, the results show that most students disagreed that women are better than men at learning foreign languages (M = 4.29; mode = 5.00).

Table 10: Instrumental Orientation

Survey Questions	Mean	Median	Mode	SD
64. I would like to know English for future career.	3.85	4.00	5.00	1.56
65. I would like to know English because it will make me a knowledgeable person.	3.57	3.00	3.00	1.35
66. I would like to know English because it will be useful in helping me get a good job.	3.23	3.00	3.00	1.46
67. People will respect me if I am fluent in another language.	3.96	4.00	5.00	1.34

Note: 1 = strongly agree, 2 = agree, 3 = slightly agree, 4 = slightly disagree, 5 = disagree, 6 = strongly disagree. n = 134.

Under Horwitz's (1988) nature of language learning category, with the exception of questions #62 and #74 each response had both a mean and a mode score of 3.00. The greatest agreement was that practicing English conversation will improve students' proficiency (M = 2.44; mode = 2.00) and that practicing with cassette tapes will lead to increased proficiency (M = 2.36; mode = 2.00); very interesting results considering that most students were not often taught using these strategies while at secondary school. While still showing general agreement, the lowest level was "the most important part of learning English is the grammar" (M = 3.49; mode

= 3.00). Most students were aware that learning a language is different from studying other subjects. There remained, however, a general belief that translation between first and second language plays an important role in language learning—more so than the study of grammar. There was also general agreement that knowing the differences between the two languages would help the learner improve their language proficiency.

Survey Questions	mean	median	mode	SD
68. Women are better than men at learning foreign languages.	4.29	5.00	5.00	1.35
69. People from my country are good at learning foreign languages.	4.21	4.00	5.00	1.18
70. I have foreign language aptitude.	4.47	5.00	5.00	1.27
71. Anyone can learn a foreign language	2.50	2.00	2.00	1.23
72. There are some people who are particularly good at learning languages.	3.06	3.00	3.00	1.378

Table 11: Foreign Language Aptitude.

Note: 1 = strongly agree, 2 = agree, 3 = slightly agree, 4 = slightly disagree, 5 = disagree, 6 = strongly disagree. n = 134.

Following Horwitz's learning and communication strategies, there was evidence of students' belief that to focus on accuracy is better than focusing on production. Students reported the necessity of speaking with a 'good accent' (M = 2.59; mode = 2.00). They report a slight reticence to speak English (M = 3.49; mode = 3.00). This orientation toward accuracy over production did show its limits, however. While students agreed that if one were allowed to make mistakes in the beginning it would be hard to get rid of them later on, most disagreed with the statement that students should not say anything in English until it can be said correctly (mean = 4.92; mode = 5.00).

Discussion and Implications

The results from this limited study illustrate a case where a group of students received most of their English education through traditional secondary education. Very few of the participants had learned or used English abroad. Use of English at home was minimal. Most reported a low proficiency in the language; they appeared to have little confidence

Table 12: Nature of Language Learning

Survey Questions	Mean	Median	Mode	SD
73. The most important part of learning English is learning how to translate from my native language.	3.13	3.00	3.00	1.28
74. Learning a foreign language is different from learning other academic subjects.	2.83	3.00	3.00	1.21
75. Learning about the differences between English and Japanese will help me improve my English.	3.08	3.00	3.00	1.20
76. The most important part of learning a foreign language is learning vocabulary words.	3.18	3.00	3.00	1.25
77. The most important part of learning English is the grammar.	3.49	3.00	3.00	1.26
78. Practicing English conversation will improve my proficiency.	2.44	2.00	2.00	1.09
79. It is necessary to know the cultures of the English-speaking world in order to speak English well.	2.76	3.00	3.00	1.24
80. You can improve your ability in English by playing games.	2.98	3.00	3.00	1.20
81. It is important to practice with cassettes or tapes.	2.36	2.00	2.00	1.11

Note: 1 = strongly agree, 2 = agree, 3 = slightly agree, 4 = slightly disagree, 5 = disagree, 6 = strongly disagree. n = 134.

Table 13: Learning and Communication Strategies

Survey Questions	Mean	Median	Mode	SD
82. It is important to repeat and practice a lot.	2.39	2.00	2.00	1.21
83. If you are allowed to make mistakes in the beginning it will be hard to get rid of them later on.	2.68	3.00	3.00	1.12
84. I feel shy speaking English with other people.	3.49	3.00	3.00	1.37
85. You shouldn't say anything in English until you can say it correctly.	4.92	5.00	5.00	1.19
86. It is really important to speak English with a good pronunciation.	2.59	2.00	2.00	1.31

Note: 1 = strongly agree, 2 = agree, 3 = slightly agree, 4 = slightly disagree, 5 = disagree, 6 = strongly disagree. n = 134.

in using English across the four language skill areas after six years of language study. Participants stated that they most often learned English using the grammar/translation method. Just as traditional teaching methods have remained in use, students believe that teachers' purposes for teaching English remain largely tied to preparation for entrance examinations (there are teachers who are reported to be also working upon increasing their students' English fluency). Student purposes for English study differ from their teachers and appear to be more oriented toward studying English to increase fluency and less to prepare for entrance examinations. Pearson correlational and paired t tests show a tentative correlation between teacher/student orientations in this area. While parents tended to be uninvolved in their children's day-to-day studies, their indirect influence in their children's education is evident. As above, Pearson correlational and paired t tests show a relatively weaker set of relationships in this area. While demographic realities may have opened other means of gaining university entrance, it appears that parents and teachers continue to emphasize the importance of English for entrance examinations.

In an attempt to uncover students' language study orientations while attending secondary school, the students were asked to choose between focusing on examination preparation and studying to increase general fluency in English. They were also asked to define their teachers' and parents' orientations in the same way. This 'one or the other' dichotomous construct, which appears prevalent in the literature about English education in Japan (Brown, 1995, Frost, 1991; Hendrichson, 1989; Lee, 1991), may not capture how students view their language learning experiences at secondary school. Results have shown that a number of students appear to believe that preparing for entrance examinations may also have helped their general proficiency and vice versa. This was evident in the reasons for students gave for studying at juku as well as when looking at parent/child correlations between parental emphasis on studying English for entrance examinations and parental encouragement to increase fluency. More research is needed in order to better understand what may be a more nuanced reality of students' perceptions concerning their language learning experiences.

Despite vast demographic changes which continue to make university entrance less competitive, the English language secondary educational experiences of participants in this survey appear, in the main, to be little changed from the past as represented in the literature. While only 11.1% of first year participants had gained university entry by means

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of the regular entrance examination, students' perceptions of their experiences show that the educational system is still preparing them for examinations, which the majority of students do not have to take. This system, with its long history, seems impervious to rapid change even as it becomes obvious to students, parents, and educational authorities that it is no longer serving an educational purpose, at least at the non-elite level.

Just as Horwitz (1988) suggests, after six years of English language study, the students investigated here have most certainly developed specific attitudes about language learning and about English and its speakers. As Gardner (1985) asserts, "the teachers and methodology can consequently play an important role in shaping the nature of students' attitudes....If teachers are skilled in the language, attuned to student feelings and offer an interesting and informative methodology they can help bring about positive attitudes" (p. 8). If Gardner is correct, it is equally probable that teachers' actions can bring about negative attitudes which hinder language development if the opposite conditions are present. This can be true for both high school and university instruction.

Most participants in this study had come from their secondary schools with a generally negative assessment of their secondary English language classes. The results of this study seem to suggest as Kimura et al. (2001) point out in their study that, "Japanese EFL learners have inhibitory factors operating against learning English such as anxiety, past experiences, or preferring teacher-dominated lectures" (p. 64). A majority of students in this study seemed to have little confidence in their ability to use the language. There appeared to be contradictory beliefs about language learning attitudes. While most participants believed that anyone can learn English, many more participants believed that they do not possess an aptitude for learning English. Student beliefs about the general nature of language learning and learning and communication strategies parallel many of the traditional practices of their secondary language experiences where accuracy appears to be valued over production. On the whole, students remain reticent to use English for fear of making errors. At the same time, they are aware that language learning is different from other subjects and that one must know the culture of the language which is being studied in order to become more proficient. Integrative/instrumental orientation results show that students aren't particularly oriented strongly in either direction. As Norton (2000) describes, this dichotomy may not clearly

uncover participants' conflicting and ambiguous purposes for studying the language. And as Kimura et al. (2001) argue, "it is inappropriate to seek one theory to explain all aspects of motivation" (p. 48).

As students begin to study English in the university classroom, they may be taught by a foreign instructor for the first time. It is imperative that such instructors know how their students have been taught. Student and teacher expectations must be matched to rely on students' real experiences, rather than on the received understanding of past educational practices. In this way, instructors may discover ways to help their students find a purpose for increasing their language proficiency while they are studying at university.

Knowledge of student attitudes and motivations is vital if one is to bridge cultural and pedagogical gaps, particularly for the instructor whose approach to teaching might run counter to common teaching methods at the secondary level. Horwitz (1988) asserts that, "if certain beliefs are an impediment to successful language learning...it is necessary...to make learners aware of their own preconceived notions about language learning and their possible consequences" (p. 292). Ellis (1997, p. 71) has argued that those students who have spent a great deal of their early language learning in grammar practice and have been unable to acquire fluency in English "...are likely to benefit from communicative activities rather than grammar teaching." If these communicative tasks, which according to Nunan work, "to involve learners in comprehending, manipulating, producing or interacting in the target language" (cited in Ellis 1997, p. 209), are to be effective in helping students gain fluency in English, instructors must pay close attention to their student's foundation of language learning acquired in secondary school and show those who are interested in attaining fluency the best way to achieve improved proficiency.

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Kevin O'Donnell is a lecturer of English in the International Culture De-

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partment at Suzuka International University. He is interested in student attitudes and motivation in SLA, teacher training and evaluation.

Notes

1. Participants were asked to provide which area of Japan they came from. The following *regions* include the following prefectures: *Hokkaido*: Hokkaido; *Tohoku*: Aomori, Iwate, Akita, Yamagata, Miyagi, Fukushima; *Kanto*: Tokyo, Chiba, Saitama, Kanagawa, Gumma, Ibaraki, Tochigi, Yamanashi; *Tokai*: Nagano, Shizuoka, Aichi, Gifu, Mie; *Kansai*: Osaka, Kyoto, Hyogo, Shiga, Wakayama, Nara; *Hokuriku*: Fukui, Ishikawa, Niigata, Toyama; *Chugoku*: Okayama, Shimane, Tottori, Hiroshima, Yamaguchi; *Shikoku*: Kagawa, Tokushima, Ehime, Kochi; *Kyushu*: Fukuoka, Saga, Nagasaki, Oita, Kumamoto, Miyazaki, Kagoshima; *Okinawa*: Okinawa.

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Appendix 1

English Translation of Survey

Der	nographic Informat	tion					
1.	Gender:						
2.	Age:						
3.	First Language:						
4.	Department:						
5.	Home town:	rural		urban	suburb		
6.	Region:	Hokkaid		Tohoku	Hokuriku		nto
		Kansai		Tokai	Chugoku	Sh	ikoku
	_	Kyushu		Okinawa			
7.	Country:			1 10			
8.	Did you graduate fr						
9.	What kind of high s						
	Were you in a speci			ram?			
11.	How did you enter Recommenda		ersity? AO	Dogular or	atron oo orro	minati	ion
	Recommend	аноп	AO	Regulai ei	ntrance exa	шшаи	IOH
_	glish Language stud			0			
12.	Started studying Engli	ish before	enterin	g junior high so	chool.	Yes	No
	If Yes at what age?_						
14.	I began studying w	hen I ente	ered m	ny first year of	junior high		
						Yes	No
	I did not study Engl	lish outsi	de of s	school.		Yes	No
16.	I studied at juku.					Yes	No
If y	ou answered Yes to	question	16 ple	rase answer ti	he followin	g ques	tions
17.	How often did you	study at j	uku?				
18.	I studied at juku so	I could p	repare	e for my entra	nce examir	iation.	
						Yes	No
19.	I studied at juku so	that I cou	ıld imp	prove my Eng	lish profici	•	
						Yes	No
	I spoke English wit					Yes	No
	If yes, what kind of						
	Have you stayed in	an Englis	sh spea	aking country	?	Yes	No
If ye	es, how long?						
Abo	out your High Schoo	ol English	classe	s (choose the	best respor	ıse)	
	Always	often	son	netimes	rarely	never	

- 23. When I studied English in high school, I studied English grammar.
- 24. When I studied English in high school, I did listening practice.
 25. When I studied English in high school, we translated English into Japanese.

 When I studied English in high school, I practiced English conversation during class.

- 27. When I studied English in high school, I spoke with a native speaker during class.
- 28. When you studied English in high school, how many hours a week did you study English?

