

ISSN 0287-2420

¥750

昭和五十四年四月三十一日 第三種郵便物認可
第十五卷 第一号 平成五年五月二日発行

JALT JOURNAL

JOURNAL OF THE JAPAN ASSOCIATION
OF LANGUAGE TEACHERS

全国語学教育学会

VOLUME 15 NO.1

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Editorial

Articles

The *JALT Journal* is pleased to begin its fifteenth year with a contribution from one of the great figures of language education, **Earl Stevick**—his plenary address from the 1992 JALT Conference in Kawagoe. Here, in “**Memory: Old News, Bad News, New News, Good News,**” he evaluates both his own work on memory (as in his own classic *Memory, Meaning, and Method*, 1976) and the contributions of subsequent thinkers, before stating his present position. Those who know Stevick’s work will be fascinated by this update; those who do not will have an opportunity to become acquainted with one of the central themes of psycholinguistics.

This issue features two articles which focus on how the Japanese pronounce English. **Tim Riney** and **Janet Anderson-Hsieh** have completed a formidable survey of the description of how Japanese pronunciation of English is described in the literature. Precision, details, concordance—all are lacking, they conclude. This article merits the serious attention of all readers who teach English or speak it as a foreign language. **Daniel Evans’s** article, “**Rightside-Up Pronunciation for the Japanese**”, presents classroom teachers with a clear argument for training students in the use of stress and intonation. Minimal pair pronunciation drills, he states, may work well for the word but terribly for the utterance. He includes numerous class activities which make students aware of where emphasis belongs in spoken English, and gives a simple system for marking texts for oral presentation.

The number of English words one knows can be measured, as **Hiroyuki Izawa** describes in “**The English Vocabulary of 21 Adult Japanese.**” He draws on the work of Robin Goulden, Paul Nation, and John Reed to present readers with a series of five 60-word checklists which can be used to measure vocabulary size quickly and reliably. He concludes with an analysis of results gathered when he and twenty Japanese identified words they knew on the lists.

Research Forum

This issue sees the *JALT Journal’s* first **Research Forum**. (Details were outlined in the previous issue, p. 105.) The Research Forum, as the name implies, will be available to researchers who wish to present ongoing work for immediate appraisal and consideration. Two excellent examples of what we intend to publish can be seen in this issue. In the first, **Dale Griffee** looks at empirical evidence concerning native and non-native use of *will* and *going to*.

In the second, **Paul Gruba** reports an investigation into how listening comprehension may be tested using video tape and by audio tape. The Editors hope that after this fine start, researchers will be attracted to the Forum as a place both to teach and learn.

Reviews

The **Reviews** section has descriptions and evaluations of eight current publications in language education, with reviews from **Alan Maley, Paul Gruba, Ruth Wajnryb, Lauren Shapiro, Patrick Colabucci, Kazuko Yamada, James Tollefson, and Elizabeth King**. Topics under discussion include classroom instruction, testing, research methods, and sociolinguistics.

Acknowledgments

The Editors thank **Shari Berman, Ann Ediger, John Flowerdew, Thomas Hardy, Ilona Leki, Virginia LoCastro, and Mary Lee Scott** for their editorial assistance in the production of *JALT Journal*, Vol. 15, No. 1.

We also thank **Susan Johnston and John Shillaw** for the many years of service they have given us as members of the editorial board.

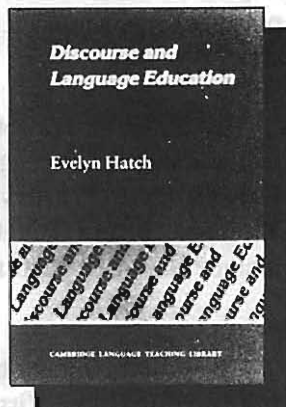
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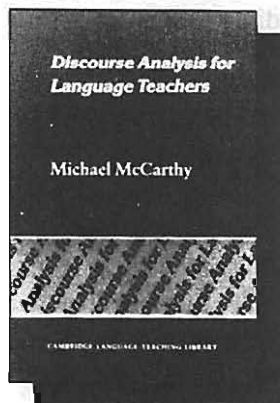


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Memory: Old News, Bad News, New News, Good News

Earl W. Stevick

Lexington, Virginia

1. Introduction

For quite a few years now, I've been exploring one aspect of the created order: the way human beings learn new languages. I've been exploring first of all for my own interest, but also for the interest of anyone who cares to look over my shoulder. As part of this project, I once wrote a book called *Memory, Meaning, and Method* (Stevick, 1976). Now recently, sixteen years later, I've been trying to update—or actually, to replace—the chapters on memory. Needless to say this has required a lot of reading and a lot of head-scratching. What I'd like to do today is to share with you some of my preliminary results—the reformulations and the replacements that I'm working with right now.

The big question—the question within which all other questions are only details—has been “What do we know about human memory that can help language teachers to understand their work better?” And I'm using the word “memory” in as nontechnical a way as I know how. “Memory,” to me, is just a label for the observations—the formal and scientific observations as well as the informal observations—that people are able to hold onto and to profit from.

I'd also like to use the word “information” in a nontechnical way. In everyday English, “information” means simply the difference between one thing and another. Items of information are of many kinds and many sizes: the difference between night and day, the difference between three and four, the difference between seeing that something worked and seeing that it didn't work, the difference between /l/ and /r/, and so on.

2. Memory: The Old News

Some of what I wrote about memory in 1976 was news to me, and was apparently news to a number of other people as well. Looking back on the first three chapters of *Memory, Meaning and Method*, I see four main points:

1. Memory consists of—or memory is supported by—physical changes in the brain.
2. There is a distinction between “short-term memory” (STM) and “long-term memory” (LTM).

3. Whether or not a new piece of information gets through STM into LTM depends partially on what happens to it while it is in STM.
4. In particular, processing in STM, and resulting storage in LTM, takes place at one or another “level” along a dimension of “depth.”

This was my news about memory in 1976, and I thought that overall it was pretty good news. In 1993, of course, it's old news.

Now, seventeen years later, as I look back at this old news, think it may have indeed been good news for the styles of language teaching with which we were most familiar in those days. Those were the days when language study was just that—the study of language one part at a time. Exactly what those parts were, of course, varied from one method to another: they might be lists of words, or they might be tables of inflected forms, or rules, or memorized sentences, or structural devices to be automatically controlled, and the like. Those were the days when interactive, communicative, cooperative styles of language education, with language flowing *with* and *from* ongoing shared, meaningful, purposive activities, instead of being laboriously exemplified *in* activities, were just beginning to come into their own, and when the Input Hypothesis was only a gleam in Steve Krashen's eye.

Just notice the parallelism in how we looked at language and language teaching and at memory. Language for most of us then was made up of a sequence of well-defined items, items that the learner met one at a time. Similarly, teaching methods consisted of sequences of well-defined steps, to be followed one at a time. And my model of memory consisted of a series of clearly-defined entities (STM, LTM, etc.) operating in a clearly-marked sequence—operating on the clearly-delineated, countable words and ideas and structures of linguistic texts. I like to think that *Memory, Meaning and Method* helped some teachers toward a clearer understanding of the things they were doing in those methods, and may even have given them a few ideas about how to do those things better. But. . .

3. Memory: The Bad News about the Old News

In the light of current research, the first of my four points—the point about the physical aspects of memory—still stands. That was of course the least surprising of the four, but it was also the one that led to the fewest practical consequences for language teachers.

Unfortunately, however, the other three points are pretty much in need of replacement. The second point—the one about STM as contrasted with LTM—is in the eyes of many cognitive scientists today both oversimplified

and wrongly focused (Klatzky, 1984), and my third and fourth points depended on it. The fourth point particularly—the point about the “dimension of depth”—was all right as far as it went, and I do think that it led to a few valuable suggestions for teachers, but again it was oversimplified and overly general (Bransford, 1979, pp. 65-68).

4. Memory: The New News

Which brings us to some new news about memory. I'm afraid that for now I can only list the main conclusions for you. The point that underlies just about all the rest is that I've decided to go along with those who talk, not about STM, but about “working memory” (WM). (For a readable summary of arguments, see Klatzky, 1984.) These are admittedly very closely related concepts. The difference is that STM is often thought of as a place, or as a stage, through which information must go in a unidirectional flow from the senses and toward LTM. By contrast, WM is not a stage, but a state—a state in which a given item of information may or may not be at any one time.

I'm also going to use the term “existing resources” (ER) rather than LTM. I'm doing so because the phrase LTM unfortunately has been used in two overlapping and potentially confusing ways. The first is a narrow technical sense which refers to information which is available a few minutes or perhaps an hour after it was presented, even though it may not be available a week later or a year later. Information that is available even after long periods of time has often been said to be in “permanent memory” (PM). Unfortunately, LTM is also sometimes used to include both LTM in the more restricted sense, and sometimes to cover a combination of PM and LTM. That's why I've made up the new term.

Now, there are certain advantages to each of these two, to WM and to the ER, certain things we can do with each of them, and there are also certain limitations to each. Let's look first at four nice things about WM.

The first and most conspicuous thing we can do with WM is to hold onto things without trying. In an everyday example, if someone tells us a phone number while we are busy addressing an envelope, we can often go ahead and finish writing the address, and then “play back” the spoken telephone number in our heads without difficulty. The same ability is being used whenever a language student repeats a word or a sentence that someone else has said a few seconds earlier. Second, as we or our students do play things back in WM, we can consciously notice things about them. Third, noticing two or more things that are in WM at the same time allows us to compare them with each other. Fourth, all this noticing and comparing allows us to do things with the contents

of WM intentionally: We can repeat them, we can arrange them in new combinations, send to the ER to see what else we know about them, and the like. This is where we apply what many writers these days are calling "strategies."

But there are also four negative points about WM, the first of which is that it has no permanent content. It's like a worktable; it's not like a filing cabinet. Second, things stay in WM only briefly; the usual estimate for auditory material is about 20 seconds. Third, the capacity of WM—the number of things that can be in this state at any one time—is quite limited. And fourth, some of this limited capacity of WM can be preempted by cognitive by-products of affective states such as anxiety. (This last is probably a lot of what the widely-used term "affective filter" is about.)

Now let's turn and take a careful look at the ER. There are ten positive things to remember about them:

1. We can hold things in the ER for a long time, even indefinitely. Everybody knows this, of course.
2. There is no known limit on how much we can hold in the ER. This too is a commonplace.
3. The ER can hold an almost unimaginable variety of kinds of information. We can think first of sensory information—visual, auditory, and so forth. But there are others, there are less obvious kinds of information, some of which are also extremely important for the overall working of memory. One of these "other" kinds of information is time: How long ago did I experience this? How frequent has this been in my experience? and the like. Of very practical importance to teachers is the fact that these "other" kinds of items include the metabolic changes (Hamilton, 1983) that go with fatigue, excitement, anxiety, and so forth. And all of these—the by-products of emotion along with the more conventional visual and auditory information and all the rest—can all be recorded in association with one another. This is another part of "the effect of affect" that language teachers sometimes talk about.
4. All of these kinds of information, and more, can become linked or connected with one another through associative bonds. The result is the formation of associative networks—networks that are products of what has happened to us, and that are different for every individual. We hear a lot about networks these days (Johnson, 1991;

Memory: Bad News and Good News

Kail et al., 1984, p. 46; McLaughlin, 1990, p. 624; Perrig & Perrig, 1988, p. 102; Thompson, 1986, p. 946).

5. What is in the ER is not only varied in kind, and not only somehow tied together. It's also organized into various kinds of hierarchies. Actually, this word "hierarchy" is used from time to time in a number of different valid senses in writings about memory (Klatzky, 1984, p. 16ff.).
6. The items in the ER are not just either there or not there. It's a continuum (Sampson, 1987). Each item of information is, at any given moment, at one or another level of "activation" (Anderson, 1984; Mozer, 1983, p. 544). This is a point that writers in our field seldom mention.
7. The level of activation of a given item in the ER can increase, yet without reaching the level where it will register back in WM.
8. The connections among these items of information are also not just all-or-none. That is, it means very little to say that there "is" a connection between item A and item B of information. What we have to say is that there is a relatively strong connection between A and B. What this means is that a change in the level of activation of item A is likely to lead to a relatively large change in the level of activation of item B.

Here is another continuum that is seldom mentioned in our field. On the other hand, this same concept of "spreading activation" among items or units is very widely cited in memory studies these days (Graf, Squire, & Mandler, 1984; Klatzky, 1985, p. 18; Nelson & Schmid, 1989, p. 539; Sampson, 1987; Johnson, 1991).

9. This spreading of activation from one item to other items to still other items within the ER is not quite instantaneous; each step does take a certain amount of clock time, but that amount of time is measured in thousandths of a second.
10. Last, the spreading of activation is an automatic process; it goes on by itself, and it goes on without conscious control. This means that the spreading of activation within the ER creates responses, but that the activity of creating those responses does not use up limited capacity the way activity in WM uses it up. (For a helpful treatment of capacity limits as they affect language learning, see McLaughlin, 1987, Ch. 6.)

The ER also have two very important limitations. One is that we cannot explore them consciously. The other is that we cannot change them directly.

So these are the main points about WM and the ER. What I'd like to do now is to look with you at how WM and the ER interact with each other, and at some of the wonderful ways in which the strengths of one compensate for the weaknesses of the other in the living of life in general, and also in the learning of languages.

The basic interaction between WM and the ER is query and response. That is to say, something that is presently in WM somehow contributes to the activation of one or more items in the ER. The increased activation of these items in the ER contributes to the activation of still other items in the ER, and so on automatically, until a reply is created. This reply now becomes part of the contents of WM, and this new item in WM—an item that has just come from the ER—can in turn affect the activation of further items back in the ER. So there's a continual two-way exchange. But the new item can itself also be acted on in WM within the limited capacity of WM—acted on by non-automatic, conscious, deliberate, intentional processes, including what many people these days call “strategies.” The fact that material from inside the person and material from outside can and do compete with each other for the limited capacity of WM fits much more readily with the concept of WM as a state, than it does with STM as a stage. One result is that, to paraphrase Michael Halliday's paper at the 1992 Georgetown Round Table, the structure of memory is always in transition, because every act of recall, and even every act of recognition, transforms it, however microscopically, from what it was into something else.

Quantitatively, the length of time it takes to send a stimulus from WM to the ER and to get back some sort of reply or response is a very, very tiny fraction of the time that things can stay in WM—perhaps 1% or 2% by some estimates. This means that once an item has reached WM, a lot of work can be done on it, with it, and from it while it is still in WM. This large ratio between how long we have something available in WM and how long it takes us to get the reactions of the ER to that something is “an important element in complex cognitive operations” (Klatzky, 1984, p. 29).

Even recognition can become a complex operation, depending on the circumstances. A learner of Japanese, for example, who hears the words *tsugoi yokatta nee*, may have to go through three round trips from WM to the ER and back: (a) Have I heard these words before? Yes. (b) When, and in what context? Last week, in a discussion of popular music. (c) What did they mean

in that context? They meant something like “exciting.” Such queries and replies can be time-consuming and, as the cognitive scientists would say, they can be capacity-depleting. From the learner’s point of view, this identification process distracts attention from whatever input is being presented while this process of identification is going on. Again, the concept of WM as a state reflects this fact more clearly than does the concept of STM as a stage in a unidirectional flow.

My next point is another that we hear about seldom if ever in our field, but it’s fairly well documented in research. This is that one and the same query from WM may produce two or more responses from the ER. For example, Bradley and Thomson (1984) observed a number of patients who suffered from one or another form of dyslexia, and they found three quite different routes by which a person can perform the task of pronouncing words off a page:

1. By one of these routes, which Bradley and Thomson (1984) called the lexical-semantic route, the ER generate a *meaning* that goes with the overall graphemic representation of the word, and then they generate a *pronunciation* that goes with that meaning.
2. By a second route, the ER respond to the overall graphemic shape of the word and generate a *pronunciation* for it without any dependence on meaning.
3. By the third route, the ER respond to *one grapheme at a time*, generating a *pronunciation* for it and in this way piecing together a pronunciation for the whole word.

All three of these outputs can show up in WM, one after another but still well within the time span that will allow WM to deal with them together. In normal readers, the three replies almost always agree, so there’s no problem. But in those cases where the replies don’t agree, WM compares them and notes any discrepancies. Then some of its limited resources are briefly devoted to choosing which of the replies to accept. This of course will entail further inquiries to and responses from the ER.

For the sake of reference in later parts of this paper, I’d like to refer to these routes as “coterminous pathways” (CPs). In plain English, CPs are two or more different ways of getting from the same input to the same output, more or less at the same time. (See Bub & Kertesz, 1982; Logan & Stadler, 1991, p. 495.)

In recent years we've heard a lot about something called "monitoring," first from Labov (1972, p. 79), and later, in a somewhat different sense, from Krashen (1977). In either sense, I'm fairly sure that "monitoring" is really a special case of what I've just been talking about: of generating two or more responses automatically in the ER, then in WM comparing these responses, and then choosing between them. In ESL, for example, one and the same non-native speaker could generate versions of Jespersen's (1904) famous sentence "We are not here" by some combination of at least three pathways:

1. It could be retrieved as a whole from earlier memorization ("We are not here.").
2. It could be a word-for-word translation from the speaker's first language ("We no here.").
3. It could be generated by reference to rules: rules for when to use the copula, rules for which form of the copula to use with which subjects, rules for how to negate, and so forth ("We no are here," following some but not all of the rules needed).

The last of these—the use of rules—would probably take longer to generate than the other two, particularly if the speaker had to consult several rules, but it would still reach WM in plenty of time to be compared with the other two pathways. And here we have Krashen's three conditions for "Monitor use": focus on form, knowledge of relevant rules, and time. But of course the same general process can account for numerous other kinds of decisions and self-corrections, both in linguistic form and in other kinds of behavior. And this, according to the view that I'm presenting to you today, is where we get the basis for all we do, whether it's speaking or tying our shoes or driving a car. We get our bases for action from the interaction of WM and the ER.

There's only one more point that I need to address, and that is how the networks get changed—the networks of associative bonds that make up the ER. In other words, how does learning take place? But remember that a change in a network usually means a change in the strength of an existing connection, and not the formation of a new connection. So the question of learning really becomes a question of how the strengths of these existing connections get modified.

In 1949, the Canadian psychologist Donald Hebb speculated that two neurons that tend to be active at the same time will automatically modify the connections (the synapses) between them. (For a summary, of this and related research, see Johnson, 1991.) In more recent years, Hebb's guess has been

confirmed by laboratory research. Now, no one has any clear idea about exactly how the physical nets of neurons in the brain are related to the conceptual networks of information in memory. All we can say for sure is that it must be terribly, terribly complicated. But let's assume, just for today, that there is such a relationship, and that Hebb's synapses do somehow figure in language learning. If that is true, then bonds will be strengthened and networks modified, and learning will take place, if at the same time in WM there are two things. The first of these two things is a record of some action—a physical or a mental action. This record must include not only the nature of the action; it must also include a record of means—of how that action was arrived at (Rabinowitz, 1990), and it must include the purposes of the action. And the second thing that must be in WM at the same time is knowledge of results.

If the results at least partially match the purposes of the action, then the connection between purpose and means is strengthened. Sometimes, this knowledge of results comes from outside; then we say that the learner's action has been "reinforced." At other times, we find that one of a pair of CPs has led to the same output as another, a better-established pathway, has led to; in this case the second pathway acts as a sort of internal reinforcer for the first, and we say that spontaneous learning has taken place.