How would you rate your English proficiency? (choose the best response)

No ability can a little can fairly well can very well

- 29. English speaking ability:
- 30. English writing ability:
- 31. English reading ability:
- 32. English listening ability:

High school English classes (continuation)

1 = strongly agree, 2 = agree, 3 = slightly agree, 4 = slightly disagree, 5 = disagree, 6 = strongly disagree

- 33. My high school teacher taught English with the purpose of preparing us for entrance examinations.
- 34. My high school teacher taught English with the purpose of making us fluent in the language.
- 35. I studied English with the purpose of preparing for entrance examinations.
- 36. I studied English with the purpose of becoming fluent in English.

Parental Influence

 $1 = strongly \ agree, 2 = agree, 3 = slightly \ agree, 4 = slightly \ disagree, 5 = disagree, 6 = strongly \ disagree,$

- 37. During my high school years, my parents tried to help me with my English homework.
- 38. During my high school years, my parents thought that I should devote more time to my English studies.
- 39. During my high school years, my parents stressed the importance of English for university entrance examinations.
- 40. My parents feel that because we live in an international era, I should learn English.
- 41. During my high school years, my parents encouraged me to become as fluent in English as possible.

Semantic Differential Scale of students' impression of the past year's English lessons

42.	Meaningful	:	::		:	:	:	Meaningless
43.	Enjoyable	 :	:	:	:	:	:	Not enjoyable
44.	Monotonous	 :	:	·	:	:	:	Absorbing
45.	Effortless	 :	:	·	:	:	:	Hard
46.	Good	:	:	:	:	:	:	Bad

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47. Interesting	:_	:	_:	_:	_;	_:	Boring
48. Simple	:_	_:	_:	_:	_:	_:	Complicated
49. Worthless	:_	_:	_:	_:	_:	_:	Valuable
50. Necessary	:_	_:	_:	_:	_:	_:	Unnecessary
51. Appealing	:	:	_:	_:	_:	_:	Unappealing
52. Useless	:_	:	_:	_:	_:	_:	Useful
53. Elementary	:_	:	_:	_:	_:	_:	Complex
54. Educational	:_	_:	_:	_:	_:	_:	Non-educational
55. Unrewarding	:_	_:	_:	_:	_:	_:	Rewarding
56. Satisfying	:_	_:	_:	_:	_:	_:	Unsatisfying
57. Unimportant	:	:	_:	_:	_:	_:	Important
58. Pleasant	:_	_:	_:	_:	_:	_:	Unpleasant
59. Exciting	:_	_:	_:	_:	_:	_:	Dull
60. Clear	:	:	:	:	:	_:	Confusing

Integrative Orientation

1 = strongly agree, 2 = agree, 3 = slightly agree, 4 = slightly disagree, 5 = disagree, 6 = strongly disagree

- 61. One reason that I am studying English is because I may stay in an English speaking country some time in the future.
- 62. Studying English is important to me because it will allow me to be more at ease with foreigners who speak English.
- 63. Studying English is important to me because it will enable me to better understand and appreciate English language literature and culture.

Instrumental Orientation

1 = strongly agree, 2 = agree, 3 = slightly agree, 4 = slightly disagree, 5 = disagree, 6 = strongly disagree

- 64. Studying English is important for me only because I'll need it for my future career.
- 65. Studying English is important for me only because it will make me a more knowledgeable person.
- 66. Studying English is important for me only because I think it will someday be useful in getting a good job.
- 67. Studying English is important for me only because other people will respect me more if I have knowledge of a foreign language.

Foreign Language Aptitude

 $1 = strongly \ agree, 2 = agree, 3 = slightly \ agree, 4 = slightly \ disagree, 5 = disagree, 6 = strongly \ disagree$

- 68. People from my country are good at learning foreign languages.
- 69. I have a special ability for learning foreign languages.
- 70. Women are better then men at learning foreign languages.
- 71. Some people have a special ability for learning foreign languages.
- 72. Everyone can learn to speak a foreign language.

The Nature of Language Learning

 $1 = strongly \ agree, 2 = agree, 3 = slightly \ agree, 4 = slightly \ disagree, 5 = disagree, 6 = strongly \ disagree$

- 73. The most important part of learning English is learning the grammar.
- 74. Learning a foreign language is different from learning other academic subjects.
- 75. Learning about the differences between English and Japanese will help me improve my English.
- 76. The most important part of learning a foreign language is learning vocabulary words.
- 77. The most important part of learning English is learning how to translate from my native language.
- 78. It is important to know the foreign culture in order to speak the foreign language.
- 79. Playing games in English will help me improve my English.
- 80. Practicing English conversation will help me improve my English.

Learning and Communication Strategies

1 = strongly agree, 2 = agree, 3 = slightly agree, 4 = slightly disagree, 5 = disagree, 6 = strongly disagree

- 81. It is important to speak English with excellent pronunciation.
- 82. You shouldn't say anything in English until you can say it correctly.
- 83. It is important to repeat and practice a lot.
- 84. I feel shy speaking English with other people.

13. 「はい」の場合それは何歳の時ですか。_____ 歳

85. If students are allowed to make mistakes in the beginning, it will be hard for them to get rid of them later on.

Japanese Version of Survey:

	^デ ータ: 性別: (○をつけて下さい。)		tr	男			
	年齢:		^	/ 3			
	母国語						
	所属学科名: (○をつけて下さい。)		観光学科 文化学科		関係学科 英米学科		
5.	出身: (○をつけて下さい。)				都会の周		
	国内: (○をつけて下さい。)	北海道			関東 沖縄	東海	関西
7.	外国:	下凹		76711	117 小电		
	学園の高等学校を卒業しましたか	_ (∩ <i>f</i>	つけて下	(さい。)		はい	いいえ
	あなたの出身高等学校は次のどれ						
	普通高校 商業高校 工業高校				他		,
	英語コース専攻でしたか。 (〇))		はい	いいえ
11.	本学への入学方法は次のどれです	か。(()をつけっ	て下さい	,)		
	推薦入試 入試 一般入試						
入学ま	ミでの英語学習について:						
	中学へ入る前に英語を勉強しは	じめた。	(○を	つけて下	さい。)	はい	いいえ

14. 中学一年生で英語を勉強しはじめた。 (○をつけて下さい。) はい いいえ

1	5.	学校(中学。	・高校)	以外で	では英語	語を習	うこと	とは7	なかっ	た。			下さい。) いいえ
1	6.	塾で英	語を引	さんだ。 を選んだ	, i) T &	()をつ	けて	下さい。) IB) = 1	かとー				いいえ
1	7.	塾でど	のぐら	らい勉強	しまし	たか。	(0	をつけ				(1 °		
	8.	週一回塾での	勉強は	は入学試	回続のた	こめで	したカ	, (C)をつ	けて下	さい。)	はい	
2	9.	家族と	英会記	は英語の を楽し	んだこ	とはあ	ります	けか。	(○を	つけて				いいえ いいえ
	1. 2.	(「はい 英語を	1」を 話す	選んだ <i>]</i> 国に滞在	(はど/ Eしたこ	んな練 ことがる	習をし ありま	ンまし; きすか。	たか	。 (○をご				
		「はい」	の人に	まその期	間						はい	,	いいえ	-
	-			F未満						二年以	(上~	五年	未満	五年以上
				業につい 受業で화				下さい。)					
	つも4.	英語を		たび ける時に						ぜん	ぜん		分から	ない
	5. 6.	高校時	代には	は授業で は授業で	英語を	日本記	語に鄱	羽訳した	<u>د</u> ه					
	7. 8.	高校時	代にに	は授業では英語の	英語を	2母国	語とす	「る外[国人。	と英語	で話	した。		
_		-回	, ,,,,,,,	二回		=				四回			五回以	人上
É	分の身	英語能力 英語を	Jがど 話す	れくらし でき	ないない	まい思 小	すか。 しでき	きろ	7	きろ	-	一变」	-くで;	きる
3	0. 1.	英語を	書く	でき	ない_		しでき	きる	_ で _ で	さる_ きる_ きる	<u>ー</u> ナ	で変して変し	こくでき	きる
	2.	英語を	聴く	でき	ない_	少	しでき	きる	_ で	きる_		で変し	こくで	きる
	5校時代 3.	代の英語 喜校の	長生!	業につい は生徒を	1て:	(続き) さ ゖ ゙゙゙゙゙゙゙゙゙゙゚゚゚゚	ミアレス	を日白	対レ1.	て 古	払た	数ラア	いた
U	非常	にそう	んこう	が う 思	・文献に やそう っ	TENU− R E	させる	う	2 D F	うこし そうは 田わか		il C.	全くそ	うは
3	4. 5.	高校の	先生に	は生徒が は格する	英語を	使い	こなす	_力を、	つける	るため	に英	語を	教えて	いた。
3	6.	私は英	語を使	をいこな	さして さけれる	つけ	るため	大品で	生地が	使した	0			
		l Influe		+ 正姓み	°±=== 1	クロ・	∠ . □4.) =	レテノよ	n+					
3	7.	高校時	代、同	は両親が同親は私	が英語	をも	っと勉	り強した	とほう	うがい	いと	思って	ていた	o ⊐A≕⊟1 J
4	9.	現在は	国際時	代である	るため、	両親	は私が	英語を	勉強	しなり	ければ	なられ	ないと原	強調した 惑じている
	1.			可親は私 ・ ・ ・										
启	5校での	の英語学	学習の	l Scale o イメーシ	ジは次の	のどち	らにぇ	丘いで	すか	•	•	`		
4	3.	意味が愉快だ退屈だ	あった	Ē		:	:	: :		:	愉快	では	なかっ	: った
4	· 0 .	努力を	要した	ふかった	_	_:	:	::		<u>:</u>	夢中つら	にさかっ	せたた	
_	6. 7.	良かっ面白か	たった			:	:	: :		:	悪か	った	: :かった	<u>-</u>

48.	L-11.333 3 3	:				難しかった
49.		:	_::_	:	_:	価値があった
50.	必要だった ₋	:	_::_		_:	不必要だった
51.	魅力があった	:	_::_	:	_:	魅力がなかった
52.	役に立たなかった	:	_::_	:	_:	役に立った
53.	基本的だった	:	_::_	:	_:	込み入っていた
54.	教育的だった _	:	::_	:	_:	教育的ではなかった
55.	無益だった	:	::	:	_:	有益だった
56.	満足できた	:	::	:	_:	満足できなかった
57.	重要ではなかった	:	::	:	_:	重要だった
58.	楽しかった。	:	::	:	_:	楽しくなかった
59.	エキサイティングだった	: ځ	: :	:	_:	退屈だった
60.	わかりやすかった					わかりにくかった

Integrative Orientation

61. 英語を勉強する理由の一つは将来英語を話す国に住んでみたいと思っているからである。

非常にそうそうややそうそうは全くそうは思う思う思わない思わない

- 62. 私にとって英語の勉強が重要なのは、英語を話す外国人に会ったときに緊張しないためだ。
- 63. 私にとって英語の勉強が重要なのは、英語圏の文学や芸術を鑑賞したり、またそれらをより深く理解したりできるようになるためだ。

Instrumental Orientation

- 64. 私にとって英語の勉強が重要なのは、将来の仕事のためだけだ。
- 65. 私にとって英語の勉強が重要なのは、教養ある人になるためだ。
- 66. 私にとって英語の勉強が重要なのは、 就職する時に役に立つと思うからだ。
- 67. 私に外国語の知識があればほかの人から尊敬されると思うからだ。

Foreign Language Aptitude

- 68. 私の国の人は外国語を覚えるのが上手だ。
- 69. 外国語をおぼえるのは得意だ。
- 70. 女性は男性より外国語学習能力が優れている。
- 71. 誰でも外国語を習得することができる。
- 72. 外国語の習得において非常に優れた能力を有する人がいる。

The Nature of Language Learning

- 73. 英語を学習で一番大事な点は文法を習うことだ。
- 74. 外国語学習は他の科目の勉強とは違う。
- 75. 英語と日本語の違いを勉強することは英語の上達に役立つ。
- 76. 外国語を覚える中で一番大事なのは語彙を増やすことだ。
- 77. 英語を習得する中で一番大切なのは母国語から英語に訳せるようになることだ。
- 78. 上手に外国語を話せるようになるにはその国の文化も知るべきだ。
- 79. 英語はゲーム感覚で学ぶことによって上達する。
- 80. 英会話を練習すれば英語が上達する。
- 81. 英語を勉強する時にヒヤリングの力をつけることが大切だ。

Learning and Communication Strategies

- 82. きれいな発音で英語を話すことが大事だ。
- 83. 正しく言えるようになるまでは何も英語で話さないほうがいい。
- 84. 英語の習得には反復練習が重要だ。
- 85. 人前で英語を話すのは恥ずかしい。
- 86. もし初級の時に英語を間違ったまま覚えてしまうと後で正しく話すことが難しくなる。

Study-abroad, Language Proficiency, and Learner Beliefs about Language Learning

Koichi TanakaAuckland Institute of Studies **Rod Ellis**

University of Auckland

This article reports an empirical study of a 15-week study-abroad program for Japanese university students, examining changes in the students' beliefs about language learning (measured by means of a questionnaire) and in their English proficiency (measured by means of the TOEFL). The results showed statistically significant changes in the students' beliefs relating to analytic language learning, experiential language learning and self-efficacy/confidence during the study-abroad period. Statistically significant gains in proficiency are also reported. However, Pearson product moment correlations between the students' responses to the Belief Questionnaire and their TOEFL scores both before and after the study-abroad period were weak and generally statistically non-significant. The results are discussed in relation to study-abroad programs and also to the role of learner beliefs in second language learning.

本稿は、15週間の海外留学プログラムに参加した日本人大学生の言語学習に関する確信 (beliefs) と英語能力の変化を、質問紙とTOEFLを用いて測定した調査の報告である。分析の結果、留学経験後、分析的言語学習、経験的言語学習、そして自己能力・自信に関する学生達の確信に、統計的に有意な変化が見られた。また英語能力に関しても、統計的に有意な変化が見られた。しかし、質問紙への回答に表れた学生達の言語学習に関する確信とTOEFLスコアの相関は、留学前も留学後も弱く、統計的に有意なものではなかった。こうした結果を、海外留学プログラムや第二言語習得における学習者の確信の役割と関連付けて論じる。

earner beliefs, along with factors such as language aptitude and motivation, are considered key elements contributing to individual learner differences in second language (L2) learning. Learner beliefs influence learners' behaviours, in particular, choice of learning

strategies, and their affective states such as confidence and anxiety, and thereby affect both linguistic outcomes (i.e., changes in competence, knowledge, and skills in some aspect of the target language) and nonlinguistic outcomes (i.e., changes in reactions to the target language, the situation, and/or factors associated with the target language) (Ellis, 1994; Gardner & MacIntyre, 1992, 1993). A social psychological perspective on beliefs also indicates that an individual's personal experience has a great influence on his or her beliefs (Corsini, 1994; Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975). Thus, experience of learning a language in a different environment (e.g., a new teacher, new teaching material, a new setting) may lead to learners modifying their existing beliefs or forming new ones. In other words, the relationship between beliefs, behaviours, and learning outcomes is an interactive and dynamic one.

A common belief among language learners and educators is that the best way to learn a language is to live in a country where the language is used. This belief is reflected in the large number of Japanese that go to English-speaking countries to study English or other academic subjects every year. Also, in recent years, many Japanese universities and two-year colleges have established study-abroad programs that "combine a period of residence in another country...with classroom-based language and/or content area study" (Freed, 1995, p. 5) in order to improve not only students' language ability and academic knowledge but also their cultural awareness.

Studies of learner beliefs about language learning have focused mainly on what beliefs learners hold and how learners' backgrounds (e.g., nationality and previous language learning experiences) affect their beliefs. Few researchers have examined how learner beliefs change as a result of learning experience over a period of time nor have they looked at the relationship between beliefs and language proficiency. Furthermore, there has been little research into the effects of studyabroad programs on Japanese students' learning of English. The study reported here constitutes an initial attempt to address these issues.

Learners' Beliefs About Language Learning

Although quite a few studies of learners' beliefs about language learning have been conducted in a number of different settings since the two pioneering studies in the 1980s (Horwitz, 1985; Wenden, 1986), there is still no general consensus about how to categorize learner beliefs. The number and content of categories have varied from study to study. Following an extensive review of the research, Tanaka (1999)

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identified two broad dimensions of learner beliefs: (a) beliefs about self as a language learner (e.g., self-efficacy, confidence, aptitude, motivation) and (b) beliefs about approaches to language learning. The latter could be subdivided into beliefs about analytic and experiential learning.

Previous studies have shown that learner beliefs vary according to a number of factors such as age, cultural (or ethnic) background, learning environment, stage of learning, and target language (Horwitz, 1999; Rifkin, 2000). In other words, learner beliefs are situation-specific. Some studies (e.g., Matsuura, Chiba, & Hilderbrandt, 2001; Sakui & Gaies, 1999; Tanaka, 2000) reported that Japanese university EFL students thought that English classes should be enjoyable but that, in general, they did not find them so. The students also believed that listening to the radio or watching TV in English was important for learning English. However, many students also reported preferring traditional teaching methods involving a teacher-centred approach and a focus on accuracy. Also, they indicated that speaking English made them nervous, and they held negative beliefs about how successful they could be.

There have been very few studies of the relationship between learner beliefs and learning outcomes to date. In one study, Park (1995) investigated 332 Korean university EFL students' beliefs about language learning, their language learning strategies, and the relationships among their beliefs, strategy use, and L2 proficiency. Park found three variables predicted students' TOEFL scores to some extent. One was a belief variable (i.e., beliefs about self-efficacy and social interaction) and two were strategy variables (i.e., independent/interactive strategies and metacognitive strategies). Those learners who reported having confidence in learning English and the intention of speaking to others in English tended to use English actively, especially outside the classroom, and to monitor their progress in English carefully. These behaviours were also related to improvement in L2 proficiency.

Mori (1999) investigated the beliefs of 187 university students of various proficiency levels enrolled in a Japanese course in the U.S. She examined the relationship between epistemological beliefs (i.e., beliefs about learning in general) and beliefs about language learning and also the relationship between beliefs and L2 achievement. She found that strong beliefs in innate ability (i.e., the ability to learn is inherited and cannot be improved by effort) and in avoidance of ambiguity (i.e., the need for a single, clear-cut answer) were associated with lower achievement. Learners who believed that L2 learning was easy

manifested higher levels of achievement. In addition, this study showed that there were belief differences between novices and advanced learners. Advanced learners were less likely than novice learners to believe in simple, unambiguous knowledge or the existence of absolute, single answers. This study also revealed that epistemological beliefs and beliefs about language learning were for the most part unrelated. In other words, learner beliefs about language learning seemed to be task- and domain-specific.

Kern (1995) reported changes in the beliefs of 180 students studying first-year French at a university in the U.S. over the course of one semester (15 weeks). He administered the "Beliefs About Language Learning Inventory" (BALLI) (Horwitz 1985, 1988) during the first and last week of the semester. Kern reported that 35% to 59% of the responses changed over the 15-week period. A significant change was observed in the response to the statement "If you are allowed to make mistakes in the beginning, it will be hard to get rid of them later on," with 37% of the students reporting greater agreement and 15% lesser agreement in the last week. This suggests that many students had become increasingly conscious of their mistakes and were having difficulty in avoiding them. The learners also changed their responses to the statement "Learning a foreign language is mostly a matter of learning a lot of grammar rules," with 32% showing greater agreement and 20% lesser agreement.

Study-abroad and L2 Learning

Since Carroll's (1967) original study of the relationship between the language proficiency of 2,782 American students majoring in French, German, Italian, and Russian and their study-abroad experiences, a number of studies have examined the effect of the study-abroad experience on language learning. A general assumption is that natural settings involving informal learning through out-of-class contact with the L2 leads to higher levels of proficiency than educational settings where instruction is provided. Thus, study-abroad is seen as valuable because it provides opportunities for informal learning. However, Ellis (1994) pointed out that some studies have challenged this assumption in two ways. First, they showed that natural settings did not necessarily bring about higher proficiency; educational settings often resulted in higher proficiency, especially higher grammatical competence. Second, even in natural settings, the amount of contact with the target language had less influence on language learning than the type of the contact,

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which differed depending on learners' initial levels of proficiency. For example, Freed (1990), in a study of the effects of contact on the L2 proficiency of 40 undergraduate American students in a six-week studyabroad program in France, reported that, for the lower-level students, increased interactive contact (e.g., speaking with native speakers) led to clear gains in the test scores on grammar and reading while it did not have the same effect for advanced-level students. In contrast, non-interactive contact (e.g., reading newspapers, watching television) benefited the advanced but not the lower-level students.

Freed (1993, 1995, 1998) and Coleman (1997) provided surveys of previous studies of the effects of study-abroad programs on L2 learning. Their main findings were as follows:

- 1. Accuracy and complexity, measured in terms of frequency of mistakes, sentence length or syntactic complexity in oral production, did not change in any noticeable way.
- 2. Gains in fluency, in terms of the speaking rate (syllables per minute) or phonation/time ratio (percentage of total time spent speaking), were strong.
- 3. Overall oral proficiency scores, measured by the ACTFL Oral Proficiency Interview (OPI), were higher in learners in study-abroad programs than in learners who did not participate.
- 4. Gains in overall oral proficiency scores were stronger than gains in test scores on grammar, listening, and reading.
- 5. Vocabulary gains, measured by vocabulary tests, were stronger than those of comparable students who did not participate in a study-abroad program.
- 6. The higher the students' initial level of proficiency, the lower the gains in proficiency as a result of studying abroad.

Thus, on the whole, an increase in natural exposure to the L2 through a study-abroad experience seems to contribute more to fluency and naturalness of speech (i.e., higher speech rate and fewer disfluent, silent pauses) than to accuracy and complexity of speech. Compared with gains in fluency and naturalness of speech, the improvement in grammar, listening, and reading is relatively low. However, Freed and Coleman noted that there is considerable individual variation in gains by students in the same study-abroad program.

Research Questions

Drawing on the results of the research to date, the following research questions were formulated:

- 1. What changes in the learners' English language proficiency occurred during the study-abroad program?
- 2. What changes in the learners' beliefs about language learning occurred during the study-abroad program?
- 3. What relationship is there between the learners' English language proficiency and their beliefs about language learning?
- 4. What relationship is there between changes in learners' beliefs about language learning and changes in their English language proficiency?

Method

Design

The relationship between two variables, learners' beliefs about language learning and English proficiency, was examined in a sample of Japanese university students at two different times, 15 weeks apart. Changes in beliefs and in proficiency from Time 1 (prior to studying abroad) to Time 2 (after studying abroad) were examined. In addition, the relationship between changing beliefs and developing proficiency was studied.

Participants

The 166 participants were studying at a university in Japan. They were between 19 and 20 years old. The students had studied English for seven years on average (including 6 years at junior and senior high school). The students had been enrolled at the university for one year and were all taking English as their major. The majority of the students had never been overseas before the study-abroad program, although some students had spent up to 8 weeks overseas on holidays.

The Study-abroad Program

The 15-week study-abroad program, which took place at a private university in the northeastern part of the U.S., was organized around

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three hours of classes in the morning and various social and community activities in the afternoons. The required subjects were Speaking and Listening, Writing, Current Issues in American Society, and American Culture. Electives in Literature, Arts, Social Sciences, and Communication Studies were also offered. All the classes were taught by native speakers with postgraduate qualifications. The students also undertook a number of field trips, including a two-day trip to New York City. They stayed together on campus in dormitories but had opportunities to communicate with native speakers on shopping expeditions and with native speaking Resident Assistants who shared dormitories with the students and who took them on an outing once a week. In addition, some students participated in a volunteer program that involved two or three visits to a local nursing home, an elementary school or a museum.

Instruments

The learners' beliefs about language learning were measured by means of questionnaire consisting of 27 statements, to which the participants responded on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree (see Appendix). The content of the questionnaire was arrived at by analysing previous learner belief questionnaires (Horwitz, 1988, 1999; Rifkin, 2000; Wenden, 1986; Yang, 1992). Following Tanaka (1999), three dimensions of beliefs were identified: (a) beliefs about self (i.e., self-efficacy, confidence, aptitude, motivation), (b) beliefs about analytic learning and (c) beliefs about experiential learning. Based on this analysis, a set of 36 statements in English were prepared to examine these dimensions and then translated into Japanese. The questionnaire was then piloted on a sample of 145 learners of English, consisting of Japanese university students in Japan (who completed the Japanese version) and a mixed group of Asian students in New Zealand (who completed the English version). To determine the construct validity of the questionnaire an exploratory factor analysis of the responses was performed. This revealed three main factors (Analytic Learning, Experiential Learning, and Self-Efficacy and Confidence), which corresponded closely to Tanaka's three dimensions. However, the factor analysis also revealed that a number of the statements in the questionnaire loaded very weakly on the three factors. Therefore, to improve the questionnaire, these statements were removed and five new statements reflecting the three dimensions of

beliefs were devised. The revised questionnaire, in both the English and Japanese versions, consisted of 27 statements (22 statements from the original questionnaire plus five new ones). The statements in the English version of the Learner Belief Questionnaire can be found in the Appendix.

In order to measure overall English proficiency, a paper-based version of the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) was administered. It consists of three sections. Section 1 (Listening) tests understanding of short conversations and talks. Section 2 (Grammar and Written Expression) tests students' ability to recognize correct grammar. Section 3 (Reading) consists of a test of reading comprehension and includes questions about the meanings of specific lexical items and phrases.

Data Collection Procedures

Table 1 shows the schedule for the administration of the Learner Belief Questionnaire and the TOEFL. The Learner Belief Questionnaire was administered approximately three weeks before the students left for the study-abroad program and three days before they returned. Thus the first administration was carried out in Japan and the second in the U.S. In both cases, the students completed the Japanese version of the questionnaire.