So let me just highlight for you three of the differences between this view of learning and memory (the "New News") and the folk view which is found in *Memory, Meaning, and Method*, and which is still implied in much of what language teachers have written from time to time.

First, the nature of remembering. In the usual view, a word or a structure or a meaning or whatever is either retained and retrieved or it's not retained and retrieved. In the view I've outlined for you today, things are not so much retained in and retrieved from memory as they are reconstructed. Moreover, ease and speed and accuracy of construction vary along a continuum.

Second, the nature of what is remembered. In one view, focus is mostly on the visual and auditory modalities. Forms are made up of listable vowels and consonants or rules or whatever, and meanings are the kinds of things that could be described in words, perhaps in a dictionary. In the other view, the items involved in memory are quite varied, both in nature and in size.

And third, the process of memory. I think the usual unspoken assumption can be described as a unidirectional flow: some of the data that come in through the senses get into STM; some of what has gotten into STM moves on into LTM; and some of what is in LTM somehow becomes output when it's needed. Contrast this with the idea of WM and the ER in constant interaction

with each other, operating with reciprocity and recursiveness rather than with linearity, where WM is as much involved in the process of production as it is involved in the process of storage.

5. Memory: The Good News

The good news about this new news is that it seems to fit a lot better into some of the things we are learning about language learning. I've already mentioned the so-called "affective filter" and "monitoring," which are two concepts commonly associated with Krashen and Terrell's Natural Approach (Krashen & Terrell, 1983).

Another phenomenon that I think the new news helps us to understand better is the so-called "generation effect" (Gardiner & Java, 1990; Slamecka & Graf, 1978; Wall & Routowicz, 1987). I said a little about the generation effect in my article (Stevick, 1992) in the September issue of *The Language Teacher*, which some of you may have seen. Briefly, the generation effect is an observation that people are more likely to remember things they made up themselves than they are to remember things that they've only read or heard from someone else. I think the concept of WM as a state, and the concept of spreading activation among many kinds of tiny bits of information within the ER, are very useful in this regard.

The example that I would like to spend our last few minutes on is the so-called "distributed practice effect" (Stevick, 1976, pp. 28, 77). This phrase, the "distributed practice effect," stands for the observation that in general it's more efficient to study a given thing on several different occasions, than it is to study the same thing the same number of times all together on a single occasion. The distributed practice effect is, as the experimenters like to say, "robust," by which they mean that it has been documented for quite a wide variety of tasks, and under a wide range of circumstances.

In my article in the September *Language Teacher*, I used as an example the Turkish word *tamam*, which means "complete(ness)." Let's suppose today that this time, unlike the example in *The Language Teacher*, a learner's goal is to move from the declarative knowledge that "English 'complete' is *tamam* in Turkish," and to the procedural knowledge which will bring the Turkish vowels and consonants to WM immediately after the meaning "complete" shows up in WM, rather than requiring the learner to resort again and again to whatever mnemonic he or she had pieced together by the Keyword Method.

A learner who was doing massed practice might on some one occasion repeat the word and its meaning ten times mechanically, using and strengthening

that maximally simple, two-ended associative bond that I mentioned a few minutes ago. Or the learner might go ten times in a row through the Keyword mnemonic that I described in the article, with its four-cornered network of CPs. Or the learner might repeat ten times a personally meaningful sentence containing *tamam*. The important thing is that whichever of these things—simple or more sophisticated—whichever is practiced ten times in a row, that's all that's being strengthened in the ER. So there's no real opportunity for the brain to determine which items of information *regularly* go together ("semantic memory") and which just *happened* to go in some one context on same one occasion ("episodic memory") (see for example Bransford, 1979).

Doing distributed practice, on the other hand, the same learner might do exactly the same kinds of things I've just listed, but on five or ten different occasions. Under these circumstances, the networks that got strengthened in the ER would differ among themselves at least with respect to their information about time. Quite probably various changes in the context would eliminate same other kinds of incidental and nonessential information as well. This would be one very rudimentary advantage of distributed practice over massed practice.

There is, however, a second advantage. This second advantage is more subtle, but I suspect it may be more important. That is what happens at repetitions two through 10. On repetition two (that is, the second time the learner meets the idea of "complete" and tries to supply the corresponding Turkish word), the ER typically are unable to come up with a reply that's complete enough to be usable for output. There is, however, a lot of interesting research evidence that the ER do at least produce a partial reply; that is, that they produce some though not all of the items that would be needed for a complete and usable reply (see for example Kozlowski, 1977; Reason, 1984; Reason & Lucas, 1984). For example, maybe on the second presentation the learner's ER can produce only the facts that the word began with *t* and that it had two syllables. And when these two items, together with the query "complete," and also together with the answer from the other side of the vocabulary card or wherever, are present together, then the process that constructed the partial answer is reinforced by its agreement with the representation of the right answer, and so next time it will be quicker, and it will use up less of the limited capacity of WM.

Well, we've come to the end of our time today. In this very brief period, I've tried to sketch for you a view of memory that is both recent and, I think, more adequate for our needs in language teaching than the view most of us have

been accustomed to, and I think this is true both with respect to theory and with respect to practice. With respect to theory, I've said that I think this view gives us a better account of the generation effect, the distributed practice effect, affective filtering, and monitoring. And these same theoretical concepts—the generation effect, the distributed practice effect, affective filtering, and monitoring—are much more important, much more conspicuous nowadays in communicative teaching, in group-centered, cooperative learning, even in some versions of computer-assisted language study, than they were in most traditions that preceded our contemporary practice.

Thank you for allowing me to share with you my ongoing attempt to understand better this enterprise in which all of us, in our countless different settings, are responsibly engaged. (And I look forward to comments on the printed version of this paper!)

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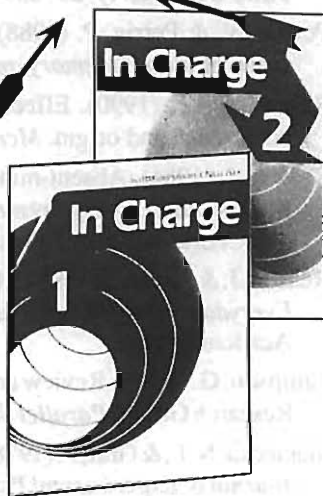
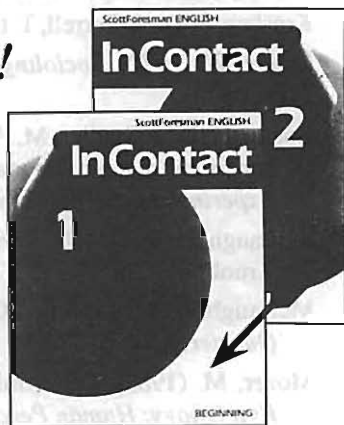
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Japanese Pronunciation of English

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This paper examines four sources of descriptions of Japanese pronunciation of English (JPE): EFL textbooks, ESL teacher reference books, broad scholarly descriptions, and empirical studies. The paper (a) informs the pronunciation teacher and researcher of the types of descriptions of JPE that are available; (b) compares and contrasts assumptions, informal observations, and formal findings about JPE that have been made; (c) points out the need to establish a better consensus than exists at present about what characteristics define JPE; and (d) makes suggestions for future research on JPE that would be useful pedagogically.

日本人の英語の発音についての記述

本研究は、EFL用の教科書、ESL教師用参考書、一般的専門書、研究調査報告に於ける日本人の発音の特徴（JEP）の記述を検証する。現存するJEPの記述を紹介し、それらの唱える前提、観察結果、調査報告を比較検討することによって、より明示的な記述の必要性を指摘し、JEPの今後の研究に対して発音指導に役立つような提案をする。

1. Introduction

The teaching of second language (L2) pronunciation in Japan and elsewhere has traditionally focused on an articulatory phonetics approach (e.g., Fries, 1945) based on contrastive analysis of the native language and the target language. Although recent approaches have shifted the focus to a number of factors (e.g., see Morley, 1991), one similarity between the traditional approach and more recent approaches is that neither has placed emphasis on describing and understanding the *developing* language of the learner. While the teaching of pronunciation is probably undergoing more changes now than at any time in its history, little attention is being devoted to describing the pronunciation that is apparently in need of remediation.

The dearth of research in the area of L2 pronunciation is more understandable in ESL classroom settings in the USA or the UK than it is in EFL classroom settings such as those in Japan. In linguistically heterogeneous ESL pronunciation classes, it is unrealistic to expect teachers to have on hand and to use descriptions of the many and changing native language (L1) groups appearing from term to term. But in linguistically homogeneous EFL classes,

such as those in Japan, it is reasonable to expect that descriptions of learner language be available to provide a frame of reference for observing and understanding the acquisition of pronunciation and for planning and implementing the teaching of pronunciation.

This paper reviews the literature on Japanese pronunciation of English (JPE) in order to inform the L2 pronunciation teacher and researcher of the types of descriptions that have been published so far, to compare and contrast some of these different descriptions, to identify research and pedagogical problems and issues, and to suggest procedures for future research that may contribute to a more comprehensive and useful description of JPE in the future. It is only with such a description in hand that one may begin to identify some of the issues and priorities for the teaching of English pronunciation to native speakers of Japanese.

We begin by briefly reviewing the adult acquisition of L2 pronunciation from three different theoretical perspectives: contrastive analysis, error analysis, and interlanguage. Then we consider four genres of literature available in English that describe JPE: (a) EFL student textbooks in Japan, (b) ESL teacher reference books outside of Japan, (c) broad and impressionistic scholarly descriptions, and (d) empirical studies. We examine, compare and contrast selected assumptions, observations, and empirical findings of JPE from these descriptions under four headings: (a) suprasegmentals, (b) syllable structure and phonotactics, (c) segments and features, and (d) articulatory setting. We conclude by summarizing, with reference to descriptions of JPE, some of the current issues and priorities with regard to L2 pronunciation research and pedagogy, and by making recommendations for further research. (The system for phonetic transcription used in this paper is IPA, except where /I/ and /U/ represent, respectively, the English high-front and high-back lax vowels.)

2. Theoretical Perspectives on L2 Pronunciation

Contrastive analysis (CA) refers to an area of applied linguistics in which the comparison and contrast of the L1 and a target language (TL) is related to the acquisition of the L2. In what came to be known as the "strong version" of CA (Lado, 1957), the claim was that a CA of the L1 and TL phonologies would equip one to predict all errors in the learner phonology. Moulton (1962) refined CA by classifying segmental errors into four categories: phonemic, phonetic, allophonic, and distributional, and Stockwell and Bowen (1965) refined CA further by identifying degrees of difficulty which, they claimed, could be predicted by degrees of differences between the L1 and TL phonological systems. One problem with all of the versions of CA above is that

they were based entirely on descriptions of the L1 and the TL, and not at all on any description or “error analysis” of the language that the L2 learner actually produced.

Mounting evidence based on error analyses of learner language eventually undermined the strong version of CA, and Wardhaugh (1970) proposed an a posteriori “weak version of CA” that disclaimed any predictive value for CA but stressed the value of CA to explain *some* errors—*after* they occurred. The potential of the weak version of CA for explaining the structure of adult acquisition of TL phonology, however, was subsequently largely ignored due to a growing interest in linguistics in syntax in the late 1960s, and a growing interest in applied linguistics in grammatical errors in the 1970s (see Dulay, Burt, and Krashen, 1982).

Selinker (1972) introduced the concept of “interlanguage” (IL) shortly after the error analysis research had begun. In the phonological domain, IL describes the “L2 learner accent” as an intermediate and evolving but rule-governed system developing between the L1 and the TL. In contrast to “error” analysis, IL studies approach language learning from a constructive point of view, treating the learner language as an “approximative system” (Nemser, 1971) that systematically, subject to certain processes and constraints, approaches the TL. Tarone’s (1978) summary of IL variables includes negative transfer, L1 acquisition processes, overgeneralization, approximation, avoidance, inherent difficulty, tendency toward a CV pattern, tendency of articulators to come to a rest position, and various emotional and social constraints. In the past few years, James and Leather (1986) and Ioup and Weinberger (1987) have edited collections of studies that have identified additional IL variables. While the number of variables believed to be formative in adult IL phonology has continued to multiply, the status of L1 as a major variable has never been seriously questioned. The assumption that CA has strong explanatory power is central to all four genres of descriptions of JPE that we examine.

3. Four Genres of Descriptions of JPE

Based on a study of the English pronunciation of native speakers of Arabic, Persian, Thai and Japanese, Suter (1976) reported that, of 20 variables, “native language is an especially good predictor of pronunciation accuracy in English” (p. 246). In a subsequent paper, based on the same study, Purcell and Suter (1980) compiled a “profile of non-native speakers who are most likely to pronounce English poorly” (p. 285) and then determined that Japanese ESL learners fit the profile. Whether or not Japanese ESL speakers actually have

poorer pronunciation than other groups is debatable. Less debatable is the fact that many Japanese adults learning to speak English, like others who have attempted to learn to speak L2 as adults, have a distinct L2 accent that is related to their L1. But is there a consensus about what characterizes JPE, about which features are acceptable and which are unacceptable, and about what the priorities should be with regard to teaching English pronunciation to native speakers of Japanese?

In order to address this question, we have considered much of the related literature that is available in English, and that describes, or claims to describe, Japanese pronunciation in English. We have grouped examples of this literature into four categories below.

3.1 EFL pronunciation textbooks in Japan

Some EFL pronunciation textbooks are explicitly directed at the Japanese learner, and one might expect from them some descriptions of JPE. Grate's *English Pronunciation Exercises for Japanese Students* (1974), however, makes no reference, beyond page 1 and through the next 112 lessons, to Japan, the Japanese language, the Japanese learner, or JPE. Taylor's *Say It Right. Pronunciation Practice for Japanese Students* (1982) focuses on the *differences* between Japanese and English (rather than on JPE) and devotes approximately the same amount of space to *each* English segment regardless of the degree of difficulty it poses for the Japanese learner. Some other EFL textbooks in Japan provide more guidance. Brown (1970), now beyond its 20th printing, includes some observations of the Japanese context, the Japanese learner, and JPE. A text published by the Seido Language Institute (1974) also includes some observations of JPE. Furthermore, both Brown and Seido suggest a few pedagogical priorities (although their priorities differ more than one might expect, as will be pointed out below).

All four EFL textbooks above are similar and typical of pronunciation texts in Japan in that they are largely or entirely behaviorist in orientation and manifest a traditional articulatory and audiolingual approach to the teaching of pronunciation. Brown (1970), for example, wants his students to "mimic and memorize" (p. 5), because "learning a language is not learning a body of facts, it is learning a set of habits. The habits are first formed by imitation and then confirmed by practice." (pp. 22-23)

3.2 ESL teacher reference texts outside of Japan

The four EFL textbooks above were designed for the Japanese setting in which English is a *foreign* language, and all learners typically share the same

native language, Japanese. ESL teacher reference texts produced to assist in the teaching of English as a *second* language in North America and in the UK are different in that they are written to be used in classes in which the students come from linguistically heterogeneous backgrounds. If these ESL teacher reference texts describe JPE at all, then they do so alongside descriptions of the English of learners of other L1 groups (e.g., Spanish and Arabic) that are frequently present in ESL classrooms. Two examples of ESL teacher reference texts (both with a British “Received Pronunciation” target dialect) that have dealt with Japanese problems are those by Kenworthy (1987) and editors Swan & Smith (1987). Both appear to be relying on an a posteriori weak version of CA, that is, they explain observed errors, after they occur, on the basis of L1-TL contrasts.

These two teacher reference texts are useful in that they provide an overview of areas of possible pronunciation difficulty for the Japanese learner of English. Sometimes the descriptions in these texts, however, are highly impressionistic. Thompson, in Swan & Smith (1987), for example, tells us that the “Japanese have an amazing ability to hear the unspoken word” (p. 213). Both Kenworthy and Thompson describe JPE at the phonemic rather than the phonetic level, in terms of what JPE “sounds like” to native English listeners. Kenworthy (1987) tells us that “Japanese /b/ may sometimes be pronounced almost like a /v/” (p. 149); Thompson (1987) tells us that “/v/ may be pronounced as /b/” (p. 214).

3.3 Broad and impressionistic scholarly descriptions

Although it is somewhat dated and prescriptive in tone, one of the most comprehensive and informative contrastive analyses of Japanese and English that includes observations of JPE is that by Kohmoto (1969). Kohmoto addresses “degrees of difficulty” (p. 145) and bases some of his descriptions on actual tape recordings of JPE. Anyone desiring a more current and thorough understanding of the structure of Japanese, and the contrasts between Japanese and English, will want to refer to Vance (1987). Vance does not describe JPE directly, but his frequent descriptions of Japanese with reference to English offer insights into wide-ranging aspects of JPE.

Another general source of insight into the structure of JPE can be found in a series of descriptions produced by Pennington (e.g., 1987, 1988a, 1988b, 1990). A significant part of Pennington’s work is directed at using examples of JPE to explain IL phonology rather than to describe the JPE system per se. Another part of her work is pedagogically motivated to enlighten and improve the effectiveness of the teaching of pronunciation. While Pennington intro-

duces new IL variables (e.g., the effect of Japanese instructional and learning strategies), she maintains a central role for the influence of L1 structure on L2 structure (e.g., 1990, p. 553). Unfortunately, Pennington's various descriptions of JPE are scattered among conference proceedings and working papers that are not widely available. Pennington (1987), however, anticipates publishing a "discussion of the phonetic and distributional details of individual phonemes in future work" (p. 9), and from that one may expect to learn a great deal.

3.4 Empirical studies

One finds numerous empirical studies of JPE (and other L1-TL combinations) in second language, phonetics, and speech communication research journals, and in recent anthologies (e.g., Ioup & Weinberger, 1987; James & Leather, 1986). Many of these studies of JPE involve adult Japanese speakers learning English in either the USA or Japan, and focus on only one or a few selected features of the learner language. These studies reflect a variety of different theoretical perspectives, including L1-L2 transfer theory (Lado, 1957), variation theory (Dickerson, 1975), markedness theory (Eckman, 1977), and developmental theory (Major, 1987).

The empirical IL studies, often focused on a particular phonological structure or process and how it patterns across different L1-TL combinations, do not provide an overview of the IL phonology. These studies tend to depict ILs as they are theoretically described—as evolving, rule governed systems that gradually approximate the target language. While IL issues (e.g., the role of universals and markedness) are of interest on independent grounds, the concerns of IL theory per se are beyond the scope of this review of the JPE literature. We are interested, however, in what some of these IL studies have produced in the way of descriptions of JPE and we will return to these studies below.

4. Japanese Pronunciation of English

In this section, based on examples drawn from the four genres of texts above, we juxtapose and examine some of the descriptions of JPE that have been published thus far. A collection of such descriptions in a paper of this size is of course not meant to be exhaustive but instead representative of the types of descriptions and findings that are available, and to give examples of the types of problems and issues that compiling a broader more comprehensive description might involve. In light of the fact that all four genres of descriptions of JPE reviewed above rely heavily on CA, we begin each section below with a brief CA in order to shed light on the discussion of JPE that follows in that section.

4.1 *Suprasegmentals*

"Suprasegmentals," sometimes called "prosodic forms," include stress, pitch, rhythm, intonation, and juncture. English is often described as a "stress-timed language" in which the interval between stresses is approximately of equal duration. Japanese is often described as a "syllable- (or mora-) timed language" in which each syllable is approximately of equal duration. Although there is some disagreement about whether Japanese embodies syllable timing, and even about whether the syllable versus stress timing distinction is valid (for discussion, see Roach, 1982; Dauer, 1983), it nevertheless appears that basic differences between English and Japanese stress and accent patterns pose problems for the Japanese learner.