It should be noted that the first TOEFL was administered some three months before the students began the study-abroad program. The second TOEFL took place 10 days before the end of the study-abroad program.

Instrument	Time Administered
TOEFL 1	3 months before study abroad
Learner Belief Questionnaire 1	3 weeks before study abroad
TOEFL 2	13.5 weeks after start of study abroad
Learner Belief Questionnaire 2	15 weeks after start of study abroad (just prior to return)

Table 1: Schedule of the Study

Data Analysis

To establish the construct validity of the questionnaire, responses from the two administrations of the Learner Belief Questionnaire were submitted to separate Factor Analyses (SPSS; Excel Statistics 2000). In this way, it was possible to establish whether the same three factors that emerged in previous administrations (see the account of the development of the questionnaire above) were found. To examine the internal reliability of the questionnaire, Cronbach's alpha was calculated on the items relating to each of the three factors. To examine differences between the participants' TOEFL scores and their responses to the Learner Belief Questionnaire at Times 1 and 2, t test scores were calculated. Independent t tests followed by Bonferroni adjustments (to protect against Type 1 errors) were used to determine the significance of the differences between the participants' TOEFL scores for each section (Listening, Grammar, Reading and for Total scores), between the participants' scores for each of the three beliefs factors (Analytic Learning, Experiential Learning, and Self-Efficacy and Confidence) at Times 1 and 2, and between their mean scores on the 27 beliefs statements at Times 1 and 2. Factor scores were arrived at by totalling an individual's scores for each statement that loaded at .40 or higher on a factor and then dividing by the number of statements, thus producing a mean score for each subject on each factor.

Pearson correlation coefficients were computed between learner beliefs and TOEFL scores at both Times 1 and 2. In addition, the changes in beliefs (i.e., the belief score on each statement for Time 2 was subtracted from the same belief score at Time 1) were correlated with gains in proficiency scores between Times 1 and 2 (i.e., by subtracting Time 1 TOEFL scores from the Time 2 scores).

An alpha level of .05 was set for all statistical tests.

Results

We will first report the results of a factor analysis of the students' responses to the Learner Belief Questionnaire at Times 1 and 2. The purpose of this analysis was to demonstrate the construct validity of the questionnaire for the sample of learners under investigation. Thus, the number of factors was set at three, corresponding to the three dimensions of beliefs. The results are shown in Tables 2 and 3. As in the previous pilot studies, three factors emerged. A close inspection of the statements loading on each factor revealed that the factors were identical to those of the pilot studies, (a) Analytic Learning, (b) Experiential

Learning, and (c) Self-Efficacy and Confidence. Tables 2 and 3 also indicate which statements had a loading of .40 or higher on each factor in the two factor analyses. In both analyses the cumulative percentage of variance accounted for by the three factors was relatively low (22.39% at Time 1 and 30.02% at Time 2).

Table 2: Factor Analysis of Learner Beliefs (Time 1: Before Studying Abroad)

Item #	Questionnaire Items	F1	F2	F3
	Factor 1: Analytic Learning (α=.69)			
20	I should be able to understand everything the	.635		
8	teacher says. I should be able to understand everything I read in English.	.618		
4	I can learn well by writing down everything in my notebook.	.600		
13	I can learn well by following a textbook.	.535		
5	In order to speak English well, it is important for me to learn grammar.	.414		
18	I can learn well in a class where the teacher maintains good discipline.	.405		
27	I would like my teacher to correct all my mistakes.	.403		
	Factor 2: Experiential Learning (α=.29)			
22	I can learn well by reading English magazines or		.602	
1	newspapers. I can learn well by speaking with others in English.		.539)
10	I can learn well by listening to radio or watching TV in English.		.529)
14	I should not be forced to speak in the English class.		469	
19	I can learn well by using English outside class.		.425	,
12	I can learn well by living in an English-speaking country (e.g., the United States).		.417	
24	I can learn well if I try to think in English		.403	i
	Factor 3: Self-Efficacy and Confidence (α=.67)			
26	It is possible for me not to get nervous when speaking English.			.738
6	It doesn't matter if I make mistakes when speaking with others in English.			.509
16	I am satisfied with my progress in English so far.			.403
	Eigenvalue	2.56	2.15	1.34
	Percentage of Variance	9.46	7.96	4.97
	Cumulative Percentage	9.46	17.42	22.39

Table 3: Factor Analysis of Learner Beliefs (Time 2: After Studying Abroad)

Item #	C	F1	F2	F3
	Factor 1: Analytic Learning (α=.80)			
13	I can learn well by following a textbook.	.608		
4	I can learn well by writing down everything in my notebook.	.598	}	
5	In order to speak English well, it is important for me to learn grammar.	.590)	
8	I should be able to understand everything I read in English.	.589)	
7	In order to learn well, it is important for me to review what I have been taught in the English class.	.532		
20	I should be able to understand everything the teacher says.	.526		
11	Memorisation is a good way for me to learn English.	.479)	
18	I can learn well in a class where the teacher maintains good discipline.	.462		
2	If I am permitted to make mistakes in English, it will be difficult for me to speak correctly later on.	.440)	
17	I would like my English teacher to explain important things in my first language so I can understand everything.	.434		
27	I would like my teacher to correct all my mistakes.	.415		
25	In order to speak English well, it is important for me to learn vocabulary.	.410		
	Factor 2: Experiential Learning (α=.79)			
10	I can learn well by listening to radio or watching TV in English.	1	.719	
19	I can learn well by using English outside class.		.707	
24	I can learn well if I try to think in English.		.624	
1	I can learn well by speaking with others in English.		.607	
15	I can learn English well if I am studying just for pleasure.		.575	
22	I can learn well by reading English magazines or	•	.511	
21	newspapers. It's okay to guess if I do not know a word in English.		.478	
	Factor 3: Self-Efficacy and Confidence (α=.56)			
26	It is possible for me not to get nervous when speaking English.	5		.610
16	I am satisfied with my progress in English so far.			.497
6	It doesn't matter if I make mistakes when speaking with others in English.			.416
	Eigenvalue	3.47	3.23	1.40
	Percentage of Variance	12.84	11.98	5.20
	Cumulative Percentage	12.84	24.82	30.02

The reliability of the questionnaire was then examined using Cronbach's alpha. At Time 1, the alpha for Factor 1 (Analytic Learning) was α = .69, for Factor 2 (Experiential Learning) α = .29¹ and for Factor 3 (Self-Efficacy and Confidence) α = .67. At Time 2, the alpha for Factor 1 (Analytic Learning) was α = .80, for Factor 2 (Experiential Learning) α = .79 and for Factor 3 (Self-Efficacy and Confidence Beliefs) α = .56. The reliability of the questionnaire is discussed below.

Table 4 shows the results for the administrations of the TOEFL prior to the study-abroad period and upon return to Japan. The mean total TOEFL score for the 166 students improved 18.55 points. The difference between Time 1 and Time 2 scores was statistically significant, but reflected an improvement of only 4.35%. The largest gain in proficiency was seen in the grammar section of the TOEFL (5.88%) and the smallest in listening (2.65%).

	Time 1 M(SD)	Time 2 M (SD)	M Diff.	(%)	t	p
Listening	43.48 (3.66)	44.63 (4.03)	1.15	(265)	-351	stok
Grammar	42.16 (5.74)	44.64 (3.77)	2.48	(5.88)	5.81	****
Reading	42.38 (4.80)	44.30 (4.98)	1.92	(453)	-4.31	stotok
Total	426.73 (35.05)	445.28 (32.39)	1855	(4.5)	-751	dolok

Table 4: TOEFL Scores Before and After Studying Abroad

To examine the changes in the learners' beliefs about language learning we will consider the differences in the students' responses to the Learner Belief Questionnaire prior to and after their stay in the U.S. Table 5 compares mean responses to the questionnaire items relating to the three main factors measured by the questionnaire. Here it can be seen that the period abroad appeared to have had the strongest effect on Self-Efficacy and Confidence. Prior to going overseas, this factor ranked last out of the three factors, whereas on return it ranked second. The mean difference score for the 166 learners on this factor was .48, the greatest of the three factors. The period abroad also had an effect on beliefs relating to Experiential and Analytic Learning, resulting in mean differences of .25 and .17 respectively. All these differences were statistically significant at the p<.001 level.

^{***} p < .001, ** p < .01

Table 5: Mean Scores for the Three Belief Factors
Before and After Studying Abroad

	7	Γime 1	7	Гime 2			
Factors	Rank	M(SD)	Rank	M(SD)	M Diff.	t	p
1. Analytic Learning	2	2.85 (0.52)	3	3.02 (055)	0.17	-4.09	***
2. Experiential Learning	1	4.13 (0.43)	1	4.38 (0.47)	0.25	-6.19	***
3. Self-Efficacy and Confidence	3	2.57 (0.72)	2	3.05 (0.79)	0.48	-8.38	storics.

^{***} p < .001

Table 6 below shows the results for the five beliefs that produced the greatest and the least change. Three of the beliefs (#s 26, 16, and 6) that showed the greatest changes concerned Self-Efficacy and Confidence. All these beliefs strengthened as a result of the study-abroad program.

Table 6: Belief Statements Showing the Greatest and Least Change

Questionnaire Items		Time 1		Time 2			
	Rank	M (SD)	Rank	M (SD)	M Diff.	t	p
(Most changed)							
17. Teacher explains in my L1.	15	3.57 (0.94)	21	2.90 (1.07)	-0.67	7.55	***
26. Possible not to get nervous.	25	2.37 (0.99)	20	2.93 (1.12)	0.56	-7.26	***
16. Satisfied with my progress.	27	2.06 (0.84)	23	2.58 (1.04)	0.52	-6.51	***
 Difficult to correct mistakes later. 	13	3.61 (0.95)	17	3.13 (1.04)	-0.48	5.68	***
Doesn't matter if I make mistakes.	18	3.25 (1.11)	11	3.64 (1.08)	0.40	-4.36	***
(Least changed)							
12. Studying overseas.	2	4.43 (0.78)	5	4.51 (0.80)	0.07	-1.10	
18. Teacher maintains good discipline.	19	3.20 (1.04)	18	3.12 (1.10)	-0.08	0.90	
5. Learning grammar.	17	3.25 (1.01)	15	3.33 (1.07)	0.08	-1.02	
15. Studying English just for pleasure.	3	4.43 (0.75)	4	4.51 (0.73)	0.08	-1.21	
25. Learning vocabulary.	6	4.13 (0.70)	7	4.20 (0.77)	0.08	-1.30	

^{***} p < .001

Thus, the students felt more confident in speaking English, were more satisfied with their progress and were less concerned about making mistakes when they returned to Japan. The other two beliefs (#s 17 and 2) that showed substantial change, related to Analytical Learning. In both cases this involved a weakening of beliefs. All five of the beliefs that changed the least were related to Analytic or Experiential Learning.

To examine the relationship between beliefs and language proficiency, Pearson correlation coefficients were computed between the learners' mean scores for the three major factors measured by the Learner Belief Ouestionnaire and their TOEFL scores. The correlations prior to and subsequent to the study-abroad period are shown in Tables 7 and 8, respectively. At Time 1, beliefs about Experiential Learning were related only weakly (and non-significantly) to TOEFL scores. In contrast, slightly stronger (yet statistically significant) relationships were found between beliefs about Analytic Learning and TOEFL scores (Listening and Total). However, these were negative; thus, learners who attached greater importance to Analytic Learning did worse on the TOEFL. Similar results were obtained for Time 2 when the students were about to return from the study-abroad, although on this occasion beliefs about Analytic Learning were negatively related to Reading and Total scores. The analyses failed to reveal any relationship between beliefs concerning either Experiential Learning and proficiency or between Self-Efficacy and Confidence and proficiency at either Time 1 (prior to study-abroad) or Time 2 (subsequent to study-abroad). None of the correlations approached statistical significance.

Table 7: Relationship Between Beliefs and Proficiency Before Studying Abroad

	Listening	Grammar	Reading	Total
1. Analytic Learning	-0.17*	-0.15	-0.13	-0.20**
2. Experiential Learning	-0.03	-0.01	-0.04	-0.03
3. Self-Efficacy and Confidence	0.11	0.08	0.02	0.09

^{**} p < .01, * p < .05

	after Studying Abroad							
Listening	Grammar	Reading	Tot					

	Listening	Grammar	Reading	Total
1. Analytic Learning	-0.14	-0.07	-0.18*	-0.18*
2. Experiential Learning	0.01	0.01	0.08	0.05
3. Self-Efficacy and Confidence	0.09	0.09	0.13	0.14

^{*} p < .05

Finally, the relationship between changes in learners' beliefs and gains or losses in proficiency was examined. To measure the extent to which learners' beliefs changed, their belief scores for Time 1 were subtracted from their belief scores for Time 2. Mean belief scores for the three general factors were then computed for each learner. Gains and losses in proficiency were similarly calculated by subtracting Time 1 TOEFL scores from the Time 2 scores. The results of the subsequent correlational analyses are shown in Table 9. The correlations were very weak and statistically non-significant.

Table 9: Relationship Between Changes in Beliefs and Gains/Losses in Proficiency

	Listening	Grammar	Reading	Total
1. Analytic Learning	-0.09	0.00	-0.03	-0.06
2. Experiential Learning	-0.06	-0.06	0.01	-0.05
3. Self-Efficacy and Confidence	-0.04	-0.06	0.01	-0.04

Discussion

The discussion will begin with a consideration of the validity and reliability of the belief questionnaire. As previously explained, the development of the belief questionnaire involved testing it on two separate samples of learners prior to its use in this study. Factor analyses of the learners' responses to the two administrations of the questionnaire in this study corresponded closely to those obtained from two earlier samples of L2 learners—they revealed three principal factors: Analytic Learning, Experiential Learning, and Self-Efficacy and Confidence. These factors also corresponded closely to the conceptual categories that had informed the choice of belief statements for the questionnaire. Thus, there are grounds for claiming that the questionnaire is a valid measure of Japanese learners' beliefs about language learning. However,

it should be noted that the three factors only accounted for 22% and 30% of the accumulated variance in learners' responses in the two administrations of the instrument. This suggests that, although the three factors are distinct dimensions in these learners' belief systems, they by no means account fully for differences in these belief systems. The measures of the reliability obtained for the items relating to the separate factors are low, only one reaching an alpha level of .80 (Analytic Learning at Time 2). However, these measures should be seen in the context of measures of reliability obtained for learner belief questionnaires in other studies. For example, Yang (1992) reported alphas ranging from .52 to .71 for the four factors that emerged from a factor analysis of the 35-item BALLI administered to 505 Taiwanese university students. Sakui and Gaies (1999) reported alphas ranging from .46 to .75 for the four factors measured by their questionnaire administered to a sample of Japanese university students similar to the sample investigated in this study. Thus, the alphas obtained in this study compare favourably with those reported in other similar studies. The question arises as to why the alpha levels for belief questionnaires appear to be consistently low. A likely explanation is that learners' belief systems are not homogeneous. As has been frequently noted, learners can hold beliefs that appear to be contradictory.

The first research question addressed the changes in the learners' English language proficiency. The mean total TOEFL score advanced from 427 to 445. Although this was statistically significant, the gain seems moderate given the length and nature of the learning experience². Swinton (1983), for example, reported a 52.3 (12%) total point gain for students in the same pre-test TOEFL range as the students in this study³. The students Swinton investigated were enrolled for a semester (i.e., approximately 15 weeks) in an intensive English program at San Francisco State University. However, Swinton does not give detailed information about the participants' backgrounds, so it is not clear to what extent they can be compared with the Japanese sample of this study.

Previous research (e.g., Freed, 1995, 1998) has shown that studying abroad is related to low gains in proficiency in advanced learners. However, the learners in this study can hardly be considered advanced. A possible explanation for the modest gains manifested by the Japanese sample is that the learners constituted a linguistically and culturally homogeneous group who had had little need to use English outside the classroom. If these students had been dispersed into mixed groups

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of learners (as happens, for example, in a typical intensive English language program at American universities) and/or if they had been housed in home-stays with English-speaking hosts, greater gains might have occurred.

This conclusion is supported by an analysis of the gains on the different sections of the TOEFL. Whereas previous studies have found that grammatical proficiency is least influenced by study-abroad, this study found that gains in the Grammar section of the TOEFL were greater than gains in the Listening or Reading sections. The greater gain in grammatical proficiency may reflect the fact that, for these students, it was the classroom instruction rather than the opportunities to communicate in English that had the greater impact on their proficiency.

The second research question addressed the changes that occurred in learners' beliefs about language learning. The results show that the learners' beliefs concerning all three general factors strengthened and that this change was statistically significant in the case of all three factors. The greatest change occurred in beliefs concerning Self-Efficacy and Confidence. The experience of living in an English-speaking country and of being taught intensively through the medium of English by native speakers appears to have had a major impact on these learners' beliefs about their ability to speak English without feeling unduly nervous, about not worrying about mistakes while speaking English, and about their general progress. This enhanced confidence can be considered, perhaps, the major achievement of the study-abroad program for these students, especially if it subsequently pays off in promoting learning on their return to Japan. Changes in beliefs reflected in the Analytic and Experiential Learning factor were less pronounced, with beliefs relating to the latter showing the greater changes, as might be expected given the opportunities that the learners had to experience the communicative use of English while in the United States. The fact that beliefs relating to Analytic Learning also strengthened significantly may reflect the students' growing recognition that accuracy in the use of English is important. This study, then, indicates that learner beliefs are dynamic, influenced by their environment and the learning experiences it affords them. However, without a control group, it is not possible to attribute the strengthening of beliefs evident in the sample studied to their study-abroad program.

The third research question addressed the relationship between the learners' beliefs and their proficiency. No relationship between

beliefs relating to Self-Efficacy and Confidence and TOEFL scores was found either before or after the period abroad. There are two possible explanations for this. The first is that Self-Efficacy and Confidence may be more strongly related to measures of oral language use than to the kind of proficiency measured by the TOEFL. Second, the relationship between confidence and proficiency may be a delayed rather than a concurrent one. This is a point that will be considered further below.

Learners' beliefs about Analytic Learning were negatively related to the TOEFL measures. Given the nature of the TOEFL test (i.e., its emphasis on discrete point testing of grammar and vocabulary) we anticipated that learners committed to Analytic Learning would perform better on the test. In fact, they did worse. One possible explanation is that, despite common perceptions (especially in Japan), an analytic approach (e.g., memorising grammar rules and vocabulary) is not an effective means of preparing for the TOEFL and, in fact, may have a negative impact on test performance. It should be noted, however, that out of a total of 216 correlations between belief scores and TOEFL scores at Times 1 and 2 there were only five statistically significant positive coefficients⁴! This suggests that the construct of "language learning" that informed the learners' responses to the belief questionnaire was very different from the construct of "language learning" that underlies the TOEFL.

The final research question concerned the relationship between changes in learners' belief systems and gains/losses in proficiency. No relationship between changes in beliefs and proficiency was found. For example, even though significant gains were evident in the students' beliefs about their Self-Efficacy and Confidence, these were not related to immediate gains in proficiency. A possible explanation for this finding is that it takes time for changes in learners' belief systems to have any effect on their proficiency and that the period between the administrations of the questionnaire and the TOEFL test was not sufficiently long enough for any effect to become evident. Changes in beliefs need to be translated into changes in actual learning behaviours before any impact on proficiency will become evident and such a transition probably does not occur immediately.

Conclusion

This article has reported an exploratory study of the relationship between learner beliefs and L2 proficiency in the context of a 15-week study-abroad program for 166 Japanese learners of English. The results can be summarised as follows: Tanaka & Ellis 81

1. Statistically significant gains in proficiency, as measured by the TOEFL, occurred during the study-abroad program.

- 2. Statistically significant changes in the learners' beliefs occurred during the study-abroad program. The strongest effect was evident in beliefs relating to Self Efficacy and Confidence.
- Statistically significant relationships between beliefs and proficiency were found both prior to and subsequent to the study-abroad program. Strong beliefs about the importance of analytic learning were found to be inversely related to TOEFL scores.
- 4. No statistically significant relationships were found between changes in beliefs and gains or losses in proficiency.

One conclusion to be drawn from this study is that the extent to which learners gain from a study-abroad experience will depend to a considerable extent on the nature of the program. The program that we investigated can be characterised as a "Japanese College Overseas." Students studied in homogeneous classes and lived together in dormitories. It is true that native speaking teachers taught them, but that was also the case in their Japan-based university. It is not clear therefore, whether the study-abroad context these students experienced was substantially different from the learning context in Japan. This may account for why the gains in proficiency appeared quite moderate. However, without a comparison group of learners who remained in Japan it is not possible to comment conclusively on the extent of the gains manifested by the participants in this study-abroad program. A limitation of this study is that there was no such comparison group.

A second conclusion is that Japanese learner beliefs about language learning can be classified into three types, relating to Analytic Learning, Experiential Learning and Self-Efficacy and Confidence. However, these factors accounted for less than a third of the variance in the learners' responses to the belief questionnaire. There is an obvious need to investigate what other factors figure in learners' belief systems about language learning.

The strengthening of the students' beliefs about language learning, especially in the area of Self-Efficacy and Confidence, might be seen as one of the major gains of this study-abroad program. However, again, before these gains can be definitely attributed to the study-abroad

experience it will be necessary to demonstrate that similar gains do no arise in comparable students who remain in Japan. This study suggests that strong beliefs about the value of analytic learning are negatively related to performance on the TOEFL. If this finding is replicated in other studies, it will suggest the need for students to re-evaluate their belief systems, giving less emphasis to an analytic approach when preparing to take the TOEFL.

The relatively weak relationship between stated beliefs and measures of proficiency may reflect the indirect nature of this relationship, which is mediated by the actual learning behaviours (e.g., learning strategies) that learners engage in. Learners may change their behavioural beliefs but not their behaviours. As a result, the changes do not affect their learning. Investigating the relationship between beliefs, behaviours and learning outcomes may best be undertaken by in-depth case studies of individual learners using case study methods, rather than the quantitative methods employed in the study reported here.

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Koichi Tanaka is currently a lecturer in Japanese at the Auckland Institute of Studies, New Zealand. His doctoral studies in the Department of Applied Language Studies at the University of Auckland entail a study of Japanese students' beliefs about L2 learning.

Rod Ellis is Professor and Head of the Department of Applied Language Studies and Linguistics at the University of Auckland. He has published widely in SLA and language teaching, his most recent book being Task-Based Language Learning and Teaching (Oxford University Press).

Notes

- 1. The Cronbach's alpha for Experiential Learning at Time 1 is very low (only .29). This is mainly due to the effect of one statement (#14). If this statement is removed, the alpha increases to .64, which is a similar level to that reported for most of the other factors.
- 2. The TOEFL gains for the 2000 cohort of students on the study-abroad program were in the same range as those for other years (e.g., in 1996 the gain was 4.8%, in 1997 4.4% and in 1998 6.9%). Only in 1999 was a

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notably higher average gain recorded (13.3%).

3. There were correspondingly greater gains in the different sections of the TOEFL by Swinton's participants; Listening (9.9; 22%), Structure and Written Expression (4.2; 9.5%), and Reading Comprehension and Vocabulary (4.8; 10.7%). It is interesting to note the greatest gain in Swinton's sample was in Listening, which showed the smallest gain in the sample in this study.

4. The five significant correlations between belief statements and TOEFL scores were (1) "I am satisfied with my progress" and TOEFL Listening at Time 1 (r= .23), (2) "I am satisfied with my progress" and TOEFL Total at Time 1 (r= .22), (3) "I can learn well if I try to think in English" and TOEFL Total at Time 1 (r=.16), (4) "I am and satisfied with my progress" and TOEFL Reading at Time 2 (r= .16) and (5) "It's okay to guess if I do not know a word in English" and TOEFL Reading at Time 2 (r=.18). These belief statements relate to Self-Efficacy and Confidence or to Experiential Learning. There were no significant correlations involving Analytic Learning.

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Appendix

Belief Statements:

- 1. I can learn well by speaking with others in English
- 2. If I am permitted to make mistakes in English, it will be difficult for me to speak correctly later on.
- 3. I can learn well if I try to study English outside class on my own.
- I can learn English well by writing down everything in my notebook.
- 5. In order to speak English well, it is important for me to learn grammar.
- 6. It doesn't matter if I make mistakes when speaking with others in English.
- 7. In order to learn well, it is important for me to review what I have been taught in the English class.
- 8. I should be able to understand everything I read in English.
- 9. In order to learn well, it is important for me to try to think about my progress in English.
- 10. I can learn well by listing to radio or watching TV in English.
- 11. Memorisation is a good way for me to learn English.
- 12. I can learn English well by living in an English-speaking country (e.g., U.S.A.).
- 13. I can learn English well by following a textbook.
- 14. I should not be forced to speak in the English class.
- 15. I can learn English well if I am studying just for pleasure.
- 16. I am satisfied with my progress in English so far.
- 17. I would like my English teacher to explain important things in my first language so I can understand everything.
- 18. I can learn English well in a class where the teacher maintains good discipline.
- 19. I can learn well by using English outside class.
- 20. I should be able to understand everything the teacher says in the English class.
- 21. It's okay to guess if I do not know a word in English.
- 22. I can learn well by reading English magazines or newspapers.
- 23. It is possible for me to learn to speak English very well.
- 24. I can learn well if I try to think in English.
- 25. In order to speak English well, it is important for me to learn vocabulary.
- 26. It is possible for me not to get nervous when speaking English.
- 27. I would like my English teacher to correct all my mistakes.