According to Pennington, who bases her description of English suprasegmentals on Brazil, Coulthard, & Johns (1980), pragmatics and semantics play less of a role in Japanese suprasegmentals than they do in English. In English, "sentence rhythm is determined to some extent by information structure" and "words which carry the greatest informational load—that is, words which are key to the message intended by the speaker—are also the words which are strongly stressed" (Pennington, 1987, pp. 9-10). Pennington states that in Japanese "context can affect the pitch of a syllable and can cause devoicing of a vowel, palatalization and other kinds of effects, some of which also occur in English." She maintains, however, that the "phonological effects of context in English are apparently more extensive than in Japanese" (p. 10).

The EFL pronunciation textbooks that we examined provided little information about JPE suprasegmentals. One teacher reference text (Thompson, 1987, p. 215) stressed the importance of teaching suprasegmentals and contrasted the differences between Japanese and English, but did not describe JPE suprasegmentals or explain why they are problematic. The other text, Kenworthy (1987), attaches more importance to rhythm and stress than to intonation: "Intonation may well be less of a problem for learners than the features of rhythm and stress, and consonants and vowels. It has been observed that in Japanese the transitions between pitch levels seem to be more abrupt than in English, but if this feature is transferred to English this will not lead to unacceptable patterns." (p. 151)

Empirical studies of JPE suprasegmentals usually point out the presence of an L1 influence. Watanabe (1988) investigated the perception of sentence stress by Japanese students and English native speakers, and discovered that when pitch was held constant across two syllables and stress was changed, the

Japanese had considerable difficulty identifying the stressed syllable, suggesting that the Japanese students used pitch as the cue for stress (rather than loudness or length). Bond and Fokes (1985) found that Japanese ESL learners tend to produce syllables of similar time length or duration, supporting the theory that JPE is characterized by a syllable-timed rhythm similar to that of Japanese.

4.2 Syllable structure and phonotactics

"Syllable structure" is often described, compared and contrasted in terms of consonant and vowel distribution. Accordingly, syllables are called "open" (i.e., ending in a vowel, the characteristic syllable in Japanese) or "closed" (ending in a consonant, the characteristic syllable in English). The contrasts between Japanese and English syllable structure are striking. Standard Tokyo Japanese is often described as having no consonant clusters (excluding glides), and no obstruents (stops and fricatives) in its syllable codas. English syllable structure presents a dramatic contrast: 47 consonant clusters in initial position and 169 consonant clusters in final position (Prator and Robinett, 1986, pp. 175-79). Related to syllable structure is "phonotactics," the system by which phonemes or classes of sounds may be ordered in a language, and Japanese and English present multiple contrasts in this area, too.

Both Japanese EFL pronunciation texts and ESL teacher reference texts favor a focus on segments in isolation over segments in clusters, perhaps because English clusters may appear to be too many and complex to deal with. Some texts deal with clusters by describing what usually happens to them in the learner language—generally, either a consonant is deleted or a vowel segment is inserted (called "vowel epenthesis"). Both Kenworthy (1987) and Thompson (1987) state that the normal process in JPE is vowel insertion. In one empirical study of Japanese, however, Saunders (1987) investigated word-final voiceless stop-sibilant clusters, and found that reduction, and not vowel insertion, was the favored syllable simplification strategy.

4.3 Segmentals and features

"Segmentals" are the vowel and consonant units (phonemes and allophones) of a language. "Features" are the phonetic characteristics such as voicing and aspiration that may characterize a segment and that may (in the case of voicing) or may not (in the case of aspiration) distinguish it from other segments. Both segmentals and features are subject to some variation related to dialect and register.

Consonants. Standard Tokyo Japanese includes the following consonants: /p, t, k, b, d, g, ts, s, z, m, n, r, h, y, w/. The Japanese "r" is often a flapped sound,

/r/, similar to the "r" in American English "city." The forms /p, t, k/ are usually, but not always, described as unaspirated. Certain consonants (e.g. /s/) have allophones (e.g., [ʃ]) occurring before high vowels. A mora nasal conventionally represented as /N/ becomes /m/ before /p, b, m/, /n/ before /t, d, n/, and /ŋ/ before /k, g, ŋ/. Japanese also has a mora obstruent represented as /θ/, which is always realized as the same obstruent that follows it, creating a geminate (or "double") consonant. Only /ŋ/ and /θ/ can close syllables. American English has the following 25 consonants: /p, b, t, d, k, g, f, v, θ, ð, s, z, ʃ, ʒ, tʃ, dʒ, m, n, ŋ, l, r, j, w, ɹ, h/. The forms /p, t, k/ have aspirated allophones at the beginning of words and at the beginning of all stressed syllables. The /l/ has a velarized allophone occurring after vowels, and the liquids and glides have voiceless allophones after voiceless aspirated stops. Voiced obstruents are partially devoiced word-finally. (For a complete discussion of the consonant system of Japanese, see Vance, 1987; for the system of English, see Prator and Robinett, 1986.)

The JPE consonants that have received the most attention in the research literature reviewed involve the contrast in English between /r/ and /l/. Basson (1986), who investigated Japanese speakers' acquisition of English phonology, found that English /r/ was one of the more difficult English consonants for the Japanese. Zimmerman, Price & Ayusawa (1984), Cochrane (1980), and Sheldon & Strange (1982) have also investigated JPE /r/. Sekiya (1992), in a study of the acquisition of English liquids by Japanese children, noted the following JPE variants of /r/ in initial and intervocalic positions: a voiced rhotic approximant ([ɹ]), a voiced alveolar flap ([ɾ]), a voiced alveolar lateral ([l]), a voiced bilabial approximant ([w]), and two composites ([ɹl], [lɹ]) similar to those previously noted in JPE by Beebe (1984). In postvocalic positions, Sekiya noted a voiced rhotic approximant ([ɹ]) or a complete deletion.

Given the substantial research interest in JPE /r/, it may be surprising that /r/ is not consistently prioritized in the four Japanese EFL pronunciation textbooks reviewed above. According to Seido (1974, p. 62), /z/ is one of the most important pronunciation problems in English and, for many Japanese, the most difficult. Brown (1970) states that /r/ is "perhaps the most difficult sound for Japanese students to master" (p. 109), after having described /i/ as "the English sound most frequently mispronounced by Japanese students" (p. 25). Researcher Cairns (1988) devotes his pedagogically motivated study only to /s/, which he describes as one of the "well known problem sounds."

Aspiration. According to Vance (1987, pp. 18-19), the status of aspiration in Japanese is unclear. We came across no empirical descriptions of JPE

aspiration, although aspiration was one of the most frequently discussed non-distinctive segmental features in the pedagogical texts. Seido (1974) depicts Japanese /t/ as *not* having aspiration, and addresses aspiration as the very first point in their teacher's handbook. Kenworthy (1987, p. 150) describes JPE aspiration as a problem that is medial and final, and gives, without explanation, the example of /t/ pronounced as /tʃ/ in "eating." It seems odd, however, for "final aspiration" to be a problem, because in English the final released stops (sometimes indistinguishable from final aspirated stops) are in free variation with the final unreleased stops, and final release is not known to be a phonemic distinction in any language. Kenworthy does not discuss the places where aspiration is obligatory in English, described above.

Vowels. Vance (1987) describes Japanese as having five vowels [a, i, u, e, o], all of which have long forms that function as separate phonemes. Short /i/ and /u/ are often devoiced (or deleted) between voiceless sounds. English vowels and diphthongs vary widely across dialects. Prator and Robinett (1986) list 14 for American English: /i, I, ei, ε, æ, ə, uw, U, ow, ɔ, a, aj, ɔj, aw/. English vowels have allophonic long forms before voiced consonants.

Japanese pronunciation of the two high front English vowels, tense /i/ and lax /I/, is one area that receives considerable attention in the ESL pronunciation literature on JPE. According to Brown (1970, p. 25), the "most frequent mispronunciation" in JPE involves /i/. The Seido Institute, however, which states that it sequences problems according to "importance" (p. vi), and which states that it describes American English, devotes no more attention to the /i/ and /I/ distinction than it does to /a/ and /ɔ/. The latter distinction, however, is one that, Swan & Smith (1987, p. xii) point out is frequently not made by American speakers of English!

What exactly is the problem, if any, involving /i/ and /I/? Kenworthy (1987, p. 150), who includes /i/ and /I/ in a list of seven JPE problems, explains that /I/ tends to go to /i/; Thompson (1987, p. 214), however, who includes this same contrast in a list of a similar size of "noticeable problems" states only that the /I/ gets devoiced. Researcher Takahashi (1987), focusing not on vowel quality but on vowel length, reports that Japanese learners do not acquire the English vowel duration contrast before voiced codas and voiceless codas. Vowel length, like consonant length, is phonemic in Japanese but not in English. Of the pedagogical texts that we examined, vowel length was generally not treated (although see Brown, 1970, pp. 29-31).

Schwa. Almost all pedagogical texts call attention to schwa (/ə/) and its occurrence in unstressed syllables. Kenworthy states that JPE may substitute

for English schwa almost any other vowel. According to Thompson, JPE substitutions for English schwa often appear to be spelling pronunciations.

4.4 Articulatory setting and voice quality

According to Esling and Wong (1983), "voice quality setting" can be used to describe ESL student accents and to improve ESL pronunciation. They propose that the American English, setting includes spread lips, open jaw, palatalized tongue body position, retroflex articulation, nasal voice, lowered larynx and creaky voice (p. 91); and that the Japanese setting includes lowered larynx, "faucal" constriction (just above the pharynx), uvularization, and lip spreading (p. 90). Vance's (1987) review of several descriptions of Japanese articulatory setting may be summarized as follows: (a) lip rounding, weaker in Japanese than in English; (b) jaw position, more open in Japanese than in English; and (c) a "tongue blade articulator" in Japanese versus a "tongue tip articulator" in English. Although both Pennington (1987), and Esling and Wong (1983) see a great deal of potential in articulatory setting for pronunciation pedagogy, we did not find articulatory setting seriously addressed in any pedagogical text. "Articulatory setting," like "suprasegmentals," may be a category that is too important to ignore but too multifaceted to discuss, investigate, and measure without first breaking it down into component parts such as those reviewed above. We found no empirical studies that attempted to measure JPE articulatory setting.

5. Conclusions and Recommendations

The four different genres of descriptions outlined above have arisen from different— motives and assumptions about language and language learning, and have naturally focused on different aspects of JPE. The EFL student textbooks produced for use in Japan continue to favor describing the articulatory production of isolated segmentals. The ESL teacher reference texts that are used outside of Japan tend to describe, in addition, some clusters and suprasegmentals. Meanwhile, recent broad scholarly descriptions, including pedagogically motivated ones, are approaching JPE in new ways (c.g., by "articulatory setting") that have yet to be exploited by pedagogical texts. Empirical studies of JPE, usually conducted independently of pedagogical interests, have favored describing those items that have some potential to reveal underlying IL processes and that can be reliably observed and measured.

The most obvious consensus, manifest repeatedly across all four types of description, was that the L1 plays a vital role in the formation of the L2 pronunciation, and that a CA of the L1 and the TL is a valid means of describing areas of pronunciation difficulty. When closely examined, how-

ever, the consensus about JPE is more about the differences between the L1 and the TL than it is about the characteristics of JPE per se and about why some of these characteristics are pronunciation problems. When it comes to describing JPE problems in detail (and assuming that the descriptions are comparable), we found some lack of consensus within all four categories that we considered: suprasegmentals, syllable structure, segmentals, and articulatory setting. Of the four Japanese EFL pronunciation textbooks that we examined, two (Grate, 1974; Taylor, 1982) prioritized almost nothing, and two others (Brown, 1970; Seido, 1974) prioritized different items. Although two teacher reference texts (Kenworthy, 1987; Thompson, 1987) presented somewhat similar listings of JPE pronunciation difficulties and priorities, they also presented somewhat different explanations as to what characterizes the JPE pronunciations that are apparently in need of remediation. Scholarly descriptions and empirical studies of JPE generally did not address and could not resolve certain conflicting or ambiguous descriptions that appeared in the pedagogical texts.

One reason for different descriptions of JPE is no doubt due to the fact that L2 pronunciation (like L1 pronunciation) is inherently variable. We know, however, that this variation is systematically structured based on the fact that we can frequently identify a speaker's L1 underlying his or her L2 accent. It seems reasonable to assume, therefore, that a more complete description and a higher degree of consistency can be attained than exists at present.

We would like to encourage researchers and teachers to work toward compiling a comprehensive description of JPE that addresses all pedagogically important aspects of pronunciation: articulatory setting, suprasegmentals, syllable structure, and segmentals. Such a description should account for variation that is related to stages (e.g., beginning, intermediate, and advanced) that the Japanese learner of English goes through in acquiring English. It will also want to address fossilization, and factors such as age, personality, motivation, and the learning environment. Finally it will have to address issues such as nonnative speaker norms, intelligibility, and acceptability for the use of English in international contexts.

On the basis of such a description, a group of pronunciation priorities may be developed. Based on the literature that we have reviewed for this paper and our own ongoing research and observations of JPE in Japan and in the USA, we suggest the following as a tentative list for both teachers and researchers to explore: (a) suprasegmental problems such as word stress, sentence stress, syllable duration, rhythm, and intonation patterns; (b) problems related to

articulatory setting such as lip rounding, and tongue-blade versus tongue-tip as articulator; (c) Japanese phonological processes such as epenthesis and palatalization, which tend to be transferred into English in inappropriate phonetic contexts; (d) the most problematic segmentals and contrasts (e.g., /i, l; r, l; b, v; θ, ð; f, h; ʌ, a /; (e) the most problematic initial clusters (e.g., those which contain /s/ or /r/); (f) the tendency to delete consonants in final clusters; (g) the tendency to avoid strategies used by native speakers to facilitate fluent speech (e.g., linking and assimilation); and (h) pronunciation difficulties that are related to English or Japanese orthographies.

New pronunciation objectives based on the problems listed above would require new teaching materials and approaches. These objectives would mean a dramatic shift away from the type of pronunciation texts that currently dominate the Japanese ESL market and that are comprised of a long sequence of short units organized around segmental contrasts. The new texts would contain some units focused on segmentals but would also require new units organized around new topics that address particular JPE difficulties with intonation, stress and rhythm, articulatory setting, consonant clusters, connected speech phenomena, and sound-grapheme (written symbol) relationships.

New approaches and techniques for teaching pronunciation will also have to be introduced. Most Japanese pronunciation textbooks continue to advocate a methodology that was abandoned in the USA and the UK during the 1970s. Isolated and meaningless structure drill are not likely to be any more effective for the new objectives above than they were for the objectives based on segmental contrasts. The teaching of EFL pronunciation in Japan should now move to consider recent, broader views of what promotes the acquisition of pronunciation.

Anderson-Hsieh (1989) and Morley (1991) have summarized recent approaches to teaching pronunciation that have emphasized listening, communication activities, speaker awareness, peer and self monitoring, cooperative learning, and relaxation. Acton (1992) has recommended a broader "kineshetic approach" to the teaching of pronunciation that involves gestures, upper torso movement, modeling, music, and drama.

The authors would like to thank Sonia Yoshitake for the Japanese translation of the abstract of this paper.

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Rightside-up Pronunciation for the Japanese— Preparing Top-down Communicative Lessons

Daniel W. Evans

*Center for International Programs
Saint Michael's College*

Most teachers think about and attempt to teach pronunciation in an “upside-down” manner, that is, beginning with and placing most emphasis on those aspects which often affect intelligibility the least: the phonetic segments. This article introduces another way of conceptualizing pronunciation—a top-down approach—which places most emphasis on upper-level, suprasegmental aspects. Examples of both skill-specific and integrative activities for developing these upper-level pronunciation skills within the framework of communicative language teaching are included.

日本人学習者の為のフレーズ単位発音教授法

——意志伝達を目的とするトップ・ダウン法を取り入れた授業——

教師の多くは『アッフ・サイド』（すなわち意味の明瞭さに余り影響を与えるとは思われない音節重視）方式で発音を教授しようとしたり、考えてきた。

本稿では、前述とは異った1つの発音教授法を概念化し提起する。その『トップ・ダウン』教授法とは、フレーズ等意味のある超分節面の発音に重点をおく言語学習方法である。ここでは又、コミュニケーション達成を目標とする語学教授法の枠の中で、このレベルの発音技能を伸ばすのに役立つ技能別演習法や統合的演習法の例も提案する。

1. Introduction

Among speakers of English as a second language that I have instructed, the Japanese have demonstrated some of the most serious pronunciation difficulties. Oral communication is often impaired even when the speaker possesses adequate semantic and syntactic knowledge of the language. The reasons for this seem to be that Japanese learners do not acquire English through a communicative, aural approach in which oral production is delayed long enough to allow the phonological system to be acquired in a natural fashion as advocated, for example, by Krashen & Terrell (1983). Instead, large quantities of vocabulary and complex grammatical rules are memorized without regard for the development of communicative competence. True, some highly motivated learners do succeed in converting this formal learning into accessible patterns that eventually serve them reasonably well in speech

production, but without the solid foundation of a naturally acquired English sound system, they may fall back on the sounds and phonological patterns of Japanese. Hence, the resulting speech can lack several of the English consonantal phonemic distinctions (e.g., /l/ /r/, /ə/ /ɔ/, and /f/ /v/) as well as over half of the English vowel phonemes.

As distressing as this situation may appear, I hold that it is neither the only nor the central issue involved in Japanese pronunciation problems. In fact, in the overall spectrum of pronunciation skills, absolute accuracy of phonemic segments may be much further down the list of priorities than several other higher-level aspects of pronunciation. Even so, it seems that whenever teachers do attempt to provide remedial pronunciation instruction, the segmental level is where their efforts are directed...This represents an upside-down approach.

What I call a **rightside-up approach** to pronunciation focuses on the phrase, or thought-group, as the basic unit of speech comprehension and production. The crucial question for learners, then, is not "How do I make this sound?" or "How do I pronounce this word?" but rather, "How do I say this phrase?" At this level, errors in segmental phoneme production are less significant to overall intelligibility than higher-level errors, that is, those in the suprasegmental domain (Halle & Stevens, 1962; Stevens, 1960). Pennington and Richards (1986) agree that segmental accuracy should not be the fundamental aim of teaching because "accurate production of segmental features does not in itself characterize native-like pronunciation, nor is it the primary basis for intelligible speech" (p. 218).

This is not to say that phonemic accuracy is unimportant or that it should be abandoned as a goal, especially in regard to vowel phonemes, which are particularly problematic to Japanese learners, and which interact most intimately with higher-level pronunciation skills. Until the time comes when Japanese students are afforded the opportunity to acquire English in a more natural manner, pronunciation difficulties of all types will persist, and remedial measures will be necessary. But we teachers need to be aware of the entire spectrum of pronunciation skills and devote an appropriate amount of time and energy to the development of crucial higher-level skills. We should approach pronunciation teaching from a top-down as well as bottom-up perspective, while, as much as possible, remaining within the framework of communicative language teaching.

2. What Does Top-Down Mean?

Top-down processing refers to a system of analyzing and comprehending language that depends primarily on the larger units of meaning. Figure 1 illustrates skills speakers use to produce phrases of oral English. A top-down

Rightside-up Pronunciation for the Japanese

approach to pronunciation teaching would begin with and place most emphasis on the skill areas in the upper portion of the chart: thought-group chunking, intonation (terminal pitch direction), focus, stress, and rhythm. A bottom-up approach, conversely, takes the opposite perspective.