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What Do We Know About the Language Learning Motivation of University Students in Japan? Some Patterns in Survey Studies

Kay Irie

Temple University Japan

This review identifies patterns of motivation exhibited by Japanese university students by examining a representative selection of survey studies that have mainly employed factor analysis and which have been conducted since 1990. This collection of surveys includes works published in Japanese. Two sets of contrasting motivational concepts highlight the recurring patterns: (a) instrumental and integrative motivation and (b) mastery and performance goal orientation. The research suggests that Japanese university students appreciate a utilitarian value of learning English, and have an interest in communicating with native speakers of the target language. While performance orientation may be important, mastery orientation has been shown to relate more strongly to the use of strategies. The review also demonstrates the relevance and limitations of these constructs.

本論では1990年以降に発表された日本人大学生の言語学習モチベーション(L2 motivation)に関するアンケート調査(日本語で発表されたものを含む)の報告にみられる傾向を検証する。理解を助ける為、二組の概念が用いられる。一つはすでによく知られているガードナーの道具的及び統合的動機、もう一つは比較的新しいマスタリーとパフォーマンス志向である。先行研究によると日本人学生は英語学習の道具的な価値を認め、旅行やNSとの交流に興味を持っていることがわかる。パフォーマンス志向の存在が認められるもののマスタリー志向の方がより強く学習ストラテジーの使用と関連性があると報告されている。本稿ではこれらのモチベーション概念が日本人大学生の動機づけを理解する上での妥当性及び限界考察する。尚、現在の言語学習モチベーションにおける因子分析の役割についても言及する。

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Motivation has long been regarded as crucially important in second/ foreign language (L2) learning, and has therefore attracted considerable research interest. The seminal line of research by Gardner and associates in Canada in the 1970s has been expanded to the rest of the world by others as evidenced most recently by the contributions in Dörnyei and Schmidt (2001) and has continued to develop in Japan (e.g. Benson, 1991; Berwick & Ross, 1989; Horino & Ichikawa, 1997; Johnson, 1996; Kimura, Nakata, & Okumura, 2001; Kubo, 1999; McClelland, 2000; McGuire, 2000; Miyahara, Namoto, Yamanaka, Murakami, Kinoshita, & Yamamoto, 1997; Nakata, 1999; Yamamoto, 1993; Yamashiro & McLaughlin, 2000; and Yashima, 2000). The research in Japan, largely at the post-secondary level, has for the most part focused on identifying the underlying structures of L2 motivation in Japanese EFL contexts. Methodologically, the Japanese research has generally followed the earlier studies in employing factor analysis. The purpose of this paper is to make available to a wider audience the developments since 1990 in L2 motivation research in Japan, including works written in Japanese, in the hope of clarifying what we know to date about the L2 motivation of EFL university students in Japan, as well as indicating directions for future research.

First, I will introduce the two sets of contrasting motivational concepts chosen to highlight the recurring patterns in the selected L2 motivation studies, one familiar and the other relatively new in the field of L2 motivation research: (a) instrumental and integrative motivation and (b) mastery and performance goal orientation. An explanation will be given as to why I have chosen these particular distinctions despite the former having been criticized by various scholars (e.g. Au, 1988; Dörnyei, 1990; Oxford & Shearin, 1994) and despite the latter resembling the well-known pairing of intrinsic and extrinsic motivation. This will be followed by a brief explanation of factor analysis, the research tool used in most studies reviewed, and a discussion of specific findings on the L2 motivation of Japanese university students related to the selected concepts.

Two Sets of Motivational Concepts: Familiar and New *Instrumental and Integrative Motivation*

The first set of concepts that thread together some of the current findings of L2 motivation studies in Japan is instrumental and integrative motivation. Nearly all survey studies have included items intended to

measure these two best known concepts of Gardner's work. Both refer to types of desires related to learning an L2. Integrative motivation originally referred to a desire to assimilate into the target language (TL) community (Gardner & Lambert, 1972). Recently it has been interpreted more broadly as a general positive disposition towards TL cultures and speakers (Gardner, 2001). Instrumental motivation refers to a desire to gain such benefits as getting a better job or passing an entrance exam.

Based on the results of vast empirical research in Canada using his socio-educational model, Gardner (1985, 2001) emphasizes the importance of integrativeness, as he considers being indispensable for the development of near-native level proficiency. Although the concept of integrative motivation has intuitive appeal and is backed by empirical research, the model has been criticized for the inconsistent use of the terms "motivation" and "orientation" and the limitation of the integrative-instrumental dichotomous view (e.g., Crookes & Schmidt, 1991; Dörnyei, 1994a, 1994b). Since most of Gardner's research has been in second language (SL) contexts, Dörnyei (1990) held the position that Gardner's concepts of integrative and instrumental motivation lacked relevance to foreign language (FL) learning contexts. FL learners are usually not exposed much to TL cultures or speakers and often their aim is to make friends or do business with other nonnative speakers. Thus, in Dörnvei's view, integrative motivation in FL learning contexts is determined by "a general disposition toward language learning and the values the target language conveys" (p. 65) rather than attitudes toward the TL community. Based on a study in a monolingual EFL context in Hungary, Dörnyei (1990, 1994a) also pointed out the overlap between integrative and instrumental motivation in FL learning contexts because emigration to and studying in a TL community is often associated with career-related goals.

Despite the controversy surrounding these terms, instrumental and integrative motivation have still been the largest common denominators of the Japanese survey studies from the 1990s to the present. A review of the research on these concepts will help us to understand some characteristics of the L2 motivation of Japanese university students. At the same time, the review will show some limitations of the concepts as mutually exclusive categories into which Japanese learners' motivation can be divided.

Mastery and Performance Goal Orientation

Mastery and performance orientation, the second set of concepts, are rather new in the field of L2 motivation research although they are the two major concepts in goal orientation theories in motivational psychology. These concepts were originally developed by developmental and educational psychologists to explain children's behavior in school. Considering that English is taught as a school subject in Japan, it may be advisable to consider the Pintrich and Schunk (1996) suggestion that goal orientation theories represent "the most relevant and applicable goal theory for understanding and improving learning and instruction" (p. 233). These two concepts overlap to some extent with the two well-known concepts, intrinsic and extrinsic motivation. Mastery goal orientation can be considered a contemporary view of intrinsic motivation with a focus on personal cognitive goals in educational learning situations (Pintrich & Schunk, 1996). The concept of intrinsicextrinsic motivation focuses on reasons for doing the task. Intrinsically motivated people engage in tasks for the joy of doing them or to satisfy their curiosity (Dörnyei, 2001b). Extrinsically motivated people engage in tasks to receive an external reward (Dörnyei, 2001b). On the other hand, mastery-oriented learners focus on the value of learning itself, for personal growth, more than on whether or not they enjoy learning. Thus they tend to choose challenging tasks and view errors as opportunities for learning (Dweck, 2000). Also, central is the belief that effort will lead to success (Dörnyei, 2001b). Performance-oriented learners engage in tasks to demonstrate to others their worth or competence. Their goal is set on a performance level: to get high grades, to win recognition of their significant others, or to do better than other students. Thus, they tend to avoid problems that are too hard but prefer tasks that are just hard enough to convey an impression of competence (Dweck, 2000).

Mastery and performance goal orientations have been empirically investigated in connection to a wide range of cognitive, affective, and behavioral outcomes in educational psychology and the research provides rich implications for ways to consciously raise students' motivation in the classroom (e.g. Dörnyei, 2001b; Pintrich & Schunk, 1996; for specific motivational strategies, see Dörnyei, 2001a). In this light, although no specific studies have as yet addressed mastery and performance goal orientation in Japanese L2 motivation studies, these orientations should be of value toward interpreting findings in previous studies.

What Can Factor Analysis Tell Us?

One way of understanding a multifaceted construct such as motivation is to identify a set of relevant underlying components. Most of the studies reviewed in this paper attempted to accomplish this by employing a statistical procedure called factor analysis. According to Kachigan (1991), factor analysis is a technique used to simplify a set of data by "clustering a large number of variables into a smaller number of homogeneous sets and creating a new variable "a *factor* representing each of these sets." By simplifying the data in this way, "we are more likely to gain insight into our subject matter" (p. 238).

In L2 motivation research employing questionnaires, this usually means analyzing responses to items such as "I want to make foreign friends," "I enjoy speaking with native speakers," or "I like to correspond with foreign pen pals" in order to find underlying commonalities. A factor analysis can demonstrate that respondents who strongly agree with the first item will by and large agree with the other two as well. It is thus both sensible and empirically justifiable to group these items together and give them a collective label, such as Integrative Orientation. The end product of a factor analysis is a factor matrix which shows the correlations, called *factor loadings*, between the newly derived factors and the questionnaire items which comprise them. Factor loadings can range from -1.00 to +1.00, and indicate the strength of the relationship, negative or positive, between an item and its factor. (For more details on the role of factor analysis in L2 motivation research, see Dörnyei, 2001b; for factor analysis in general, Kachigan, 1991.)

It is difficult to simply compare the factor structures of different studies, as the results depend on the items entered into each analysis and the labeling of factors is ultimately subjective. Nevertheless, we can highlight some patterns when we compare those studies using questionnaires with similar items administered to learners in similar contexts (Dörnyei, 2001b; Schmidt, Boraie, & Kassabgy, 1996). Thus, the recurring factors pointed out in this review are selected not only for the labels applied to them by the original researchers, but also for the similarities of the items.

Instrumental and Integrative Motivation of Japanese Learners

It will be apparent in the subsequent discussion that integrative motivation among Japanese EFL university students is not identified in research as clearly as instrumental motivation. Most studies on Japanese Perspectives 91

university students report a factor indicating positive disposition towards native speakers and the cultures of the TL community. One can interpret this as a form of integrative motivation, and indeed researchers refer to the concept by acknowledging the similarity to Gardner's expanded definition: positive attitudes towards TL communities and TL speakers, without a desire to assimilate into them (Gardner, 1985, 2001). However, the researchers avoid using integrative motivation as a label, as they believe the factor does not fit the original definition. Another possible reason for avoiding the label is that in many studies the positive disposition factor included items on utilitarian interests, such as travelling, which blurred the distinction between integrative and instrumental motivation as pointed out by Dörnyei (1990, 1994a).

Presence of Instrumental Motivation

Not surprisingly, Japanese university students seem to value the importance of English as a means to an end. A factor comprised of instrumental reasons has emerged in most studies of the L2 motivation of Japanese university students (e.g., Johnson, 1996; McGuire, 2000; Miyahara et al., 1997; Yashima, 2000). In their large cross-sectional study including a wide range of Japanese learners of English from junior high school to university students and language school adult learners, Kimura, et al., (2001) found that the instrumental motivation of Japanese learners of English (N = 1,027) is mostly related either to career or examinations. Its relation to the students' effort and proficiency will be discussed later in comparison with that of integrative motivation in Japanese EFL contexts.

Desire for Cross-Cultural Communication: Is it Instrumental or Integrative?

One of the most noticeable recurring patterns found in Japanese EFL university contexts is a positive orientation to foreign travel without any apparent desire to integrate into the TL culture (e.g. Benson, 1991; Berwick & Ross, 1989; Johnson, 1996; McClelland, 2000; McGuire, 2000). Fotos (1994) considers that "the desire for travel and encounter with global culture represents the new *instrumental* [italics added] motivation, indicating a personal orientation towards international experience for self-actualization in global society" (p. 50). However, recent studies seem to indicate that this travel orientation may have more in common with integrative motivation than instrumental motivation.

In their large multi-level study mentioned above, Kimura et al. (2001) labeled their first factor Intrinsic-Instrumental-Integrative Motive and their second factor Extrinsic-Instrumental Motive. The items dealing with traveling and studying overseas originally posited as instrumental, loaded on Factor 1. This indicates that these items regarding traveling and studying overseas have more in common with integrative and intrinsic items than the other instrumental or extrinsic items which clustered on Factor 2.

The desire for overseas experience may be common to university students in other EFL contexts in Asia. Miyahara et al. (1997) carried out a large-scale study, which compared not only motivation but also various other aspects of English learning of university students in China, Korea, and Japan (N = 1.781). In the data from all three countries, the researchers found a factor representing a general interest in travelling and making friends with people of TL communities and they labeled it Personal Communication. It is intriguing that the researchers also found the original type of integrative motivation (labeled Integrative Motivation), a desire to become integrated into the TL communities in the Chinese and Korean samples, in addition to the Personal Communication factor. On the other hand, their Integrative Motivation factor did not emerge in the Japanese sample. Integrative Motivation in the Chinese and Korean data was composed of such items as "I want to marry someone from an English speaking country," "I am attracted to cultures of English speaking countries," and "I want to work professionally in English speaking countries." Thus, the Chinese and Korean students seem to exhibit two different levels of positive attitudes toward cultures and people of English speaking countries. The researchers conclude that the integrative motivation of Japanese university students is defined by a general positive interest in traveling and communicating with people from English speaking countries. Unlike their Chinese and Korean counterparts however, there was no strong desire to learn English in order to integrate into TL communities, as in the original sense of integrative motivation.