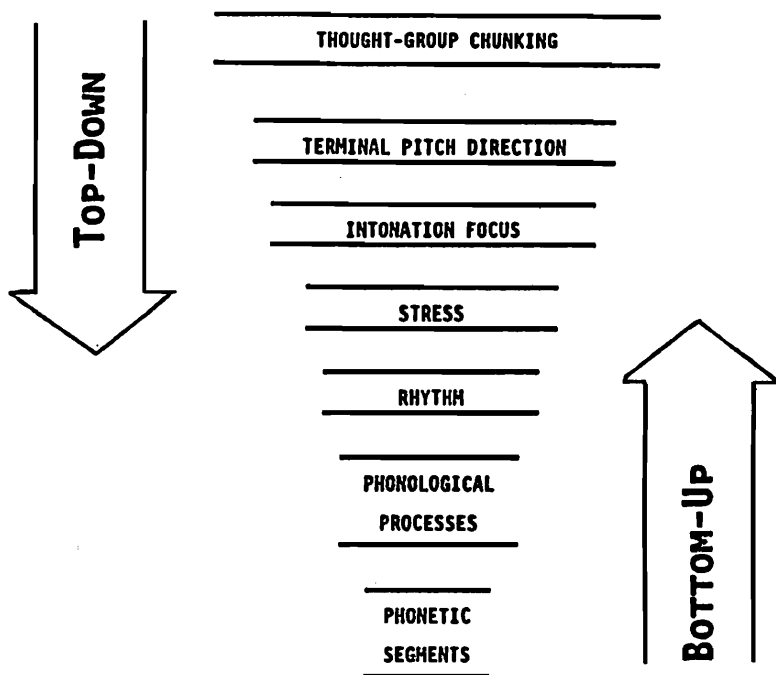


Figure 1.

Skill Areas of Phrasal Language Production

In decoding speech signals, we rely on both bottom-up and top-down processing. Although bottom-up processing serves as a base point for comprehension, it must operate in conjunction with top-down processing. We do not process the individual phonetic segments in real-time linear fashion, but rather engage in a process of sampling and reconstruction (i.e., phonemic restoration) that takes into account expectations based on semantic, syntactic, and general knowledge, and relies very heavily on the regular rhythmic patterning of stress and focus syllables (Clark & Clark, 1977; Kess, 1992). If these higher-level features are not accurately produced, the comprehension process becomes exceedingly taxing and communication often breaks down. Japanese, as it happens, lies at the opposite end from English on a continuum of differences in the use of syllable structure, vowel reduction, and phonetic

influence of stress (Dauer, 1983). Hence, higher-level skills are not only important but particularly difficult for Japanese learners.

Errors in suprasegmental aspects of language have been shown to cause more miscommunication than do errors in individual consonant or vowel sounds (Dirven & Oakeshott-Taylor, 1984). These skills seem to operate on a less conscious level of awareness than do the segmental features or other aspects of language production (Evans, 1982; 1990). While errors in segmental phonemes are readily perceived as errors and either glossed over or sometimes corrected by the listener, suprasegmental errors are most often not recognized as errors and almost never corrected. They often lead to misunderstandings or vague feelings of uneasiness on the part of the listener.

In addition to aiding top-down processing of phonetic signals, higher-level skills play other crucial roles in determining the communicative force of messages. The attitudinal information conveyed by intonation is well documented (e.g., Brazil, Coulthard, & Johns, 1980; Crystal, 1975; O'Connor & Arnold, 1973; Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech, & Svartik, 1972). In addition, higher-level skills shed light on syntactic relationships (see Halliday, 1967; Hirst, 1977) as demonstrated by the fact that the following string, with five thats in a row, causes little confusion when delivered orally:

He said that that "that" that that woman said ought to have been "which."

Brazil, Coulthard, and Johns (1980) emphasize the interactive role of higher-level skills, stating that "intonation choices carry information about the structure of the interaction, the relationship between and the discourse function of individual utterances, the interactional 'given-ness' and 'newness' of information and the state of convergence and divergence of the participants" (p. 11).

In my experience, higher-level pronunciation skills seem to be little understood by teachers and almost entirely neglected in most language training programs. Consequently, pronunciation teaching has traditionally taken a bottom-up perspective. Typically, a pronunciation curriculum begins by providing instruction and practice in distinguishing and producing the array of meaningful phonetic segments (phonemes) of the language. Students may well labor hour after hour over minimal pairs such as sheep/ship, cheat/sheet, liver/river and the like. Although practice such as this is not totally without value, the sad fact is that in many cases here is precisely where pronunciation teaching not only begins, but also ends.

3. What is a Thought-Group?—

How to Mark a Text for Oral Presentation

A thought group is a group of words which are uttered together in one breath, with one intonational contour, and with one intonational focus, or most

Rightside-up Pronunciation for the Japanese

prominently stressed syllable. For example, in answer to the question “What is your favorite fruit?” the sentence “Grapes are my favorite fruit,” would normally be uttered as one thought group:

1. Grapes are my favorite fruit\

The boundaries of thought groups are clearly marked by pauses and one of three types of intonation behavior: terminal, non-terminal, and question intonation. In example 1, \ indicates terminal intonation. That is, the voice falls, indicating the thought is complete.

If the topic of “favorite fruit” had not previously been introduced into the discourse, the speaker would likely set off the new topic in a thought group of its own, appropriately emphasized:

2. Grapes| are my favorite fruit\

Now, with the utterance expressed as two thought groups, the boundary following the first thought group is a non-terminal, indicated by the symbol |. For non-terminal intonation, the voice does not fall to a lower pitch, but rather remains basically level, or even rises slightly. The third possibility is that of a yes-no question, for which the pitch rises significantly. (Rising pitch may be indicated by the symbol /.)

Note, in example 1, that the emphasized information, “grapes,” contains the most prominently stressed syllable (i.e., intonation focus), and is marked with “o.” Two other stressed syllables, marked by “.”, complete the rhythmic structure of the thought group, with approximately the same amount of time occurring between the stressed syllables. This rhythmic stress, extremely important to the comprehension process and the other higher-level skills, may be taught by using communicative lessons. The simple marking system allows teachers or students to mark written or printed sentences on a document itself. Writing the marks in red ink, through which letters may be read, is the ideal way to call attention to stress in a marked text.

4. What Are Communicative Lessons?

Communicative activities play a very important role in the development of productive language skills. They are designed to create opportunities for students to put their acquired linguistic skills to use in a variety of simulated real-life situations, and to develop all the aspects of communicative competence: not only to produce intelligible, grammatical utterances, but to decide what to say when and to whom.

Pronunciation work, in which the focus, by definition, is on form rather than (or at least in addition to) content, effectively excludes the possibility of

totally communicative activities by most definitions. However, it is possible to create activities for the development of pronunciation skills that contain most of the characteristics of communicative activities. The essential elements, as I define the term, are as follows:

1. The utterances/discourse used possesses the characteristics of natural communication, that is, that the language is plausible and presented in contexts that are likely to occur in real life. This requirement would eliminate "The rain in Spain . . ." type of material.
2. The students have at least some creative input into the content of the language and/or are expected to respond to it. That is, the language should not be entirely textbook- or teacher-generated. If this is the case, then surely the third requirement will be fulfilled:
3. The students focus on the content of the message at least as much as on the form.

Communicative activities solve the "carry over" problem. It is a relatively easy task to get a student to mimic accurate pronunciation in class, when the focus is entirely on the form of the utterance. But for that correct pronunciation to become a part of the student's regular speech outside of the classroom, when the focus reverts entirely to content, is a quite different story. Communicative activities in the classroom are an essential bridge to accuracy outside the classroom.

5. How Is Pronunciation Change Effected in Adult ESL Learners?

I believe three basic dimensions are involved in changing pronunciation habits of adult second-language learners: (a) the affective dimension, including both positive attitudes toward the target culture and people, as well as strong motivation to improve language skills the student recognizes to be deficient; (b) the practical dimension, in which the various component skills of pronunciation are practiced and developed; and (c) the monitoring dimension, in which strategies are developed by the student to monitor both the speech of native speakers and the student's own speech with regard to pronunciation skills (Evans, 1990).

Following are descriptions of several types of activities designed to develop students' "upper-level" pronunciation skills. Of course these activities fall into the practical dimension. However, all three dimensions are connected. By engaging in practical activities which emphasize upper-level skills, for example, the student's affective dimension is also influenced. Students will realize the importance of these aspects of pronunciation, of which they most

likely were not even aware before, and their motivation will be enhanced. Likewise, these practical activities, especially when they are communicative, will also serve to develop monitoring strategies that will lead to continued refinement of skills outside the classroom.

6. Types of Top-Down Activities

It is possible to divide top-down activities into two main categories: skill specific, which focus on one skill area at a time; and integrative, that is, those which incorporate all the skills at once.

6.1 Skill-Specific Activities

Before engaging students in integrative top-down activities, the teacher should introduce the various upper-level skills and provide opportunities for communicative practice which focuses on the specific skill.

Emphasis-Shift Activities: Emphasis-shift activities are designed to provide practice in shifting the intonation focus of utterances depending on the new/given status of information during the development of discourse.

Jack O'Diamonds (adapted from Woolward, 1988, p. 7) is a simple card game that can be played with a variable number of players (3 to 6 recommended). The jack of diamonds is placed face-up on the table. Then the rest of the cards in the deck are dealt to the players. Play begins when the dealer calls out "Jack of **DI**amonds." Intonation focus naturally falls on the stressed syllable of the final content word, according to the "basic emphasis rule" (Gilbert, 1984). (In this and further examples, bold capital letters are used to indicate intonation focus.)

The player to the dealer's left then can either play or pass. A play can be made by matching either the suit or the number/name of the card and putting the matching card on top of the card on the table while calling out its name. Any card of the diamond suit would be a match for the jack of diamonds. Likewise, any other jack would be a match. If, for example, the player is holding a jack of hearts, he or she could play it, calling out, "Jack of **HEARTS**." In this case the intonation focus remains on the final content word, as that is the new information. However, if the player played, say, a five of diamonds, he or she would call out, "**FIVE** of diamonds," with the intonation focus shifted to the front of the utterance to highlight the new information.

Play proceeds around the table until one player has played all cards in his or her hand. A typical sequence of emphasis shifts might be as follows:

Jack of Diamonds.

TEN of Diamonds.

Ten of **SPADES**.

ACE of Spades.

Ace of HEARTS.

KING of hearts.

Mission Impossible, developed by Rie Tajiri, also develops the skill of shifting focus. Students work in pairs. Student A receives a mission card—which has several interrogatives (who, where, when, what, etc.) written on it in a specific order—and a sentence card—on which is printed one sentence which includes several adverbial elements. An example is Tom went to the park by bus this morning. A's task is to repeat the sentence several times, varying the position of intonation focus each time according to the order of interrogatives on the mission card. For example, if Student A's card reads "Where—Who—How—When" in that order, she would utter:

Tom went to the **PARK** by bus this morning.

TOM went to the park by bus this morning.

Tom went to the park by **BUS** this morning.

Tom went to the park by bus this **MORNING**.

Student B's task, then, is to write down the appropriate interrogatives in the correct order as suggested by A's delivery (and, of course, to practice saying the sentence appropriately). If B matches the order of interrogatives correctly, the pair earns a point. Play continues with other sentences. The pair with the most correct matches at the end is the winner.

Contrastive Activities: Contrastive or emphatic stress adds an extra level of stress to the intonation focus of utterances. This type of stress is used when a piece of information is contrasted with something said previously, or when mistaken information is being corrected. For example,

MY dad is tougher than **YOUR** dad.

The meeting is not to**DAY**, it's to**MOR**row.

Numerous possibilities exist for exercises on contrastive stress, such as those based on picture differences (Ur, 1981; Yorkey, 1985) or mistaken world trivia, in which students make intentionally incorrect statements about world geography, history, or any other subject, and other students correct them with appropriate contrastive stress. For example,

Tokyo is the capital of China.

Oh no! Tokyo is the capital of Ja**PAN**.

Bei**JING** is the capital of China.

The **Wrong Utensil Activity** operates on the same principle. Materials required consist of sets of plastic knives, forks, and spoons in assorted colors. Have a student ask for a particular utensil in a particular color. For example, Please give me a red spoon.

Then the teacher (or partner) "mistakenly" hands the student either the wrong utensil in the correct color, or the correct utensil in the wrong color. The student then makes an appropriately stressed statement.

Rightside-up Pronunciation for the Japanese

That's not a **RED** spoon; it's a **PINK** one.

That's not a red **SPOON**, it's a red **FORK**.

An interesting combination of mistaken world trivia and picture difference activities is **Earth Reconnaissance Mission**, developed by Neal Peterson. In this activity, students create spontaneous, creative discourse using information about world geography in a simulation of a visit by extra-terrestrials. Students are divided into groups of nine. Three students play the role of space travellers from another galaxy, while the other six become experts on the six inhabited continents of the Earth. Information sheets are provided for the experts giving facts about the continents and their countries. Space travellers receive blank sheets on which certain data must be filled in. A space traveller is put together with experts on two continents, say, Europe and Africa, and must interview the experts in order to fill in the data sheet. During the activity a great deal of contrastive stress would be employed. For example:

Africa's population is six hundred and fifty million.

Oh, Europe has six hundred and **EIGHTY** million people.

The longest river in Africa is the Nile.

Really? The **VOLga** is the longest river in **EUrope**.

Group membership and roles can be shifted frequently in this activity. Tape recording is suggested in this (as in other communicative activities) to allow students to monitor their speech for accuracy of contrastive stress.

Rhythmic Activities: Many types of metrical material emphasize and practice the rhythm of English, such as poems, limericks, songs, and jazz chants (Graham, 1978). A communicative element can be injected into activities of this type if students contribute to the content of the material, as by filling in missing words or lines, and/or by responding in some way to the content.

Both criteria are met in the activity **Geography Jazz Chants**, suggested by Mamiko Okuma. This activity follows a study of the names of the 50 U.S. states, with particular emphasis on placement of word stress. Groups work together to make up short chants about states. This is done by filling in blanks in a model, as follows:

Where is _____?

It's next to _____.

It's north of _____.

And south of _____.

What's _____ known for?

It's famous for its _____.

Students are free to vary the model in any way. They can add syllables by "un-contracting" contractions, or by using expressions with more syllables

such as *to the north of* rather than *north of*, and so on. They can also add other types of statements.

The students then compete with other groups by reciting their chant, substituting the name of the state with the appropriate number of “da” syllables, stressed appropriately. The other team would then try to figure out the name of the state. For example:

Where is da-da-**DA**?
It's next to Indi**AN**a,
It's south of Wis**CON**sin,
And north of Kent**UCK**y.
What's da-da-**DA KNOWN** for?
It's famous for Abe **LIN**coln.

Another fascinating example of the use of metrical material is Beatta Ballard's **JAM (Japanese-American) Raps**. The concept is to employ the style and rhythm of rap music to provide practice for ESL students in the suprasegmental elements—especially rhythm—of English. The communicative aspect comes in the development of personalized rap material. The student communicates personal information such as likes, dislikes, special interests, ambitions, and the like with the teacher. The teacher then works with the student to develop his or her own, individualized rap. The student rehearses the rap to the accompaniment of bongo drums or music, and finally presents it to an audience. Competitions for best performance could be held. The following is an excerpt from “Searching for Mr. Right,” created by a student at Saint Michael's College.

Yo, everybody! Everybody yo!
My name is Aya but I'm also known as Ayako!
I'm a serious student from faraway Japan
And I came to the West with a serious plan—
I came to travel, I came to study,
And I came to find me a man!

You wanna hear about it? Here we go!
But I'm warning you now, it's a tale of woe!
So get out your handkerchiefs and hold on tight
And I'll tell you 'bout my search for Mr. Right!

Mr. Right, Mr. Right!
I've searched for him both day and night.
From Istanbul to Dublin to the Isle of Wight,
So many wrongs but no Mr. Right!

6.2 Integrative Activities.

A detailed look at an integrative-type activity illustrates more precisely how the various upper-level skills operate in English. The general pattern involved in such activities is (a) textual analysis followed by (b) intensive practice leading to (c) best-effort production. It is also strongly recommended that a text-creation stage precede this pattern.

News Broadcast: In this activity, the class or small groups work together to create and produce a news broadcast. The content of the news can be determined by the students—either real current events on the local, national, or international scale, or news of their campus or intensive English program. Obviously the first stage, developing the script, integrates all the communication skills of English, including much discussion, interviewing, reading, writing, editing, and proofreading.

After scripts have been written and polished, the textual analysis begins. Appendix 1 (a–d) provides an example of a fully marked text after all steps in the analysis have been completed. It uses the system described in section 3. Here the text is (a) divided into thought groups and (b) the pitch direction at the end of each thought group is marked. Next, (c) the focus of each thought group is determined and marked. Finally, (d) each stressed syllable in the thought group is indicated for purposes of assigning rhythm to the phrase. This analysis can be done as a group consensus-reaching communicative activity in consultation with the teacher. Analyzing and practicing bits of actual radio or TV news broadcasts can serve as intermediate steps to the creation of student written scripts.

In the practice stage, each student rehearses his or her part, concentrating in turn on each of the upper-level features, until the student is able to deliver the script in the most natural and most intelligible way possible. Finally, during the production stage, the “news show” would be taped—either on video or audio tape.

Activities of this type are especially effective because (a) they provide top-down integrated work on all the features of pronunciation; (b) they have a built-in purpose in that they simulate the process which actual broadcast journalists go through to get the news on the air; and (c) the student generated content stimulates interest and motivation.

Any number of variations on this type of activity can be developed. Several ideas are suggested below:

Interview: Students roleplay famous personalities, either living or dead.

Talk Show: This is similar to the interview but with more participants, for example, a talk-show host and a panel of guests.

Documentary: This is very similar to the news broadcast except that a more in-depth presentation of various aspects of a theme is presented.

Skit: This heading includes any type of dramatic or comic acting ranging from the simple 5-minute skit to a full production of a play complete with costumes and scenery.

CCVD: CCVD is an acronym for **Cross-Cultural Video Drama**, a special type of humorous skit, which groups of students create, practice, and produce on video tape. The content of the skit concerns cultural misunderstandings that occur when two cultures come into contact. Typical situations for Japanese students could involve Japanese tourists in the U.S. unfamiliar with the custom of tipping, or an American exchange student meeting his or her host family in Japan (not removing shoes, not knowing bathing customs, etc.). The procedure for this activity, which is an on-going unit comprising work over several class meetings, is virtually identical to that of the news broadcast. However, after videotaping the skits a "film festival" is held, in which all the various skits are shown and awards for categories such as Best Skit, Best Performance (male, female, supporting, etc.), Best Props/Costumes and the like are presented.

7. Conclusion

This article has presented what may well be, for many teachers, a different way of thinking about pronunciation. It is an approach which, in effect, inverts the more common practice of equating pronunciation solely with segmental phonemic accuracy and, in fact, places greater emphasis on the higher-level aspects of thought grouping, focus, stress, intonation, and rhythm. It is meant not to neglect but rather to enhance development of phonemic accuracy.

In order to help learners effect real, significant improvement in intelligibility that will carry over from the classroom to "real-life" communicative situations, communicative exercises, both skill-specific and integrative, are recommended. Those described in this paper were developed and are being used in language classes at Saint Michael's College.

The author wishes to thank Beatrice Ballard, Mamiko Okuma, Neal Peterson, and Rie Tajiri for allowing me to describe pronunciation activities they have developed in the Center for International Programs, and Antonio Esteve for his news broadcast script.

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Appendix 1

Student Text Marked for Thought-Group Division, Intonation Contours, Focus, and Stress

\ = terminal falling intonation; | = non-terminal intonation; / = rising intonation; • = normal stress; ° = most highly stressed syllable in a thought group

Christmas Postponed this Year

by Antonio Esteve

Last Friday evening| a death took place| in Vermont skies.\ While taking
Santa back home,| flying over Chittenden County,| Rudolph the Red Nosed
Reindeer| was shot| by an unscrupulous hunter.\

"I didn't know what was going on.\ After the blast,| I almost lost control of
the sled,"\ Santa said.\

No one was hurt| in the rough landing.\ As soon as Santa went to see what
was going on,| he saw poor Rudolph| shot in the neck.\ "He was bleeding
terribly,"\ Santa said.\

Rudolph died| five minutes after getting to the veterinarian.\ As his nose
slowly stopped shining,| his final words| were "Santa,| it's about time| you
bought some bulletproof vests,| before the hunting season| is over.\

After the funeral services,| sadness| was the only feeling| among Rudolph's
friends.\



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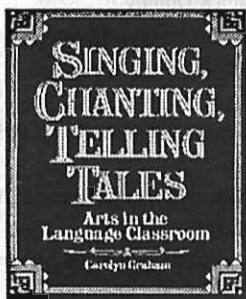
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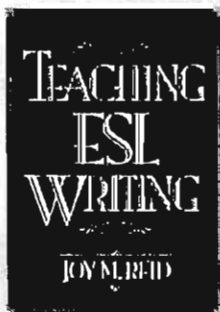


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Developing Fluency with Pair Taping

Peter Schneider

Shiga University of Medical Science

Students in their second year of a large, weekly English conversation course in Shiga University of Medical Science were given the option of recording their free conversations in pairs four times a week. They were to do this during the day in the language laboratory, to log in there, and to pass in their tapes. Those who subsequently chose to do pair taping had a significant improvement in fluency ($p < 0.001$) over the year that was more than double ($p < 0.01$) that of the control group of those using a pair work text in the regular class. The pair taping students also had a listening comprehension improvement similar to the regular students, but a significantly higher increase in enjoyment and ease in speaking. The success with this technique may be due to the efficacy of learning something often in multiple short periods, and to students being relaxed, confident and motivated when studying on their own. Foreign language teachers anywhere could feasibly use pair taping to help students improve their speaking.

録音テープを利用した英会話力向上の自主的練習 (pair taping)

滋賀医科大学で週一回の割で実施される多人数クラスの英会話の授業では二年生になると、従来の教室授業の代替として自主的な英会話練習を選択できるようにした。その場合、週四回二人一組で話題を自由に選びながら英語で意思疎通を試み、毎回23分間テープに録音するのである。この pair taping グループはL1教室において練習を録音した上で、その実践について所定の用紙に記録してテープを提出するよう義務づけられた。pair taping を選択した者は一年後表現力にかなりの進歩がみとめられた ($p < 0.001$)。教師の指導のもとで指定された教科書で学習する通常のグループと比較して実に2.5倍の進歩度 ($p < 0.01$) である。もう一点注目すべきことは、pair taping グループは聴解力の点で通常学習グループに引けを取らないほど向上していた。また、英語をしゃべることが楽しいと思うようになった変化の度合いが通常学習グループに比較し、より一層顕著であった。この教育方法が効を奏した理由として、短時間の練習を何度も行なって練習効果をあげたこと、自主的に学んでいるという気持ちでいるため学生がリラックスでき、自信をもって、さらにやる気を起こせたことがあげられる。中級程度の外国語としての英語を担当する教師はこの pair taping 方式を学生の英会話力向上に役立てることができるだろう。

1. Introduction

An obvious problem in college English conversation courses in Japan is large classes (Caprio, 1990; Helgesen, 1987). The average number of students

is 38, and 50 is not uncommon (LoCastro, 1988). Such students would communicate very little in English if it weren't for group and pair work giving them ample opportunities to speak, and allowing them to focus on meaning and feel more at ease (Long & Porter, 1985).

A second problem is that a single period a week (Caprio, 1990; Helgesen, 1987) is the norm. Students who have seldom if ever practiced speaking English in their previous six years of studying it will do so only about fifty times in college. Experience shows that while students can attain reasonable levels of comprehension and speak at least haltingly when leaving a two-year course, they will soon be claiming to be unable to do either. English conversation seems to have become for them merely something they once studied.

2. Pair Taping Technique

One hundred sophomores in two classes of fifty at Shiga University of Medical Science in 1990 were asked at the beginning of the first day of English Conversation if they would like to make frequent recordings in pairs in the language laboratory instead of coming to their weekly 90- to 100-minute class. They were told that their speaking ability might be increased more by doing so. The taping would be done on two 46-minute cassettes a week, one side a day, at any time during the day, for four days of the six-day school week, or the equivalent ($23 \times 4 = 92$) of their weekly period. Anything could be talked about with any partner. The regular class would use the second volume of the pair-oriented text they had studied in their freshman year and continue to have weekly quizzes and finals on the dialogs it contained. Students could change from the regular class to the pair taping or the reverse for the second semester. Those who decided then to do pair taping left class that first day after a time was arranged for them to come to the language laboratory a day later. At that meeting the procedure to be followed was explained.

The next school day, these students began taping, and aside from attending part of the second class, weren't formally met with again until the last class of the year. Each week the teacher collected the tapes. Two tapes for different times were removed from each set of four, fast-forwarded, and listened to for a few moments, first on one side and then the other, and then in another place. Pairs had recorded with microphones facing each other, and only if all or part of a tape was blank—inevitably the result of carelessness—was the backup tape for the same day checked. However, students had to re-record if there was such a problem with both of their tapes. Notes were attached to tapes to this effect, or to tapes that had long silent spaces, students reading on them, more than two voices,¹ or Japanese other than in short phrases like "How do you say. . . ?" Notes were also left on a bulletin board asking students who were falling behind to come and see the teacher. They were told that they had to catch up

Developing Fluency with Pair Taping

and to tape daily, or in special circumstances, twice a day, which everyone did. To show that tapes were being listened to, I would occasionally talk, in passing, to particular students about things I had heard said.

3. Experimental Methods

Throughout the year the students remaining in the regular classes did the prescribed tasks in *Person To Person* (Richards & Bycina, 1985), interspersed with "breaks" for open-ended pair conversations, and so were also working in pairs, except for when taking quizzes, hearing brief explanations, repeating dialogs, or having biweekly listening practice; they served as control, albeit not strictly so in that the groups had not been randomly selected. The teacher didn't have the authority or the desire to decree that classwork be done outside of classtime.

At the beginning of the second class, the taping and regular students went to the language laboratory together and took a test consisting of item-analyzed questions from a TOEFL examination. Students of both groups then recorded a conversation with someone in the same group for 23 minutes. At the end of the year, the listening comprehension test was taken again and students recorded with the same partner as in the second class. They also filled out a questionnaire in which they were asked if, and to what extent, they enjoyed English more, found English easier to speak, and thought their English had improved.

The pair taping students also evaluated the efficacy of taping conversations and of speaking frequently. All students also indicated as well which class they were in, "taping" or "regular," or if they had changed from one to the other, or had listened to or spoken English during the school year somewhere other than in their courses. The tapes of 57 students remained after the removal of those tapes that were poorly recorded, or those from students who had changed from one group to the other, gone to a language school, been active in the English Speaking Society, or had any other significant separate exposure to English.

Word count is an accepted measure of fluency (Higgs & Clifford, 1982), and the first fifteen minutes of words from the second and last classes on these eligible tapes were counted with a timer and clicker-style hand counter to determine if the change in fluency of the taping and regular students differed. Obviously needless repetitions, however, were not counted. The idea was that counting just significant novel output would be better than a mass word count for measuring actual change in speaking ability.

4. Results

The word count of the 26 pair taping students of 387.6 (± 96) (mean \pm standard deviation) at the end of the year was shown by the *t*-test to be sig-

nificantly higher than their $284.5 (\pm 111)^2$ at the beginning ($p < 0.001$). That of the 31 students in the regular class went from $255.3 (\pm 74.0)$ at the beginning to $292.5 (\pm 81.5)$ at the end (n.s.). The taping students individually improved by 48% ($1.48 [\pm 0.47]$), which was more than twice as much as, and significantly greater ($p < 0.01$), than the 20% ($1.20 [\pm 0.32]$) of the regular students. This difference is shown in Figure 1.

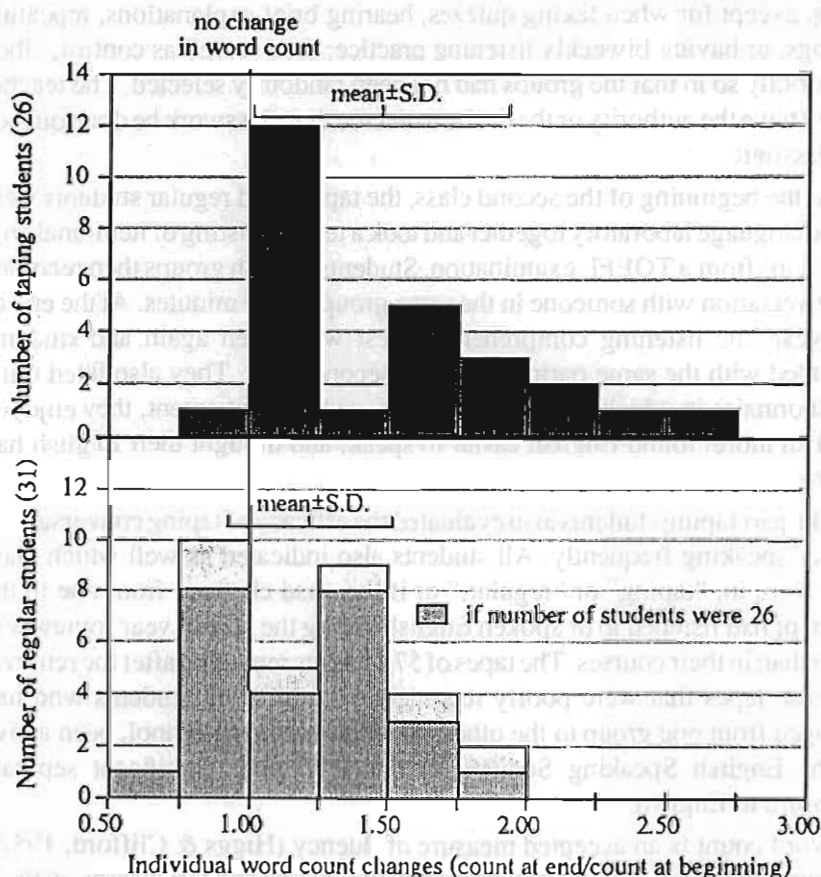


Figure 1.

Individual Word Count Changes of Taping and Regular Students

The changes in word count are expressed as the number of words of each student at the end of the year divided by that at the beginning; thus the value at which there was no change is 1.00. The darker shading in the regular group was added to give the results a balanced appearance by showing how they would look if the regular group were the same size as the pair taping group.

Developing Fluency with Pair Taping

The results of the listening comprehension test were also interesting. At the beginning the taping students correctly answered an average of 9.46 (± 2.58) of the 23 questions, and the regular students a similar 9.58 (± 2.44). The mean answered by the taping students at the end was 13.19 (± 2.79), a statistically significant increase ($p < 0.001$). The regular students' increase to 12.35 (± 2.60) was also a significant one ($p < 0.001$).³ Thus the increase of the taping students was equal to that of the others and not negatively affected by doing only pair taping.

The answers to the questionnaire were in accord with the word count results. Twenty-five taping students responded to "Do you enjoy English more now?"—significantly more positively ($p < 0.005$) than did the 31 regular students (1.68 [± 0.69] vs. 1.12 [± 0.73]). The same was true with "Is it easier for you to speak English now?" (1.40 [± 0.65] vs. 1.07 [± 0.58]; $p < 0.05$). The response to "Has your English speaking improved?" of the taping students was also more affirmative, but not significantly so (1.00 [± 0.50] vs. 0.77 [± 0.75]).

What these students were unequivocal about was the usefulness of the technique. Their most enthusiastic responses were to "Do you think taping conversations in English is useful?" (2.76 [± 0.75]), and to "Do you think it is more useful to speak English in many short periods a week than in a usual class?" (2.38 [± 0.75]).

5. Discussion

As can be seen in Figure 1, there was a rather wide variation in the word count results. But this was a predictable one, as foreign language improvement is seldom uniform. The data gathered here also does not reveal such things as smoother delivery, or the possibility that someone's chances to speak on the final tape were limited by a talkative partner. While the greater word count increase of the taping students might be partially attributable to their having spoken with close friends, this is an argument for pair taping rather than against it, since it is preferable that students be in a friendly environment. The success with pair taping may have something to do with the fact that learner participation in decision making leads to increased productivity (Bachman, 1964). Aside from where to tape and how long and how often, the students made all the decisions with respect to pair taping. First they determined to do it, and from then on decided the topics to talk about and the time to tape. When those who had chosen to tape the following year were asked why they had done so, almost half answered that it was to improve their speaking, but just as many said they wanted to set their own class time.

Students involved in self-instruction like this, Dickinson (1987, pp. 24-25) states, tend to be more confident and less inhibited, do better, live up to the faith shown in them by being allowed to take charge of their own learning, and feel closer to the teacher. These characteristics were confirmed here. The pair taping students became perceptibly more open and confident about speaking, as their greater reported pleasure and ease in it would suggest. The students also appeared to be trying harder. However, making the time to do the frequent pair taping took some effort, and the effect was that the taping received high priority in their daily schedules. In a sense, pair taping belonged to them, for unlike in their other classes, they were in charge. Many pairs working in the language laboratory at the same time seemed to make the room theirs and to create a certain *esprit de corps*.

An interesting change in rapport also took place: The taping students became friendlier toward me. The former feeling between us—that I was attempting to get them to learn despite their moderate resistance—appeared to be replaced by one of mutual endeavor. Many seemed to take my listening to the tapes as a kind of personal attention and to look at the taping as an act of creating something for me. This appeared to give the taping a certain added importance to them. Worry was even expressed about all the homework I supposedly had given myself. On my part there was a greater awareness of individuals. There had been much less chance for such awareness when having to keep track of everyone at once. Ironically, I got to know students much better as a result of not seeing them in class.

While the above suggests that the students will do better when motivated by taking charge of their own study, the greater fluency improvement with pair taping cannot be wholly accredited to the benefits of autonomous learning. Another important element must have been the multiple times per week that pairs spoke. It has been shown that “distributed” memorizing is more effective than “massed,” in other words, that greater learning takes place when done at intervals rather than all at once (Stevick, 1976, p. 28). Speaking English many times a week could also help in accessing the latent grammar and vocabulary accumulated over the years of schooling. Certainly speaking English on a regular basis should cause the act of communicating in it to lose some of its exoticism and literally to result in its becoming more of an everyday thing.

Those doing pair taping might be expected to need some monitoring. But little was actually required, apart from that of the infrequent “past offender,” once it was ascertained that the pair taping form was understood and being followed. The checking that was done was as much for the students themselves,

who could even have felt betrayed if they thought their tapes were never being listened to, as it was for the purposes of evaluation. There were also more instances of taping being put off or too much of it being done at one time than there were of suspect tapes. Anyone would have been reluctant to leave a "record" of silence or of speaking Japanese. The pair taping technique was self-monitoring in a sense, then, and this was the case because of the invisible presence of the teacher.

As would be expected among students who haven't had years of talking together, no special way of speaking that might constitute a pidgin was heard on tapes. The question of whether pidginization or, for that matter, fossilization occurs may be academic, though, with students like these, with whom the condition that grammar come first has already been satisfied. It should be hard to disagree with letting fluency be focused on in the final year of their formal education in English. Speech as fluent as possible, even flawed speech, must be preferable at this point to more hesitant speech which is almost if not equally imperfect. Furthermore, possible chronic errors were dealt with by having the students take end-of-term examinations based on a bilingual book with advice about specific English that poses problems for Japanese (Schneider, 1989).

6. Conclusion

The technique of pair taping allowed students to achieve a significant increase in fluency in English when compared with students in a regular class. Those sophomores who used it found speaking significantly easier and more enjoyable than their classmates did, and had equal listening comprehension improvement. They also evaluated the technique quite favorably.

While this is a preliminary report, and the procedure has yet to be tried on a large number or wide range of students, nor has the method of counting been sufficiently described, frequent pair taping appears to have great potential for developing latent conversational skills. It utilizes self-directed learning with its power to motivate, and helps to activate passively learned knowledge by giving increased chances to speak. The better results with pair taping than with ordinary pair work suggest that it would be an even more viable alternative for students who have never had pair work. Foreign language teachers, particularly those with restrictive classroom situations, could have, in pair taping, an effective way to get intermediate students speaking.

Notes

¹ Monologues were acceptable, but not "trilogues," which leave less time for each student to speak. "Three's a crowd" also seems to be a truism in free conversations, for one of the three often seems to get lost in it and does not join in.

² The *t*-test was used throughout; the number of subjects remained the same unless shown otherwise; normal distribution was assumed.

³ These very large improvements in listening comprehension may reflect that students had taken the test one other time within the school year (data not given), ten weeks before it ended.

I would like to thank Takashi Aoyama and Hidenori Yonehara for aid in designing the project and analyzing the results, Ikuko Sonoda for helping with the details, William F. Reis for the listening comprehension test, and Matthew Taylor and Tim Murphey for their encouragement and advice. These results with pair taping were presented under the title Frequent Pair Taping is Twice as Effective at JALT '91 in Kobe.

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The English Vocabulary of 21 Japanese Adults on a High Proficiency Level

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In a recent article entitled "How Large Can a Receptive Vocabulary Be?" (Goulden, Nation, & Read, 1990), the authors discuss the methods employed in designing tests for the measurement of English vocabulary of native speakers in New Zealand. Since the methods differ from the more common ones, such as multiple choice tests, it may be worthwhile to examine their procedures of test construction and to consider the possibility of adaptations for the measurement of the English vocabulary of Japanese speakers of English. After an explication of their methods of test design, a pilot project with 21 Japanese adults, with at least a moderately high levels of proficiency in English, was carried out in order to study the test results and reactions. The base vocabulary size scores made by the subjects ranged from 4,900 to 12,100 with a group average of 7,770, while for 20 native speakers in the New Zealand study "average scores on the five tests ranged from 13,200 to 20,700 with a group average of 17,200" (Goulden et al., 1990, p. 358). Lists included in this article show sample tests which enable readers to replicate the study.

21人の日本人英語堪能者の英語語彙調査

Applied Linguistics 1990. Vol.11, No.4に英語ネイティブ・スピーカーの受容語彙数算定を狙いとするテスト開発並びに20人の大学卒業被験者へのテスト結果を報告する論文が掲載された。本稿ではその内容を概括・吟味し、併せて、筆者を含む21人の英語教師を中心とする日本人英語堪能者への同一テスト実施結果を分析・検討するのが目的である。

"Base Word" 基準ではあるが、被験者21人の英語認識語彙数範囲は4,900～12,100、又、そのグループ平均は7,770と云う相対的に低い結果が得られた。

1. Introduction

An important aspect of language acquisition was recently addressed in an informative and interesting article entitled "How Large Can a Receptive Vocabulary Be?" (Goulden, Nation, & Read, 1990). The study is informative in that, with methodological precision and appropriate precautions, it explored and determined the vocabulary size of adult native speakers of English. The paper is of interest not only to vocabulary specialists but also to ordinary teachers of English as a second language, and to Japanese learners and teachers of English alike in that it contains vocabulary size tests which provide

an opportunity to estimate the potential size of an individual's English vocabulary. Such being the case, it is meaningful and worthwhile to report on the author's attempts to estimate the potential size of his English vocabulary resulting from his 31 years of English study and 15 years of English teaching. Accordingly, the substance of the Goulden et al. (1990) study is presented in Section 2, followed in Section 3 by Diack's (1975) testing and assessment procedure explained by Goulden et al., and then in Section 4, an investigation into the estimates of the author's vocabulary size. Finally, the results of the Goulden et al. tests taken by 20 Japanese who are all proficient in English are given in Section 5.