Instrumental and Integrative Motivation in Relation to Proficiency

When it comes to learning behaviors and proficiency, no clear patterns of correlation are found with either instrumental or integrative motivation. In her study of 389 first-year Information Science majors, Yashima (2000) reports a moderate correlation between a factor called Instrumental Orientation and TOEFL (r = .31). However, in Johnson

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(1996), a factor labeled Work correlated only marginally with proficiency scores on midterm examinations (r = .19) in a sample of 204 first-year students of various majors in communication skills classes. Still, the importance of instrumental motivation in FL learning contexts pointed out by Dörnyei (1990) and Okada, Oxford, and Abo (1996) is demonstrated by its high correlations with strength of motivation measures (r = .72 in Yashima, r = .60 in Johnson).

Integrative motivation is also an important measure which may explain the Japanese students' lowest and the Chinese students' highest average of proficiency among the three Asian countries compared in Miyahara et al. (1997). Dörnyei (1990) suggests that instrumental motivation plays a significant role in the attainment of an intermediate level of proficiency in FL learning contexts, but for the levels beyond, positive attitudes towards the TL cultures are necessary. The strongest factor in the Japanese university students' data was labeled as Instrumental Motivation, although we have no way of knowing the level of proficiency. In addition, Miyahara et al. claim that those Japanese students who scored above and below the mean of the proficiency measures (TOEFL-based listening, structure, vocabulary, reading tests) significantly differ in the factor score of Instrumental Motivation. The factor correlates only minimally with listening comprehension (r = .10) and does not correlate with any of the proficiency measures of other skill areas.

On the other hand, Yashima (2000) reports that learners who are both instrumentally and integratively motivated are likely to show better learning behaviors. The factors labeled Instrumental and Intercultural Friendship were found to be fairly good predictors of motivation (effort and desire to learn) through multiple regression, a statistical procedure used to identify unique contributions of each factor to the variable of interest and a combination of factors that can best account for the variance. The analysis indicated that 62% of the variance could be explained by the combination of both instrumental and integrative factors. Using path analysis, a technique related to multiple regression analysis that allows us to chronologically model influences of preceding events on the variable of interest. Yashima concludes that these instrumental and integrative reasons for learning can affect proficiency only through the mediation of effort and desire to learn. This pattern is also reported in Yamashiro and McLaughlin's (2000) study of a total of 220 junior college students majoring in English and four-year university students majoring in law and politics. In their study they used another advanced statistical procedure, structural equation modeling (SEM) in which cause-effect

relationships can be tested on correlational data (Dörnyei, 2001b). Both studies offer partial support for Gardner's socio-educational model and its applicability in Japanese EFL contexts. That is, learners' attitudes toward and reasons for learning English affect learning behavior, which in turn contribute to proficiency in Japanese university contexts.

Mastery and Performance Goal Orientations of Japanese Learners

Since no previous study in Japanese EFL contexts has yet investigated mastery and performance goal orientation in L2 motivation, these labels have not been applied by researchers either to scales or to factors. However, a close examination of items forming some factors reported and studies involving related goal-orientation concepts suggest the relevance of a mastery and performance goal orientation.

Mastery Goal Orientation-Development of Proficiency as a Goal

One of the factors that Miyahara and his colleagues (1997) found across the data from Japanese and Korean universities pertained to the desire for further development of proficiency in English. The factor was labeled Desired Development of Total Language Proficiency (DDTLP). They suggest that the desire to develop proficiency itself can be a goal for learning English in EFL contexts. Many of the items included in this factor reflect a desire to improve fluency or competence in English. In other words, the reason for learning English is precisely to become better in English. This comes close to the concept of mastery orientation as summarized in Pintrich and Schunk (1996): success is defined by improvement, progress, mastery, and learning itself. Adopting the questionnaire used in Miyahara et al. (1997), Yamamoto (1993) also found a factor with a similar composition of items in the data of 268 second-year university students.

In the field of motivational psychology, mastery orientation is usually associated with intrinsic interest in learning, choice of challenging tasks, and higher levels of achievement. It is generally considered to facilitate learning as it is considered to be *adaptive*: students attribute their success to their own effort, which they believe they have control of and they therefore keep on trying. In the Japanese EFL context, the adaptive pattern of mastery orientation has not been fully demonstrated for achievement in English as a school subject for overall proficiency. While Miyahara et al. (1997) found almost no correlation between the factor DDTLP and various proficiency measures of the Japanese and Korean

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students, Yamamoto (1993) reports a significant correlation of DDTLP with the results of reading and listening tests (r = .375).

Performance Goal Orientation—The Importance of Doing Well

Performance goal orientation, a counterpart of mastery goal orientation, may also be able to explain a part of Japanese students' motivation. Performance orientation is usually associated with a desire for high grades (status) and better performance than others.

In McGuire's (2000) study, a factor he called External Influence is composed of six items which represent characteristics of performance goals: "It is important for me to do better than the others in class"; "I want to do well in this class because it is important to show my ability to my significant others"; "The main reason I need to learn English is to pass examinations"; "The main reason I am taking this class is that my significant others want me to improve my English"; "Being able to speak English will add to my social status"; and "I expect to do well because I am good at learning English." These items originally belonged to the subscales of Intrinsic Motivation, Personal Goals, and Expectancy/ Control Components. The inclusion of a classic instrumental motivation item on passing exams indicates some overlap between instrumental motivation and performance orientation. Since McGuire found the External Influence factor in both the Osaka and Nagoya group data analyzed separately, it may be that a performance orientation is a widespread aspect of the L2 motivation of Japanese university students. If this is found to be true, the concept may shed some light on many Japanese university students' underachievement and apathy in learning English, because a performance orientation is usually associated with maladaptive, helpless patterns of attribution. When performanceoriented students experience failure, they tend to attribute their failure to lack of ability, which they believe cannot be changed. Therefore, they are inclined to do the minimum necessary to avoid losing face, feeling that nothing they can do will lead to mastery (Pintrich & Schunk, 1996).

Goal Orientations and Better Use of Learning Strategies

An association between mastery-goal orientation and better use of learning strategies was suggested in Kubo's (1999) study of 330 first- and second-year non-English majors at national universities. The study was based on an open-ended survey in which Japanese university students were asked to reflect on their reasons for studying in high school. In her

study, she regarded the use of learning strategies as representing motivational behavior. Utilizing SEM, Kubo tested her orientation-appraisal model to explain causal relationships among fulfillment-training (FT) and pride-reward (PR) orientations, cognitive appraisal (self-evaluation of learning skills and cost of learning), learning behavior (study time and use of strategies), and performance (a vocabulary and cloze test) of EFL university students. The model hypothesizes that students' reasons for learning and cognitive self-appraisal would influence learning behavior which would further affect performance. Under the FT orientation, learners attach value to the content of their learning, whereas under PR orientation they value rewards and self-esteem. These closely parallel the concepts of mastery orientation and performance orientation (for details on FT and PR orientation featured in the two-factor model of learning motivation, see Ichikawa, 1995).

Kubo (1999) found that an FT orientation generally associates with other motivational variables. In the structural equation models presented, only FT orientation covaried with cognitive appraisals and contributed to learning behavior for both liberal arts and science majors. When correlations among all variables were examined, FT orientation significantly correlated with all the other variables. On the other hand, PR orientation correlated only with use of general learning strategies (r = .21 to .30) and less than FT orientation did (r = .50 to .51). This pattern was in agreement with a finding of Horino and Ichikawa (1997) concerning high school students' motivation for learning English. In their study, 20 to 32% of the variance in the use of strategies was accounted for by FT-oriented reasons for learning but not by any of the PR-oriented reasons. In other words, mastery-oriented learners seem more likely to employ learning strategies than performance-oriented learners.

Assuming the use of learning strategies is positively related to motivation (i.e. Okada, Oxford, & Abo, 1996; Schmidt, Boraie, & Kassabgy, 1996), this finding is in line with the view that mastery orientation is superior to performance goals as the former is associated with adaptive learner characteristics. As many educational psychologists such as Dweck (2000) and Pintrich and Schunk (1996) suggest, teachers should focus on a mastery orientation and foster the belief that ability is changeable and controllable. This is to encourage students to value their own efforts. Therefore, it is important for teachers to recognize students' efforts. At the same time, the value of learning the content must be emphasized. In FL learning settings, Dörnyei (2001a, 2001b) suggests showing the relevance of materials and lessons to actual language use.

Discussion and Future Directions

To summarize, current research suggests that Japanese university students are likely to appreciate the instrumental value in learning English for exams and a career, and also to have an interest in making contacts with native speakers of English and visiting their countries. This interest appears to be different from the traditional type of integrative motivation, the desire to integrate into a TL community, and may be common to university students in other Asian EFL contexts. Both instrumental motivation and a positive disposition towards TL speakers and cultures influence proficiency positively through effort and a desire to learn. The L2 motivation of Japanese university students may be partially explained also by the concept of mastery orientation in which a goal for learning English is to become more proficient, as well as the often counterbalancing performance orientation whose goals include meeting the expectations of significant others and feeling superior to others. A mastery goal orientation may actually have a positive association with the use of learning strategies, regarded as positive cognitive outcomes of the adaptive pattern reinforced by the orientation (Pintrich & Schunk, 1996).

We have looked at what has been reported in a representative selection of motivation studies, and identified similar patterns in a number of studies using two sets of concepts. In order for these recurring patterns to be fully recognized as constructs describing aspects of Japanese university students' motivation, in the future the use of factor analysis should be shifted to confirming the patterns suggested in earlier studies. At the same time, it should be remembered that factor structures can describe only the items submitted to the analysis. Since many of these studies were based on Gardner's Attitudes and Motivation Test Battery (AMTB), it is not surprising that the emerging factors are strongly related to instrumental and integrative motivation. Similarly, studies derived from intrinsic and extrinsic motivation, and goal-related theories have the necessary items for generating mastery and goal orientation factors. If one of our goals is to capture the characteristics of the L2 motivation of Japanese EFL learners in university or in general, we need to keep looking for the most appropriate constructs that function as common denominators across studies and between different learning contexts.

The present review also demonstrates a need to tighten definitions of the constructs under investigation. This concerns not merely pinning

down the core components but also how each construct overlaps with others and how they interact with each other. For example, the travel orientation has demonstrated the limited value of the dichotomous view of integrative and instrumental motivation. This overlapping orientation was found to be clearly differentiated from the original concept of integrative motivation in Chinese and Korean contexts. The overlap between instrumental motivation and performance orientation was also pointed out. In addition, the current research has not yet found a way to investigate how different types of motivation including goal orientations coexist and interplay within each learner.

The lack of other types of research besides questionnaire-based studies calls for a diversification of data collection and analysis. Despite the concern previously expressed by various researchers (e.g. Fotos, 1994; Kimura et al., 2001; Nakata, 1999), qualitative studies employing observations and interviews are still scarce in Japanese L2 motivation research. In addition, the majority of the previous studies are cross-sectional. Longitudinal studies should provide us with opportunities to investigate L2 motivation as a dynamic process.

L2 motivation is both a well-established and rapidly growing area of research in Japan. However, we can see that much more time and continuous effort will be required for understanding this complex multifaceted phenomenon. I believe that this can be facilitated by researchers from different academic circles exchanging ideas among themselves. I hope the present paper has provided an opportunity to draw attention to what has been reported previously in Japanese contexts and has stimulated further interest in the field.

Acknowledgement

My sincere thanks go to Dr. Mark Sawyer of Kwansei Gakuin University for his generous and valuable guidance. I would also like to thank Steve McGuire, Jim Sick, Michael Snyder, and the two anonymous reviewers of JALT Journal for their constructive feedback.

Kay Irie is an Ed.D. candidate in the TESOL program at Temple University Japan. Her research interests include individual differences, particularly the role of attitudes and motivation. She is currently teaching part time at Showa Women's Junior College. <kayirie@mac.com>.

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Reviews

Intercultural Business Communication. Robert Gibson. Oxford University Press, 2002. xii + 111 pp.

Reviewed by Peter J. Farrell Hosei University

This book is one volume in a series called *Oxford Handbooks for Language Teachers*. The series is intended as a reference for language teachers and teacher trainers, as well as a source for seminars and courses for teachers. *Intercultural Business Communication* introduces the growing field of intercultural business communication to educators and business people. Basic theories of intercultural communication are discussed, together with numerous studies, which illustrate many factors that facilitate cross-cultural communication in business. The author, Robert Gibson, is a leader in intercultural training at Siemens Qualification and Training in Munich, Germany.