2. Substance of the Study

The aim of the Goulden et al. (1990) study was to develop a method for determining the potential size of an average native speaker's receptive vocabulary. In order to accomplish this, they attempted to overcome methodological problems involved in previous studies of vocabulary size which were based on dictionary sampling, and to find satisfactory solutions for the following three questions: (a) "How do we decide what to count as words?" (b) "How do we choose what words to test?" and (c) "How do we test the chosen words?" (p. 343).

In order to make more realistic estimates of vocabulary size on the basis of the number of words in a dictionary, they classified English words into the following categories (p. 345):

1. Base words: "A corresponding base word must occur as a main entry in the dictionary. . . . A word was classified as a base word if it was the least inflected form of a group of related words. . . . When there was a choice between items of roughly similar length or inflection then nouns or verbs were counted as the base rather than adjectives or adverbs. . . ."
2. Derived words: "Derived words are defined generally as words which require minimal extra learning. . . . The meaning of the derived word must be clear from the meaning of the parts that make up the word or involve the minimum of extra learning. . . . Irregular inflectional forms are included as derived words. . . . Words consisting of common prefixes . . . attached to base words are marked 'derived.'"
3. Proper words: "Proper words are those in which the dictionary indicates as being usually, often, or sometimes capitalized."

4. Compound words: "Compound words consist of two or more words separated by a space or a hyphen."
5. Others: "'Others' include symbols, prefixes and suffixes, letters, abbreviations, alternative spellings, archaic words, and dialect words."

Thus, for example, "write" would be classified as a base word, "rewrite" as a derived word, "Bible" as a proper word, "writing desk" as a compound word, and "w" under "others."

The following results were obtained from three spaced samples of *Webster's Third International Dictionary* (1961), chosen by the authors "because it is the largest non-historical dictionary of English" (p. 344).

Table 1.
Results of Three Spaced Samples of *Webster's Third*

Classification	Sample 1	Sample 2	Sample 3	Total
Base	164 (22.7%)	181 (22.8%)	147 (26.1%)	492 (23.9%)
Derived	201 (27.9%)	227 (28.6%)	156 (27.8%)	584 (28.1%)
Proper	61 (8.5%)	50 (6.3%)	60 (10.7%)	171 (8.5%)
Compound	223 (30.9%)	252 (31.8%)	147 (26.1%)	622 (29.6%)
Others	72 (10.0%)	83 (10.5%)	52 (9.3%)	207 (9.9%)
Total	721	793	562	2,076

(Goulden et al., 1990, p. 347)

In order to translate the percentages from the samples in Table 1 into general estimates of the number of Webster's Third entries in each category, they utilized two outside estimates. First, although "the preface to the dictionary says that it has a vocabulary of over 450,000 words" (p. 344), "if same line entries are excluded, the dictionary [according to the Dupuy (1974) study] contains around 267,000 entries" (p. 345). Second, since "Thorndike (1924) and Williams (1932) found that the failure of vocabulary researchers to take account of homographs was a major sampling error in vocabulary size estimates" (p. 344), they had to determine what proportion of the total entries in *Webster's Third* would be subsequent homographs. The figure of 15 per cent, the estimate found in the Goulden (1984) study, was used for this calculation. By the use of the two confirmed estimates, namely, 267,000 entries and 40,050 subsequent homographs (i.e., 15 per cent of 267,000), Goulden et al. (1990) transformed the figures in Table 1 into the proportions and totals of the classified word types in *Webster's Third* given in Table 2 below.

Table 2.
Proportions and Totals of Types of Entries in *Webster's Third*

Word Type	Estimated Number of Entries	Percentage of Entries
Base	54,241	20.3
Derived	63,773	23.9
Proper	19,291	7.2
Compound	67,177	25.2
Others	22,468	8.4
Subsequent Homographs	40,050	15.0
Total	267,000	100.0

(Goulden et al., 1990, p. 348)

For the preparation of vocabulary test samples, Goulden et al. (1990) decided to exclude derived words, proper words, compound words, and a variety of items classified under "others" from their test list.¹ An estimate of 54,241 base words in the whole dictionary is given in Table 2. A one-percent sample of the base words should contain 542 words; however, Table 1 shows that there is a total of 492 base words obtained from the three samples. Therefore, Goulden et al. (1990) selected 50 more base words by means of spaced sampling and added them to the list for the development of a one-percent sample of the base words in *Webster's Third*.

In order for the list to contain a suitable number of high frequency words, they examined the number of words in the list which appeared in Thorndike and Lorge's (1944) word frequency list. Based on their analysis of a one-percent sample of the Thorndike and Lorge 30,000-word list, they expected a total of 139 base words in that list to occur in their Webster's list; however, only 123 Thorndike and Lorge words occurred. They thought it important that the high-frequency words, the words most likely to be known, should not be over-represented nor under-represented. Therefore, they randomly selected 16 base words at suitable levels from the Thorndike and Lorge list and added them to their list; at the same time, they dropped 16 base words from among the lowest-frequency words in their list for the purpose of maintaining a one-percent sample of the base words in *Webster's Third*.

Because their 542-word sample was drawn from *Webster's Third* published in 1961, they attempted to allow for some recent additions to the language. This was done by classifying 90 words (i.e., a one-percent sample) selected by means of spaced sampling from *9,000 Words* published in 1983, the most recent addition to *Webster's Third*, into the categories of word types which they had previously specified. Twenty-nine of the 90 words were found to be base words not included in *Webster's Third* and were added to their 542-word

list, making a total of 571 words as a Webster's representative sample of the base words.

To prepare their test list composed of 571 base words, the authors put the words in order of frequency. In the beginning of the list were words found in Thorndike and Lorge (1944); next came words not listed in Thorndike and Lorge (1944), but ones listed in *Webster's Collegiate Dictionary* (1979); and those not found in either of these were placed toward the end. In addition, since the testing was done in New Zealand, some words likely to be known to native-speaking adults in that country because of their frequency in contemporary usage were moved upward on the list. On the basis of the results of a pilot test with a small group of native speakers, they divided the complete list into two sections: one composed of 250 words more or less likely to be known by native speakers, and the other of 321 words not likely to be known. They then subdivided the first section into 5 separate, but equivalent tests, each containing 50 words.

The tests were given to 20 native speakers who were university graduates over the age of 22. The estimates of vocabulary size ranged from 13,200 to 20,700 with a group average of 17,200 base words.

3. Diack's Testing and Assessment Procedure

The Goulden et al. (1990) study includes not only the tests which they developed but also a test taken from a set of 50 tests prepared by Diack (1975). The reason for their inclusion of Diack's test is that they considered it necessary to examine his approach to vocabulary testing because their testing procedure was fairly closely modeled on that of Diack, who obtained relatively lower estimates of vocabulary size than those of other investigators. Diack's testing procedure is described as "an example of the most straightforward method of measuring knowledge of words: a "yes/no" or checklist approach, in which the respondents are simply asked to indicate whether they know each word or not" (p. 354). A decision as to whether one knows a word or not is left to the respondents and is made subjectively on the basis of their being fairly sure that they know at least one meaning of the word (p. 354). For the actual use of his tests, Diack required his respondents to express some kind of knowledge of the last five words that they thought they knew (i.e., the five checked furthest down the list). For each of the five words, he gave the following directions:

You can show your knowledge of the word by giving a synonymous word or phrase, by using it in a sentence that demonstrates your knowledge, or you can do it by diagram or sketch. (Diack, 1975, p. 6, cited in Goulden et al., 1990, p. 354)

Supplying appropriate explanations of all or most of the five words, having been checked with a dictionary, is taken to mean that "all of the previous words that were thought to be known were in fact known and so the score is simply the total number of words known" (p. 354).

Diack's assessment procedure is briefly explained in the following account by Goulden et al.:

1. "The tests are divided into six frequency levels; each level represents 6,000 words and so each test item represents 600 words" (p. 352).
2. "In order to improve the reliability of the procedure, Diack recommends that people should take at least three of the tests and use the average score as the basis for estimating the size of their vocabulary, which is calculated by multiplying the average score by 600" (p. 354).

It is necessary to touch upon Goulden et al.'s indication of a scoring adjustment for a more appropriate interpretation of the scores made on Diack's tests. On the basis of their comparison of five of Diack's tests with Thorndike and Lorge's (1944) word frequency list, they found that Diack's division of the 60 words in each test into six frequency levels relied on the Thorndike and Lorge study (p. 353). As seen in the table below, however, Goulden et al.'s analysis of Thorndike and Lorge indicated that there would be only 13,900 base words in the list of 30,000 words.

Type	Items in Sample	Percentage of Total	Estimated Totals in Thorndike and Lorge
Base	139	46.3	13,900
Derived	118	39.3	11,800
Proper Words	39	13.0	3,900
Abbreviations, etc.	4	1.3	400
Total	300	100.0	30,000

(Goulden et al., 1990, p. 349)

This means that "he [Diack] did not take account of the large number of derived words in Thorndike and Lorge which are already represented by base words in the list" (p. 353). Accordingly, Goulden et al. (1990) suggest that "it is therefore necessary to multiply a learner's score on Levels 1 to 4 by 0.46 [i.e. 13,900/30,000] or 9/20, or roughly, to reduce it by half" (p. 353).

4. Estimates of Vocabulary Size: A Self Assessment

In order to get an estimate of my vocabulary size, I completed one of Diack's tests. The whole list entitled Test Number 24, extracted from Goulden et al. (1990, pp. 352-353), is provided below, and ticks were put beside the numbers of the words that I thought I knew, that is, those whose meanings, at least one meaning of each, I was absolutely sure of.

List 1. Diack Test Number 24		
Level 1	Level 2	Level 3
✓ 1 asphalt	✓ 11 asterisk	21 absorbent
✓ 2 carol	✓ 12 centigrade	22 carnage
✓ 3 desert	✓ 13 density	23 deluge
✓ 4 encyclopaedia	14 estuary	✓ 24 eliminate
5 oblong	✓ 15 negative	✓ 25 negotiate
✓ 6 paragraph	16 perforated	✓ 26 parole
7 rafter	✓ 17 radius	27 recalcitrant
✓ 8 scale	✓ 18 section	✓ 28 rudimentary
✓ 9 scarcity	✓ 19 solitary	✓ 29 stringent
10 trapeze	✓ 20 superfluous	30 translucent
Level 4	Level 5	Level 6
31 acrimony	41 Anabaptist	51 albumen
32 bauxite	42 chiaroscuro	52 cacique
33 cachet	43 dragoman	53 dunnage
34 denouement	44 eidolon	54 enclitic
35 egregious	45 nenuphar	55 niello
36 obeisance	46 parallax	56 paraheliotropism
✓ 37 paradox	47 parang	57 radula
✓ 38 rationale	48 recalescence	58 rocambole
39 sacrosanct	49 rococo	59 surrebuter
40 zany	50 subpoena	60 talus

(Cited in Goulden et al., 1990, pp. 352-353)

The last five words that I ticked were "parole," "rudimentary," "stringent," "paradox," and "rationale." For each of these five words, native-speaking respondents were required to express some kind of knowledge by writing in accordance with Diack's instructions, yet I found it much easier and quicker to check my knowledge of these words by consulting an English-Japanese dictionary, and in fact, the meanings that I thought they had were given in the dictionary. As was noted previously, "Diack recommends that people should take at least three of the tests and use the average score as the basis for estimating the size of their vocabulary" (p. 354), yet two other tests were not available to me for that purpose. The result of the only one Diack test indicates

that my vocabulary size is around 13,000 by the Diack standards, calculated by multiplying 22 by 600. According to the adjustment of scores on Diack's tests suggested by Goulden et al. (1990), however, my vocabulary size is estimated to be 6,000, calculated by multiplying 13,000 by 0.46.

Before moving on to the presentation of my results on the Goulden et al. tests, I should report on the gist of their testing and assessment procedure. As was mentioned previously, the testing procedure is substantially similar to that of Diack, that is, the "yes/no-tick" method together with the requirements for respondents to express some kind of knowledge of the last five words that they ticked and to check the explanations of those words in a dictionary by themselves. One difference is the use of question marks in order for respondents to mark words whose meanings they are not sure of exactly so they can easily check the doubtful words a second time and change the marks to ticks if definitions are correct. Words with question marks are not counted in scoring (p. 358). with regard to the assessment procedure, Goulden et al. (1990) give the following directions on the grounds that the 571 words contained in their list are a one-percent representative sample of the base words in *Webster's Third and 9,000 Words*:

If each of the fifty-item tests are [sic] used separately each item represents 500 words, so the number of items known in a test should be multiplied by 500 to get a total base vocabulary size score. If all five tests are sat, then the scores for all the tests should be added together and multiplied by 100. People gaining a score above 15,000 words on these tests should also check the list of words not likely to be known. Each item represents 100 words. (pp. 355-356)

All five of the fifty-item tests are provided below, with my ticks and question marks added on the basis of my knowledge of the words. The ticked words were those whose meanings, at least one meaning of each, I was fairly sure of, as had been done with the Diack test. The words with a question mark were those whose meanings I was not sure of exactly, that is, those whose meanings needed to be checked in a dictionary for confirmation. The marks "O" and "X" put in parentheses next to the question marks indicate that the meanings of the doubtful words on a one-meaning-to-one-word basis were remembered either correctly (O) or incorrectly (X), as determined by my consulting an English-Japanese dictionary. It has to be mentioned, additionally, that since I was absolutely sure of at least one meaning of each of the ticked words, I decided not to follow the directions to express some kind of knowledge of the last five ticked words by writing.

English Vocabulary of Japanese Adults

Test 1. Goulden, Nation, and Read

✓ 1 as	✓ 11 abstract	21 aviary
✓ 2 dog	✓ 12 eccentric	22 chasuble
✓ 3 editor	?(O)13 receptacle	23 ferrule
✓ 4 shake	14 armadillo	✓ 24 liven
✓ 5 pony	✓ 15 boost	25 parallelogram
✓ 6 immense	16 commissary	26 punkah
✓ 7 butler	17 gentian	27 amice
?(X) 8 mare	✓ 18 lotus	28 chiton
?(X) 9 denounce	19 squeamish	29 roughy
10 borough	?(O)20 waffle	30 barf
31 comeuppance	?(X)38 abrupton	45 atropia
32 downer	39 kohl	46 sporophore
✓ 33 geisha	40 acephalia	47 hypomagnesia
✓ 34 logistics	41 cupreous	48 cowsucker
35 panache	42 cutability	49 oleaginous
?(O)36 setout	43 regurge	50 migrationist
37 cervicovaginal	44 lifemanship	

Test 2. Goulden, Nation, and Read

✓ 1 bag	✓ 11 avalanche	21 bastinado
✓ 2 face	12 firmament	22 countermarch
✓ 3 entire	✓ 13 shrew	23 furbish
✓ 4 approve	✓ 14 atrophy	24 meerschaum
✓ 5 tap	?(X)15 broach	25 patroon
?(O) 6 jersey	✓ 16 con	?(O)26 regatta
7 cavalry	17 halloo	27 asphyxiate
✓ 8 mortgage	18 marquise	28 curricule
9 homage	✓ 19 stationery	29 weta
✓ 10 colleague	?(O)20 woodsman	?(O)30 bioenvironmental
✓ 31 detente	38 brazenfaced	45 resorb
32 draconic	39 loquat	46 goldenhair
?(X)33 glaucoma	40 anthelminic	47 axbreaker
34 morph	41 gamp	48 masonite
?(O)35 permutate	42 paraprotein	49 hematoid
36 thingamabob	43 heterophyllous	50 polybrid
?(O)37 piss	44 squirearch	

Test 3.
Goulden, Nation, and Read

✓ 1 bird	✓ 11 conversion	?(O)21 blowout
✓ 2 fell	?(X)12 fixture	22 crupper
✓ 3 improve	13 accede	23 gloaming
✓ 4 barn	14 avocation	24 minnesinger
✓ 5 fatigue	15 calyx	?(O)25 perpetuity
✓ 6 kettle	16 conclave	26 raffle
✓ 7 combat	✓ 17 hierarchy	27 behindhand
8 resent	✓ 18 monologue	28 embolism
?(X)9 redeem	19 tamper	29 angst
✓ 10 hurrah	20 acanthus	30 blowhard
31 devolute	38 carboxyl	45 benchboard
✓ 32 envoi	39 eyestalk	46 stirabout
33 golliwog	40 curragh	47 hypothallus
34 neonate	41 gunlock	48 doombook
35 plainchant	42 dipole	49 paradiplomatic
?(O)36 astrochemistry	43 rigorism	50 poroplastic
?(O)37 nondurables	?(O)44 localist	

Test 4.
Goulden, Nation, and Read

✓ 1 cool	11 coronet	21 carpel
✓ 2 kitchen	12 jut	22 doss
✓ 3 lead	13 amorphous	23 havelock
✓ 4 cow	✓ 14 bagpipe	✓ 24 nominative
✓ 5 frog	15 choleric	25 pilotage
✓ 6 scent	16 crock	26 serried
✓ 7 harsh	?(X)17 incumbent	27 blurb
✓ 8 ascertain	18 offal	28 scribe
9 sprig	19 untoward	✓ 29 appositive
10 matron	20 amphotrite	30 capybara
31 directrix	38 cogito	45 scandium
32 footage	39 corvette	46 gusli
?(O)33 horseshit	40 chanterelle	47 chuckie
34 nighthawk	41 hyperthyroid	48 mendeleyevite
35 ravioli	✓ 42 pica	49 matelasse
?(O)36 aeroplankton	43 immunoassay	✓ 50 slipper
37 tandoor	44 apertometer	

English Vocabulary of Japanese Adults

Test 5.
Goulden, Nation, and Read

✓ 1 cotton	11 deign	✓ 21 centripetal
✓ 2 block	12 marrow	22 dromedary
✓ 3 precious	13 armada	✓ 23 ideograph
✓ 4 dig	✓ 14 boomerang	24 nuzzle
✓ 5 hostile	15 chowder	25 planking
✓ 6 accurate	✓ 16 earring	26 welladay
✓ 7 inhabit	✓ 17 linguistics	27 brassie
✓ 8 crook	18 radium	28 huia
✓ 9 blockade	✓ 19 ventilate	29 baobab
✓ 10 microscope	20 asperity	30 chomp
✓ 31 doubleheader	38 hairspring	45 capsulectomy
32 fusilier	39 audivision	46 volvulus
?(O)33 interplay	40 dactylology	47 mancipation
34 nubile	41 isomorphy	48 exceptionalism
35 repartition	42 gaper	49 parasternum
36 cockup	43 sextodecimo	?(X)50 sparrowbill
37 saddleback	44 redact	

(Goulden et al., 1990, pp. 359-361)

The following table shows the results of the five tests that I took:

Table 4.
Self Assessment Results of the Goulden, Nation, and Read Tests

	Ticked Words	Words with a Question Mark	Confirmed Words among ? Words	Ticked and Confirmed Words
Test 1	14	6	3	17**
Test 2	13	8	6	19
Test 3	12*	7	5	17**
Test 4	13	3	2	15
Test 5	17**	2	1	18
Total	69***	26	17	86
Average	13.8	5.2	3.4	17.2**

* The Lowest Estimate

12 x 500 = 6,000

** The Highest Estimate

17 x 500 = 8,500

***Total Base Vocabulary Size Score

69 x 100 = 6,900

The total base scores of the ticked words on the first four tests (i.e., Tests 1, 2, 3, and 4) converge at 13, ranging from 12 to 14, and also those of the ticked words plus the doubtful (?) yet confirmed (O) words converge at 17, ranging from 15 to 19. The variation, ranging from 13 to 17, nearly coincides with the range of the scores of the ticked words on all the five tests, the base score range

being from 12 to 17. Although the scores are based solely on the results of only five tests taken by one respondent, with no statistical analysis for equivalence having been done, the score range shown above suggests: (a) that the five tests seem to be of equivalent quality, the test items having been selected randomly with precision and appropriate precautions, as was stated by Goulden et al.; and (b) that the potential size of my English vocabulary in terms of base words is likely to be located somewhere between the lowest estimate of 6,000 (i.e., 12×500) and the highest estimate of 8,500 (i.e., 17×500). A total of 69 ticked words in the whole list can be converted to an estimate of 6,900 (i.e., 69×100), which is located, in fact, in that range. It is noteworthy, furthermore, that the estimate of 6,000 words, gained previously in accordance with Goulden et al.'s scoring adjustment made for my Diack test score, is equal to the lowest estimate in the range mentioned above.

5. Twenty Japanese Subjects' Ticked word Scores

In order to gain a general picture of the range of the total base vocabulary size scores to be made by Japanese people proficient in English, the five fifty-word tests were given to 20 subjects, all of whom came under any one, two, or three of the following identification categories: teacher of English, teacher of Japanese, M.A. holder, resident in the United States, and person married to a native speaker of English. The data on the number of the words ticked by each subject as the indication of the "certainly known" words, the author's score included, are presented in list 2 below, and list 3 gives a frequency distribution of the ticked word scores.

List 2.
"Certainly Known" Word Scores by Japanese Subjects on the
Goulden, Nation, and Read Tests

Subject	Ticked Words	Subject	Ticked Words
A	121	Author	69
B	117	L	62
C	117	M	60
D	110	N	58
E	100	O	54
F	99	P	54
G	88	Q	53
H	83	R	53
I	81	S	51
J	78	T	49
K	75		

List 3.
 Frequency Distribution of the 21 Japanese Subjects'
 "Certainly Known" Word Scores

X	X ₀	f	F	f%	F%
40-50	45	1	1	4.8	4.8
51-61	56	7	8	33.3	38.1
62-72	67	2	10	9.5	47.6
73-83	78	4	14	19.0	66.6
84-94	89	1	15	4.8	71.4
95-105	100	2	17	9.5	80.9
106-116	111	1	18	4.8	85.7
117-127	122	3	21	14.3	100.0
Totals:		21		100.0	

When interpreted in terms of the knowledge of the base words, the data show that 66.6% of the scores of the 21 test subjects fell between 4,900 and 8,300 base vocabulary size in the group range extending from 4,900 to 12,100, with a group average of 7,770.

It is worthwhile to note that Subject J in the table presented above, who scored 78 (the closest to the group average score of 77.7), is a competent speaker and experienced teacher of English with a 35-year-long career in teaching.

The value of this study can be questioned for lack of due inquiry into the following problems which are inherently involved in vocabulary research:

1. The definition of what it is to know a word;
2. The validity of a "yes/no-tick" method in view of its respondents' personality involvement and error treatment;
3. "Differences in test performance across different cultural, linguistic or ethnic groups" (Bachman, 1991, p. 675);
4. The problem of a small and skewed sample.

These subjects are beyond the scope of this paper and well merit separate treatment in another study. Yet it has to be mentioned that the principal aims of the present study were (a) to find the potential size of my English vocabulary and (b) to gain a general picture of the range of the base vocabulary size scores to be made by Japanese people proficient in English. Therefore, in view of the acquisition of vocabulary by Japanese learners of English, it still seems noteworthy and interesting that the base vocabulary size scores made by the 21 Japanese subjects with a good command of English ranged from 4,900 to 12,100 with a group average of 7,770 while "their [the 20 native speakers']

average scores on the five tests ranged from 13,200 to 20,700 with a group average of 17,200" (Goulden et al. 1990, p. 356).

6. Concluding Remarks

In comparing the vocabulary size of second language learners with that of native speakers, two facts are obvious: (a) native speakers recognize a far wider variety of different meanings and delicate connotations pertaining to each word than second language learners; and (b) native speakers are acquainted naturally and appropriately with word collocations far more extensively than second language learners (see Hiki, 1991; Richards, 1976). That is to say, the measurement of vocabulary size on a one-word-to-one-meaning basis is defective intrinsically in the identification of a wider scope of vocabulary knowledge, and this can be true especially in an attempt to compare the vocabulary size of second language learners with that of native speakers.

However, being a learner and teacher of English myself, for my own future reference and to consider possible future vocabulary acquisition, I naturally find it interesting to compare my vocabulary test results with the vocabulary size of native speakers found in the Goulden et al. (1990) study. My vocabulary size can be estimated to be at least $1/3$ (i.e., 6,000/17,000) and at most $1/2$ (i.e., 8,500/17,000) of the average vocabulary size of adult native speakers. This simple calculation indicates that since I have been in close and constant contact with English for the last 15 years in my teaching career, including two years of M.A. studies in the United States, I may possibly need at least 15 more years to reach the native speaker's vocabulary level, not, of course, taking account of various and complicated factors inherent in foreign language learning, such as whether and how long one has lived in an English-speaking country and what one does during those years. A little arithmetic also shows that the yearly acquisition of English base words in my whole learning span can be assumed to be in a range varying from 194 to 274, with a daily average of less than one word. These figures are only the arithmetical products drawn from my vocabulary test results, and so they may be interesting and meaningful only to me. Yet they may show an example of vocabulary knowledge and its acquisition rate in a person with a 31-year-long career in English learning and a 15-year-long career in English teaching. Therefore, this study, based entirely on Goulden et al. (1990) and being, admittedly, limited in that sense, may possibly provide a basis for further investigations on English vocabulary size of Japanese learners.

Checking every word in a dictionary with the strict use of a word classification system established precisely and appropriately on the basis of the one employed in the Goulden et al. (1990) study only makes it possible to confirm the potential size of my English vocabulary estimated to be in the range varying from 6,000 to 8,500 in terms of base words, and to identify what kinds of words comprise my English vocabulary. Such a task is hard to accomplish, requiring a great deal of time, energy, patience, and effort. Before setting to work on such a study, however, one needs to address the questions of (a) its precise and well-defined academic objective, and (b) its value and practicality for TEFL in Japan. What are they? These questions will be answered some day, I hope, in another study.

Note

¹ Goulden et al. (1990) provide the following reasons for this exclusion:

1. "Dictionaries differ considerably in the way they deal with compound words and proper words, both in their policies of inclusion and place of inclusion" (p. 350);
2. "Clearly, proper words are not seen as being ordinary words" (p. 351);
3. "Derivatives, abbreviations, alternative spellings, inflected words, some proper words, and a large proportion of compound words do not represent a significant extra learning burden" (p. 351);
4. "The addition of other word types would increase the number of items in the test list to an unmanageable level" (p. 352);
5. "Because the frequencies of the various word types in Webster's Third are provided here, it is possible to make rough estimates of other groupings of word types by adding appropriate proportions of the desired word types to the base scores" (p. 352).

I thank Robin Goulden, Paul Nation, and John Reed for their generosity in allowing portions of their research to be printed in this article. I would also like to express my sincere appreciation to Professor Deborah Busch Matsumoto of Delaware County Community College in Pennsylvania, Professor Kip A. Cates of Tottori University in Japan, and an anonymous long-time friend of mine. I am also most grateful to my friends and colleagues for their time-consuming completion of the five fifty-word tests. Without their assistance, this paper would not have been completed successfully and satisfactorily.

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Research Forum

(The Research Forum is a new section which gives scholars an opportunity to describe their research projects and findings in articles of 1,200 words. Please submit three copies of your report to the editors.)

A Study of *Will* and *Going to* in Plans and Predictions

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1. Introduction

Martin (1978, p. 186) states that the *going to* form is used when the speaker has objective evidence. In the sentence, "Look at those clouds, it's going to rain," the evidence is the clouds. Aitken (1990, p. 70), however, says the structure depends on the kind of evidence. If the evidence is concrete, *going to* is used, but if the evidence is rational or mental, then *will* is used. Her example of the second kind of evidence is the sentence, "I will be sick (if I eat any more)" (p. 70). Lewis (1986, p. 81) says in cases where the speaker is looking forward to something, the *going to* form is used and both external and internal evidence are admissible. Sheen (1991, p. 5) says that time is crucial. If the decision is made at the moment of speaking, *will* is used. If the intention is decided beforehand, *going to* is used. Aitken (1990, p. 5) agrees with Sheen that the time one makes the plan is crucial, but goes on to add that the degree of certainty is also important. Thomson and Martinet (1986, p. 187) seem to agree that *will* is used to indicate the intention at the moment of decision, adding that *will* expresses stronger determination whereas *going to* is used for intention and prediction; however very often either form can be used. Celce-Murcia and Larson-Freeman (1983, p. 67) continue this line of thought and suggest that *will* is the true form of the future, but give examples that suggest that *will* or *going to* can be used interchangeably. Haegeman (1989, p. 309) clearly states that no hard and fast rule is possible or even desirable because at the sentence level there is no clear distinction between the meaning of *will* and *going to*. Clearly there is no consensus on these issues.

Three research questions are addressed. The first question is, which form, *will* or *going to*, is used by NS and NNS for discussing immediate plans and which form is used for making predictions? It is strongly suggested (Aitken, 1990, p.70; Lewis, 1986, p 81; Martin, 1978, p. 186; Thomson & Martinet, 1986, p. 186) that if there is evidence to support the prediction, the *going to* form is used. Therefore, the second question is, does the presence of evidence

result in the *going to* form? It is strongly suggested (Aitken, 1990, p. 70; Lewis, 1986, p. 117; Martin, 1978, p. 186; Sheen, 1991 p. 5) that if the decision is made at the moment of speaking, the *will* form is used. Therefore, the third question is, if the decision is made at the time of speaking, is the *will* form used?

2. Method

2.1 Subjects

The NNS subjects were five second-year, female Japanese students at Joshi Seigakuin Junior College ranging in age from 19 to 21, and were selected because they were students in the researcher's class. All were from the Tokyo metropolitan area. All were volunteers and no special selection criteria, other than gender, were used. The study was conducted in April, 1992. Base-line data were obtained from a similar group of five female North American English native speakers ranging in age from early 20s to middle 40s. All were residents of the U.S., originally from central or northeast Ohio. All were volunteers and no special selection criteria, other than gender, were used. Their study was conducted February, 1992.

2.2 Procedures

Both groups were given two tasks in the form of questions in order to predispose speakers toward the use of either *will* or *going to*. Task one was aimed at plans and task two at predictions. Both task questions were framed so as to avoid using either *will* or *going to*. The first question was "What are your summer plans?" and the second question was "Changes are likely to take place in US (or Japan) in the next ten years. What changes do you expect to see?" All four conversations were recorded and transcribed.

3. Results

Table 1 indicates that in discussing immediate plans both NS and NNS prefer *will* over *going to* by a two to one margin. The only difference between the NS and the NNS groups is that the NS tended to use the *I'll* contraction (five out of eight times), whereas the NNS never used the *I'll* form. In making predictions the NS group showed a preference for *going to* (14 out of 18 times), and when using the *will* form used the contracted *I'll* two out of four times. The

Table 1.
Summary of Results

	Immediate plans			Predictions		
	going to	will	Totals	going to	will	Totals
NS	4	8	12	14	4	18
NNS	4	8	12	0	2	2

NNS group used only the *will* form, but in fact used neither form very often. Both the NS and the NNS used forms other than *will* and *going to* in both plans and predictions, using, for example *may*, *it might be fun to*, *I'd like to take*, and *I plan to*. When discussing immediate plans, the NS used the first person, singular pronoun 10 out of 12 times, while the NNS used it seven out of 12 times. The most typical way for the NS in this study to express short term plans was, "I'll (probably) + be verb."

The second question was, does the presence of evidence result in the going to form? Evidence can be defined as a present factor that relates to and suggests the plausibility of a future occurrence. As previously mentioned, dark clouds in the sky can be seen as objective or external evidence of rain, and a feeling that if one continues to eat, sickness will ensue can be interpreted as subjective or internal evidence. In this study the criterion for deciding the presence of evidence is the presence of a marker that indicates a plausible reason or evidence of intention for the action. An example of evidence is speaker S saying that she is going to be getting married and three lines later mentioning the name of her fiancée. When evidence is present in immediate plans (Table 2), the NS used *going to* once, and used *will* eight times. The NNS follow the same pattern. This would seem to suggest that the answer to Research Question two is no. When evidence is present in predictions, however, the NS group (Table 3) used *going to* six times and *will* three times. This exploratory study seems to suggest that the answer to Research Question two is yes for predictions and no for plans.

Table 2.
Summary of Evidence in Immediate Plans

Immediate plans							
	no evidence	going to	will	evidence	going to	will	Totals
NS	3	3	0	9	1	8	12
NNS	8	4	4	4	1	3	12

Table 3.
Summary of Evidence in Predictions

Predictions							
	no evidence	going to	will	evidence	going to	will	Totals
NS	9	8	1	9	6	3	18
NNS	1	0	1	1	0	1	2

The third question was, if the decision is made at the time of speaking, is the will form used? In this study the criterion for deciding if the decision was made at the time of speaking is the presence of a marker that indicates spontaneity. Examples of markers include *it just depends on, probably, I think,* and *I don't care*. When markers indicating spontaneous decision are present in immediate plans (Table 4) the NS used *going to* three times and used *will* seven times, but the NNS show only one instance, using the *will* form. When markers indicating spontaneous decision are present in predictions (Table 5), the NS show 15 instances with 12 uses of *going to* and three uses of *will*, and the NNS show no marked utterances. This seems to indicate that the answer to Research Question three is yes for plans and no for predictions.

Table 4.
Summary of Spontaneous Decision Markers in Immediate Plans

Immediate plans							
	no marker	going to	will	marker	going to	will	Totals
NS	2	1	1	10	3	7	12
NNS	11	4	7	1	0	1	12

Table 5.
Summary of Spontaneous Decision Markers in Predictions

Predictions							
	no marker	going to	will	marker	going to	will	Totals
NS	3	2	1	15	12	3	18
NNS	2	0	2	0	0	0	2

4. Discussion

This study shows that generally NS prefer *will* when discussing immediate plans and *going to* when making long-range predictions. If evidence is considered, NS still prefer *will* when discussing plans and *going to* when making predictions. If the decision appears to have been made at the moment of speaking, NS still prefer *will* when discussing plans and *going to* when making predictions. This pattern seems to indicate that the deciding factor is whether the utterance is a plan or a prediction, rather than the presence of evidence or the time of the decision.

NNS, on the other hand, show a preference for the *will* form for predictions as well as long-range plans to the point where it can be said that NNS overuse the *will* form. Is this because the *will* form was taught and acquired before *going to*, and it seems to the learners that it is the true form of the future? It is not possible to make a conclusive statement based on these results.

5. Conclusion

Two strong claims concerning the use of *will* and *going to* were examined, but the results of this study were inconclusive, neither substantiating the claims nor contradicting them. Several factors should be taken into consideration before reaching conclusions based on this tentative research study. One is that the results of this study may be flawed by an unclear definition of what constitutes evidence. For example, one NNS said, "I will work next year so I will visit company." Both of these instances of *will* were counted as having evidence. As any teacher who has taught second-year junior college students knows, finding a job for the following year is their top priority. Does this concern constitute evidence in the same sense that clouds give evidence of coming rain? Perhaps this study should be taken as a pointer toward future research rather than disproof of generally held usage rules. Another factor might be that speakers have personal styles or preferred modes of speaking and that my small speaker sample is skewed. For example native speaker S says *going to* 12 times and *will* twice. Native speaker B, on the other hand, never once used either term, preferring terms such as "I plan to." Native speakers J and A prefer *will* (J: 4 to 1, and A: 4 to 0). It is interesting to speculate on the relation of personality to speaker style. Finally, it remains a possibility that writers of pedagogical grammar books have tended to rely more on common knowledge than empirical studies, which may indicate that some commonly accepted rules may not, in fact, be completely true. This is an area that could benefit from more classroom research.

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A Comparison Study of Audio and Video in Language Testing

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1. Introduction

Despite the growing interest in and use of video in the teaching of English as a second language (Stempleski, 1991), research in the field has largely ignored the affective role of visual media in language testing. Given the lack of investigation of visual media in the field, combined with calls for the development of innovative methods in language testing (Cohen, 1984; Carroll, 1986; Bachman, 1990), a closer look at the role of visual media in tests of English as a foreign language is needed.

Prompted by a lack of research into the use of visual materials in the language classroom, Omaggio (1979) used pictures reproduced onto ditto masters to determine the effects of pictorial contexts on reading comprehension. She suggested that simple visual materials serve as advance organizers of information, and are most effective if given before a test of comprehension, but warned that busy visuals may confuse test takers.

Mueller (1980) questioned decisions of language teachers to use visuals as classroom aids. Mueller concluded that low level students benefited significantly from the visual input both when introduced before or after the listening task. Group means of high level students, however, showed no significant differences in test scores between the two mediums.

When Altman (1989) challenged theories of second language acquisition, he appeared to echo McLuhan (1964) in pointing out that current second language acquisition models based on a fixed, printed form of language may be fundamentally flawed. Traditional models of second language learning, Altman suggested, overemphasize grammatical accuracy, present words by uniform printed standards, look for linear comparisons of vocabularies across languages, and see vocabularies in terms of English equivalents. Altman noted that language is primarily a continuum of sounds most often used against a backdrop of visual clues. Benson (1992) employed video for classroom testing following the extensive use of video as the primary medium of instruction. For Benson, there are seven key points to consider when testing the video class: (a) that alternative learning styles are activated by visual media; (b) the enhancement of decoding and schematizing; (c) the discursive

nature of video which displays an array of sociolinguistic markers; (d) the greater access to non-verbal languages; (e) a lowering of the affective filter; (f) improved access to the target culture; and (g) that material seen on video can be readily retained. Though statistical results from her own self-made tests proved inconclusive, Benson called on those using video to teach to use the same medium to test.

2. Method

Subjects used in this study were advanced-level students from ESL service courses at UCLA in the fall of 1990. Of the 91 subjects in the study, 39% were Chinese, followed by 19% Korean, 17% Vietnamese, 8% Spanish, with the remainder spread among seven other backgrounds. Approximately 28% of the subjects were graduate students and 66% were undergraduates; 29% of the subjects reported having been in the United States one year or less, and a total of 73% reported less than five years.

The presentation was a simulated academic lecture on international terrorism at airports, designed to meet the listening proficiency level of the subjects. The instrument, a 14-item multiple-choice and true/false listening test, was based on the academic skills identified by Powers (1986).

For purposes of this study, a video-mediated test is one in which the primary medium of presentation is through a video monitor; in audio-mediated tests, the primary mode of presentation is by audio tape player. After piloting and refinement, the test was administered both through video and audio tape to the subjects in the last week of the fall quarter, 1990.