The book consists of five chapters. The first is an argument for the importance of intercultural communication awareness. In addition to the obvious problems that can arise from nationality and linguistic differences, other cultural differences such as between corporations and professions are also mentioned. The second chapter is an introduction to the research and concepts of intercultural communication. Key writers and their cross-cultural research are surveyed, thus presenting a range of topics such as body language, turn-taking, directness, attitudes toward time, power, and rules. Chapter 3 concerns business communication issues across cultures, including the role of the manager, negotiating, and giving presentations. It does not focus on particular cultures, but rather informs the reader of the kinds of questions to consider when communicating between cultures. Chapter 4 directs reflection by the reader on his or her own culture, as well as offering numerous communication scenarios to consider. Chapter 5 presents a list of ideas to think about when planning an intercultural communication training program.

At first glance, this book might be misunderstood. For those readers looking for practical advice to solve their intercultural business

problems, the book will be a disappointment. Gibson has written an introduction to an academic field. It is intended to promote initial awareness and understanding. It serves better as an introductory reading in a training course rather than as a useful reference for a particular intercultural context. There are, however, excellent suggested reading lists throughout the book.

Although this book is intended to encourage self-awareness and reflection on intercultural business communication, the lack of guidance can be frustrating to the reader eager for answers. Despite numerous excellent example scenarios with analyses of why communication broke down, Gibson rarely offers suggestions for solutions. Sometimes the scenarios are followed simply by the question, "What would you do in this situation?" At certain points he states that people should not attempt to change themselves too much, but this is not explained sufficiently. Furthermore, the self-awareness activities are rather sparse. Since this book is also intended to be used in self-awareness programs, it could have included more specific activities.

One strength of the book is its clear writing. Gibson's explanations of concepts are simple and straightforward, without being patronizing or oversimplified. He also generally avoids extensive jargon. When he does use technical terms, the glossary is helpful. There are abundant graphs and illustrations to explain recent research, as well as numerous examples of cases and problems, which the reader is invited to consider. However, a shortcoming of this simplified approach is that often ideas are not fully explained, such as in the section about negotiating. Despite the many illustrations and graphs, several are not explained at all, and it is not apparent what they represent. In addition, the final chapter on setting up a cross-cultural training program needs more development, as very little substantial advice is given for possible training.

Nevertheless, this book serves as an enjoyable and intelligent introduction to the study of intercultural communication. While some of the concepts might seem obvious to any experienced expatriate worker, such a reader might still find the book useful in its clarification of research issues and confirmation of hunches. Many of the research findings are surprising and belie traditional stereotypes about misunderstandings. Gibson avoids the convenient categorization of the world into the East and West so common in the media. Some of the most enlightening examples of misunderstandings come from communication breakdown between "Westerners" of different cultures. This book can help one ask the right questions when considering a communication problem. It is an enlightening book to read.

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Individual Freedom in Language Teaching. Christopher Brumfit. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001. 207 pp.

Reviewed by
Tim Knight
Gakushuin Women's University

In this book, Christopher Brumfit delivers ambitiously, but succinctly, an extensive overview of issues pertaining to language in education. For many postgraduate EFL and ESL teachers, his name will be familiar at least for having discussed the distinction between accuracy and fluency in language learning (Brumfit, 1984). In compiling this book, he draws on more than 20 years of careful thought and experience in the field. The title may be misleading. It is not about project work and other practical ways of promoting autonomy for learners. However, it does use practical examples in its consideration of the roles of teachers and learners within the educational systems they operate. A caveat is that the book is written from a British perspective, shown explicitly by one part called "Language in British education" and a chapter entitled "British cultural studies."

The book is divided into six parts, each with between one and three chapters. Part 1 is called "Language and education" and in the first chapter, Brumfit sets out the ground he is going to cover. The third chapter of that section is a valuable discussion of the pros and cons of "Simplification and the teacher." As the author says, "…all simplification betrays somebody; but having no simplification betrays everybody to confused communication. Teachers have to learn to resolve this paradox in their professional practice" (p. 37).

This leads in to the short, but useful, part 2, entitled "Second language learning." Another reviewer, Maley (2002), has said this part does "not break new ground" (p. 335), but the first chapter, especially, ""Teaching communicative competence" will be useful to many teachers because it goes to the heart of what we try to do. It is helpful in defining terms such as communicative competence and the various ways they are used by different people in the field of applied linguistics.

The other section of the book of most interest is part 6, called "Research and understanding." Brumfit sets out a rationale for research and outlines various procedures and techniques available to researchers, who, Brumfit argues, should include teachers. He realizes, however, that as "...research is a type of contemplation (however systematic) while

teaching is a type of action" (p. 153), it is often difficult to combine the two. His discussion openly reveals his mixed feelings about the necessity for teachers to do research in order to gain more understanding of their learners. Although he argues that "a research perspective towards our work will always be desirable, in all places and under all conditions" (p. 157), he recognizes that "...many competent teachers reflect very little...without failing to be teachers. Good teaching is entirely possible without a researching perspective on the part of the teacher" (p. 154).

"Language in British education," the title of part 3, sounds narrow but even those with no particular interest in the topic will benefit from skimming it, especially the section that describes language in society. Readers with a particular interest in the topic of part 4, "Literature and education" will find it too short. However, Brumfit does address important considerations regarding literature and the canon.

Part 5, "The politics of language teaching," summarizes many of the points in the growing body of work on language rights in socially and linguistically underprivileged communities and the position of English in the world.

Brumfit's conclusion is that "What applied linguistics needs...is a plurality of approaches" (p. 186). The applied linguistics field has developed in such a way over the last 30 or 40 years that sniping and dismissive criticisms have been fired by camps interested in different and often mismatched aspects. Brumfit concludes that there needs to be communication and respectful criticism between the different approaches.

This book assumes a fairly advanced level of knowledge of the field. It is heavy on references and the arguments are densely presented. It is therefore not a racy read: it is, however, a rewarding one, particularly as a theoretical and conceptual overview, which is wherein its value lies.

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Phonetics. Peter Roach. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001. X + 116 pp.

Reviewed by
Mathew White
Chukyo University

This book is one of the latest contributions to the *Oxford Introductions to Language Study* series. Editor H.G. Widdowson states the aim of the series as "providing access to specialist knowledge and stimulating an awareness of its significance" (p. x). About the size of a graded reader, the emphasis is on *introduction*. Roach succeeds in writing a book capable of whetting the appetite for phonetics and for an increasing awareness of related issues, without burdening the reader with an excessive amount of technical jargon. When specialist language is necessary it is highlighted in bold, indicating that a succinct definition can be found in the glossary.

However, as Widdowson points out in the preface, this is not the *Idiot's Guide to Phonetics* nor was it meant to meet the needs of language teachers or enthusiasts trying to troubleshoot pronunciation problems. Instead, it is an up-to-date introductory survey on phonetics, designed for those who find the more specialist texts overwhelming.

Following the structure maintained for the entire series, the book consists of four sections; survey, readings, references, and glossary. The survey provides a foundation to phonetics, reminiscent of what one might have experienced in a certificate course in TEFL. This section makes up the bulk of the book, consisting of nine chapters including the "Science of Speech" and "Sounds in Systems." In conjunction with the glossary, the survey section informs the reader of the latest terms preferred by specialists in the field, such as the tendency to replace the name "Received Pronunciation" (RP) with "BBC Accent" when referring to the supposed standard accent of English. Specialists often employ such terms in journals, books, and presentations to the dismay of those less familiar with the subject. If you are unable to distinguish between the terms "accent" and "dialect," you will probably find thumbing through this book helpful.

Reading through the first chapter, I felt the survey does not provide enough detail to acquaint a novice with the revised *Chart of the International Phonetic Alphabet*. Roach does give additional support in the seven pages on classification comprising chapter 3. However, it is

unlikely that the inclusion of the chart will be of much use to those just becoming familiar with the subject. Again, the focus is on introduction. Chapter 5 provides a refreshingly clear and succinct discussion on suprasegmentals. Roach explains terms such as stress, intonation (with particularly clear illustrations on pitch), and rhythm, while identifying current issues, such as the stress-timed and syllable-timed claims made about English.

I particularly appreciated the inclusion of a graded bibliography. Comments in the reference section classify books for further reading into three levels of difficulty, with a grading system easily interpretable by beginners. However, each chapter is supported with only three suggested further readings. This is unfortunate, as the author undoubtedly could have provided a more extensive list of recommendations.

The real nagging question is who would be the ideal audience for this book. It might be adequate for someone who would like to wade in the shallow end of phonetics before being thrown into the deep end by readings for an M.A. course. I do find it hard to believe someone would pick up a book on phonetics for light reading. If you are familiar with Roach, and you have already read his *English Phonetics and Phonology* (2000), you are unlikely to find anything you have not previously heard or read. On the other hand, if you are just stepping into the world of phonetics, this might be a way to test the waters before plunging in.

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The Atoms of Language: The Mind's Hidden Rules of Grammar. Mark C. Baker. New York: Basic Books, 2001. xi + 276 pp.

Reviewed by David Cozy Shonan International Women's Junior College

In *The Atoms of Language* Mark C. Baker sets out to account for the apparent differences among the world's many languages and, more importantly, for the significant similarities these surface differences can serve to conceal. As early as the book's enticing opening pages, Baker

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begins to sketch out the analogy suggested by the title. Just as we have learned to accept that "all the multifarious materials we find around us are made up of a mere 100 different kinds of atoms in various arrangements, "we must," he suggests, "learn to understand that differences in languages also result from the interaction among a small number of discrete factors called parameters" (p. ix). These parameters, Baker argues, are the atoms of language. That Baker elects to use chemistry, a discipline with which readers may be even less familiar than the one he hopes to elucidate, may seem an odd choice. So lucid are his explanations in these early chapters, though, that his extended analogy which, he later admits, has its limits, allows him to illustrate and illuminate many issues, which might otherwise perplex the layperson.

By employing this analogy, Baker is able to help us to understand that things which appear very different can, in fact, be quite similar. No one, for example, would mistake hydrogen peroxide (H₂O₂) for water (H₂O), but the actual difference between them is the single additional atom of oxygen in the hydrogen peroxide molecule. Likewise, a language such as Mohawk, on its surface entirely different from English, is in fact not so distant from English as it appears. Baker explains that, although "zero percent of actual Mohawk sentences have the same structure as their English counterparts," these substantial surface differences are traceable back to a change in the setting of just one parameter, the poly synthesis parameter (p. 114). Baker defines a parameter as "a choice point in the general recipe for human language...an ingredient that can be added in order to make one kind of language or left out in order to make another kind" (p. 57). In determining the setting of the poly synthesis parameter, English and Mohawk have made different choices, and this one small difference—a difference which is, one might say, of about the same significance as that of a single atom in a chemical compound-accounts for (along with the languages' entirely different vocabularies) the incommensurability of English and Mohawk as they are actually spoken.

Just as chemistry, however, is not primarily concerned with elements in isolation but rather with "how those elements combine into a myriad of mixtures, alloys, and compounds whose properties are complex functions of their atomic parts" (p. 123), neither is linguistics primarily concerned with single parameters in isolation. Rather, to fully explain a language, it is necessary to examine the interactions between the several parameters, which, typically, combine to establish the basic properties of the grammar of a language. In chapter 5, drawing on examples from

a wide range of languages, Baker discusses in detail these sorts of interactions.

Still employing the analogy he has drawn between chemistry and linguistics Baker explains in the penultimate chapter what he understands to be the state of linguistics today. He believes that linguistics, a much younger discipline than chemistry, is at about the point at which chemistry was in the mid-nineteenth century when Mendeleev organized the known elements into the systematic arrangement we call the Periodic Table. The important thing to note about this table is that though it was incomplete—not all the elements had, in Mendeleev's time, been identified—it predicted the existence of those unknown entities: there were spaces left open for them. Likewise, as linguists have identified some—but not all—of the parameters which define the grammar of a language, Baker argues that linguistics is ready for its Mendeleev, a figure or figures who will organize the atoms of language—parameters—into a comprehensive system with, one hopes, predictive ability comparable to that of Mendeleev's Table. Baker goes on to explain in some detail how one might go about constructing such a catalog, and even, takes a tentative stab at doing so himself.

The book's concluding chapter is the most speculative, the most polemical and, therefore, the most interesting. Here Baker focuses on the key question: "Why are there parameters?" (p. 199). He believes that this question is as yet unanswered, and for a good reason: It lies outside of our current competence. "Our understanding of the nature of human beings," he writes, "seems to be short at least one major idea" (p. 230). Until this new idea, this shifted paradigm, emerges—if it emerges—Baker urges that, rather than being shoe-horned into what he calls "the current intellectual world's broad explanatory paradigms: the political dynamics of cultural transmission and the cultural dynamics of evolutionary biology," the question should remain a question (p. 200). This seems sensible, and even placing this fundamental conundrum to one side (just as physics has placed questions about the origin and meaning of the universe to one side), one is sure that Baker and his colleagues will have their work cut out for them identifying and describing additional parameters and, if Baker's project is embraced, organizing them into a linguistic version of the Periodic Table.

The Atoms of Language is an excellent introduction to the work which has been done, and which has yet to be done, in the area of parametric theory.

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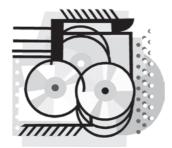
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