3. Results

Despite the disappointing results of the test reliability (.45), *t*-test procedures were used in order to determine whether the mean difference between audio and video groups was significant. Results of the *t*-tests, given in table 1, were not significant at the .05 level, indicating a tentative conclusion that the mode of presentation did not make a difference.

Table 1.								
Results of <i>t</i> -tests								
	n	x	s	f	2 tail	<i>t</i> val.	df	2 tail
Audio	46	6.39	2.16	1.17	0.61	1.61	85.20	0.11
Video	43	7.16	2.34					
<i>p</i> < .05	Dependent: Test Total							

4. Discussion

The results of the study, weakened by problems in achieving acceptable test reliability coefficients, are unclear. They may suggest, however, that advanced second language learners may not be as medium-dependent as has been theorized; like native speakers, communication takes place despite variations in the manner of delivery. Further investigation using a reliable instrument is required. Second language test developers should be careful in using video as a testing medium because of construct validation concerns. In the current study, it was claimed that the instrument used was measuring abilities in listening, but indeed, can the visual presentation of information claim to have listening trait validity? Standards in video production would be difficult to maintain if second language testers adopted video-mediated instruments. "Broadcast quality" tapes, expensive to produce, are now able to employ sophisticated computer graphics, fast paced edits, and stunning special effects. A "low production" video made without special lighting, edits, or complex graphics may not assess the same abilities as a more sophisticated production.

Future research in visual media should also investigate influences of race, gender, and appearance of the lecturer in order to study possible biases in testing introduced by these factors. Feucht (1989) found significant differences between men and women in the perceptions of simple geometric symbols such as triangles, squares, and arrows. Cross-cultural differences may highlight this. Even as language testing research begins to explore the use of further integration of video into issues of assessment, the new medium of videotex is emerging. Cutler (1990) writes that it could be "more powerful than newspapers, magazines and television put together" (p. 25). Research on the use of visual media in second language testing must meet the challenges of the electronic age.

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Reviews

ISSUES AND OPTIONS IN LANGUAGE TEACHING. H.H. Stern, edited by Patrick Allen and Birgit Harley. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992. 404 pp.

This is the first book of such encyclopaedic scope since Mackey's *Language Teaching Analysis* (1965). Together with its companion volume, *Fundamental Concepts of Language Teaching* (Stern, 1983), it covers the whole field of language teaching from its underlying principles and concepts to classroom issues. *Fundamental Concepts of Language Teaching (FCLT)* was designed to deal with essential theoretical and policy levels. *Issues and Options in Language Teaching (IOLT)* moves closer to the level of practical implementation.

Whereas *FCLT* was addressed, perhaps somewhat optimistically, to "anyone who has a serious interest in language teaching," *IOLT* is aimed at "second or foreign language teachers in general." It explicitly includes teachers of languages other than English. It has to be said that anyone in either category of addressee is in for a mammoth reading task—over 500 pages in *FCLT* and close on 400 (excluding the bibliography) in *IOLT*.

Sadly David Stern did not live to complete this, his life work. The present volume has been painstakingly revised and re-organised from his papers by his colleagues Patrick Allen and Birgit Harley. In doing so they have confined themselves to us-

ing existing material in varying states of completion and have not presumed to write the chapters which Stern had planned but not yet embarked upon (such as Vocabulary and Evaluation). To this extent it is a faithful representation of his views, though one is bound to regret the small degree of incompleteness in the overall edifice.

The introduction starts by placing *IOLT* in the context of *FCLT*. This is followed by an historical review of language teaching trends, which is masterly in its concision.

The rest of the book is organised into four parts: Part I Policy and Practice, Part II Defining Objectives, Part III Content Options, and Part IV Teaching Strategies.

In the first section of Part I, Language and Teaching Analysis, Stern lays out the blueprint for the rest of the book. His curriculum model on page 27 includes the categories of "objective" and of "content" which form the basis for Parts II and III respectively. He argues for a broadening of curriculum objectives to include not only proficiency in the language but also knowledge about how the language functions, the development of positive feelings towards the language and towards language learning (affect) and transfer as a way

of generalising beyond a particular language and culture. He also argues the need for a multidimensional syllabus covering not only language but also culture, communicative activities, and general language education. "The expectation is that our multidimensional framework for the analysis of second language teaching will not only provide more choice for the curriculum designer, but will ultimately lead to the enhancement of second language teaching and learning" (p. 38).

The remainder of Part I is concerned with issues in curriculum planning and research. Stern takes this opportunity to lay responsibility for the curriculum squarely with educators:

We believe it is right to take a number of points of view into account, including those of teachers, parents, citizens in general, and above all the reactions of students. Eventually, however, the responsibility for curriculum must lie where it has been placed by society, often upon the teachers themselves, sometimes upon a local authority, examination board or ministry of education. The responsibility cannot be abandoned merely by declaring that we are "negotiating" the curriculum with our students. The refusal to plan in advance is as much a curriculum decision as imposing a rigid pre-ordained curriculum. (p. 43)

And, more succinctly, "an emphasis on learner autonomy does not ab-

solve the curriculum designer of his responsibility to plan the options within which the learner will be encouraged to exercise his judgement" (pp. 45-46).

Not all readers will completely share these views but they are forcefully, unambiguously, and cogently expressed here.

In Part II, Defining Objectives, detailed examination is given to the four sets of objectives listed above. The chapter starts with a comprehensive review of the various taxonomies of educational objectives and one of the criticisms levelled at such narrow specifications of performance objectives. He quotes from Grittner (1977, p. 60), "... behavioural objectives seem to be part of a system for doing more efficiently that which we should not be doing at all. That is, perhaps we should not be imposing pre-made decisions upon students; perhaps we should be helping them to make their own decisions; to learn how to learn for themselves."

In considering the proficiency objective, there is a useful discussion of views of proficiency as competence, as skills, and as language behaviour. The treatment of cognitive goals provocatively re-states the until recently unfashionable case for developing both linguistic and cultural *knowledge* as part of the overall objectives. Affective goals are sensitively and sensibly discussed with the objective of developing positive attitudes towards the target language, its speakers, and

the language learning process as a whole. Finally, under transfer objectives, consideration is given to helping learners to acquire language learning techniques, to gain insight into language and culture, and to develop positive attitudes to language, culture, and language study in general. Stern clearly believed that this should not be left to chance: "[If] we wish transfer to occur we should not take it for granted but should positively 'teach for transfer.'"

The only criticism I would raise here is that there is a good deal of overlap between the affective and the transfer objectives and that the tables between pages 88-99 are somewhat repetitive and not always obviously necessary.

Part III, which constitutes the bulk of the book (170 pages in all) offers a comprehensive treatment of the content options.

The language syllabus is divided into separate chapters on pronunciation, grammar, and functional analysis. (It is unfortunate that the chapter on vocabulary was never written, especially in view of the interesting new work which has gone on in this field in recent years.)

Chapter 4, Pronunciation, offers a valuable historical review of the issues—"natural" acquisition or phonetic training; order of presentation—separate sounds or supra-segmentals first; the balance between perception and production, etc.

One significant issue touches on

unconscious factors in pronunciation:

[We] have tended to treat pronunciation too exclusively as a simple case of voluntary control over the speech apparatus. This is no doubt true up to a point, but beyond that we have to deal with the expression of self-image, ethnolinguistic attitudes and empathy which is not confined to pronunciation, but for which the learner's approach to pronunciation is a sensitive indicator. (pp. 121-122)

This is a point which would, I feel, have merited fuller treatment.

Chapter 5, Grammar, focusses on the tension between the value of conscious learning and unconscious acquisition and associated issues. The conclusions are unremarkable but honest, "we have argued that deliberate study and intuitive acquisition both have a role to play. . . . Empirical research has not yet made it clear whether teaching/learning approaches that include a focus on grammar have a definite advantage over those that do not" (p. 151).

A relatively minor but by no means insignificant omission from this chapter was any mention of the work in the large scale computer analysis of corpora (e.g., Cobuild, Longman, etc.) and its spin-off for the teaching of grammar through concordancing.

Chapter 6, on Functional Analysis, takes the reader through the familiar landmarks of the field including Wilkins and the Council of Europe's Modern Languages Project. Interestingly, Stern makes the dis-

inction between analytic approaches to communication (functions, notions, speech acts, discourse rules, etc.) and global, non-analytic approaches through communicative activities. By placing functional analysis squarely within the language syllabus, he makes clear what has often been obscured, namely that grammar-based and function-based syllabuses are fundamentally similar.

In his discussion of the Communicative Activities Syllabus in Chapter 7, Stern is careful to distinguish between real (field) experiences of the language, as in study abroad, and contrived (classroom) activities. He cannily avoids being drawn into the "authenticity" fly-trap but his distinction is a timely reminder that "communicative" is always a relative term.

One of Stern's abiding beliefs, the importance of "culture," is taken up in Chapter 8, The Cultural Syllabus. "All the writers . . . we have reviewed recognise the cultural embeddedness of language and insist that L2 instruction is not possible without placing language items into sociocultural context" (p. 232). He examines the varying concepts of culture and the goals of teaching it in some detail. There is also a useful description of a range of possible techniques for teaching culture. "Besides the unwieldiness of the culture concept, a further problem is the absence of resources, the lack of cultural research, the patchiness of documentation, and

the overall shortage of systematic descriptive accounts of cultural data" (p. 222). All in all, this chapter offers a useful corrective to excessively language or communicative-oriented syllabuses.

The General Language Education Syllabus, Chapter 9, is a similarly salutary reminder of issues often neglected. "Of the four syllabuses, this is the most neglected" (p. 243). The chapter is especially important for the emphasis it gives to independent learning and to the reintegration of language education within education in general.

I found some of the most interesting items in the book here, especially those relating to language awareness training in the mother-tongue and learner training strategies. However, I was again slightly surprised at the omission of references to Ellis and Sinclair (1989) whose book *Learning to Learn English* was a trail-blazer in the field at the time.

In Part IV, Teaching Strategies, Stern is at pains to point out that the strategies it contains "are not simply another term for what used to be called 'methods.'" Instead he examines some macro-level strategies which extend their influence down to the level of method and technique.

It is possible that Chapters 10, 11, and 12 will prove the most interesting and immediately relevant part of the book for many practising teachers.

The discussion of intra-lingual/

intra-cultural and cross-lingual/cross-cultural strategies in Chapter 10 raises in a timely way the relevance of translation as a teaching device, and redresses the balance which has markedly favoured intra-lingual approaches in recent years. It also draws attention to some interesting comparative and contrastive techniques for the classroom.

In Chapter 11 Stern scrutinizes analytic and experiential strategies. There is a well-balanced discussion of the pros and cons of both, together with some very useful checklists and sets of characteristics of each. His conclusions are typically circumspect. "We would like to view analytic and experiential strategies as equivalent and valid approaches to language learning which are different and which complement each other" (p. 314).

The final chapter examines the explicit/implicit dimension: The extent to which teaching/learning strategies are rational and conscious or intuitive and subconscious. Once again the conclusions are balanced and find virtues in both explicit and implicit approaches.

Stern did not write a conclusion; the editors have therefore drawn on his papers and lecture notes to round off the coverage of items he clearly intended to include. However, I found the treatment both too fragmented and too slight to do these residual, but significant, topics justice. Inevitably one is left with a sensation of anticlimax.

What then are the primary strengths of the book?

- The sheer scope of the work is breathtaking, combined with a conceptual grasp and an ability to synthesize from a wealth of detail which are quite remarkable.
- It is written in a clear and, on the whole, non-technical style which makes it approachable even by the (determined) non-specialist.
- It is refreshingly pragmatic and commonsensical in its judgements.
- It displays dexterity in balancing and reconciling arguments from widely differing viewpoints, and an ability to look beyond the superficial attraction of an argument, theory, or approach to its fundamentals.
- It is meticulously systematic in its organization.
- It seeks to place the issues within an historical context, which helps us to view them from a more objective perspective.
- It carries within it a number of recurrent themes of significance:
 - the plea for a multi-dimensional approach to curriculum
 - the importance of culture as part of language learning

- the need to locate language teaching within an overarching educational context
- the importance of transfer, with its implications for life-long education
- the reminder of how far we still are from achieving an objective knowledge base for the language teaching enterprise, and the consequent need for caution and humility in our judgements
- It does what it sets out to do in presenting the issues with clarity so that we can all evaluate our options and make reasoned and informed choices.

I have alluded to what I regard as some minor shortcomings with respect to the omission of significant references. The only other criticism which some readers might be tempted

to make derives from one of its virtues, listed above. In his scrupulous non-partisan stance and his ability to reconcile the apparently irreconcilable, does Stern occasionally fall into the trap of wishing to be all things to all men, of lacking in personal conviction? I think this is an unwarranted suspicion but one which is made possible by the very blandness of some of the judgements, as in the extract from page 314 quoted above. Perhaps there is a case for toning up some of these statements in a future edition?

The book will clearly become a standard resource for curriculum planners, teacher trainers, M.A. programmes, and all those involved in language teaching for many years to come. It is a monument to the scholarship, wide experience, and humanity of its author. We all owe a debt of gratitude to Patrick Allen and Birgit Harley for their dedication in preparing it for publication.

Reviewed by Alan Maley, Formerly Chairman of IATEFL and Director General of The Bell Educational Trust, Cambridge

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COMMUNICATIVE LANGUAGE TESTING. Cyril J. Weir.
London: Prentice Hall International, 1990. 216 pp. ¥3,285.

Communicative Language Testing effectively fills the gap between the communicative curriculum and its neglected counterpart, second language assessment. Much more than simply an adaptation of classroom methodologies applied to evaluative situations, Weir has managed to write a book that could be used as either a text in an introductory course to language testing or as a reference guide for the serious practitioner. For the beginner, there is ample reference made to literature and definitions in the field; for the experienced, Weir has included plenty of practical working tests as examples in the appendices.

In the first chapter, Weir looks at the wide range of current approaches to language testing. In turn, he looks at the history of testing development, the communicative paradigm, and problems attendant on establishing communicative tests. Perhaps the best definition of a communicative test come from Bachman (1991, p. 678), who explains features that distinguish communicative tests as ones that create an "information gap," include task dependency in which one section builds on information presented in an earlier section, and, finally, integrate test tasks in relation to content. For his part, Weir fully examines each of the features listed by Bachman in addition to an identification of perfor-

mance conditions, authenticity (for both texts and tasks), interaction, and purposefulness. At the end of the first chapter, Weir discusses issues of extrapolation, touching on how specific language tasks may be designed to display global properties. Weir warns the reader to be aware of the difficulties of translating communicative test specifications into actual working examinations.

In the second chapter, Weir examines basics of test design, including test validity, reliability, and test efficiency. To address the concept of construct validity, Weir argues it should be seen as "a superordinate concept embracing all other forms of validity" (p. 23). By doing this, the test developer is able to attach greater meaning to statistics generated by test results. Because the primary purpose of communicative examinations is to provide a profile of student proficiencies, content validity is critical in test development. Weir points out the need to establish clear test specifications and suggests that content area experts examine potential test materials. He cautions, however, that the judgment of experts alone may not be sufficient; the use of ethnographic procedures and introspection studies may be needed to truly establish content validity.

Weir briefly discusses two important areas of test validity: face valid-

ity and washback validity. Like others in the field (Bachman, 1990, pp. 285-289), Weir dismisses the importance of face validity, though notes that "what a test looks like" may adversely affect student performance. Washback validity can be powerful: Weir points out that the adoption of a communicative approach to testing would certainly force a curriculum to be more communicative, perhaps even on a national level.

Despite the need for practitioners to judge their tests on external, independent data, Weir questions the applicability of criterion-related validity in communicative language tests. Weir argues that concepts based on an empiricist-operationalist approach may be limited when adopting a communicative outlook to assessment. He is somewhat unclear, unfortunately, in providing alternatives or in giving examples of usable external objectives.

As for test reliability, Weir writes that three conditions must be met to achieve defensible results: rater reliability, internal consistency estimates, and parallel-forms reliability. Unfortunately, Weir glosses over the complexities of the statistics needed here and refers the reader to other studies. To obtain optimal results in rater reliability, test rating demands rigorous training to be sure each marker consistently judges the language sample accurately. Once the assumption of the independence of test items is met, internal consistency statistics are relatively easy to figure. Results would

then need to be applied to item revisions. Integrated "information gap" items, however, may well violate this assumption and lead the practitioner to use test-retest methods of reliability estimates, a critical point Weir fails to mention. Parallel-forms reliability estimates would also require the double testing of a sample group, an administrative nightmare for all but the most dedicated professionals.

It is in the area of test efficiency, a critical aspect of testing from an administrative perspective, that Weir firmly warns potential test developers not to overlook the gritty practicalities of creating a large-scale language exam. He sends a clear signal to those considering creating their own communicative tests, noting that such tests are "difficult and time consuming to construct, require more resources to administer, demand careful training and standardisation of examiners, and are more complex and costly to mark and report results on" (p. 35). Given the demands many educators face in Japan in creating relatively simple entrance examinations, Weir's warning should be heeded closely by the novice developer.

Chapter 3 briefly focuses on aspects of test design, defining key vocabulary for the novice at this crucial stage, and looks into the complexities of test development once test parameters have been set. Again, Weir strongly advocates professionalism and expertise at this stage of communicative test development, noting

that amateur attempts may prove disappointing.

Complexities of communicative test development aside for the moment, much of the appeal of Weir's book lies in his clear discussion of a variety of test methods in Chapter 4. He addresses methods in each of the four skill areas, from the construction of multiple choice items when testing structure, to establishing guidelines in marking extensive writing samples. This catalogue of methods available to language test developers goes far in providing an overview of existing approaches, serving as a handy reference in early discussions of design. Weir follows a standard format throughout this section, first providing a brief overview and then listing advantages and disadvantages of each method.

Following an excellent bibliography, virtually the entire second half of Weir's book consists of appendices. Four tests are published here, providing templates for creating a viable communicative test. Too often language testers neglect publication of their actual work. Weir's inclusion of four tests which have adopted a communicative approach, including the UCLES/RSA Certificates in

Communicative Skills in English, is commendable. Much can be gleaned from study of these successful examinations, including clear wording and succinct objectives in the writing of test specifications.

Communicative Language Testing contributes admirably to issues of student assessment in a communicative approach to language for both the novice and serious test developer. Many of its strengths lie in a format that allows for quick reference to specific testing methods while also providing easy access to detailed descriptors of actual working examinations. The book falls short, however, in discussion of problems in establishing a communicative testing program, most notably in the lack of discussions of statistics or the training of raters. Such deficiencies, however, can be overcome by consulting other books in the field, such as Henning (1987) or Heaton (1988). Overall, Weir has written a book that establishes a starting point in the investigation of communicative approaches to language assessment, advancing an area of testing and second language acquisition research that desperately needs further attention.

Reviewed by Paul Gruba, Kanda University of International Studies
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RESEARCH METHODS IN LANGUAGE LEARNING. David Nunan. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992. 249 pp.

There isn't a lot of room on the desk where I write—space for two or three books, as well as a heap of papers and various writer's accoutrements. The books that I can fit on the desk tend to be high priority ones: there's a *Chambers English Dictionary*; the *Longman Dictionary of Applied Linguistics*; and of late, while I am researching aspects of second language teacher education, David Nunan's *Research Methods in Language Learning*. Of all the books I have recently consulted on research method, it is to Nunan's that I constantly return. There surely can be no better basis for a recommendation.

Research Methods in Language Learning is intended as a practical introduction for those new to research in applied linguistics and as such, does not assume specialist knowledge. It is designed to familiarise the reader with a wide range of research methods. This is not the first time David Nunan has promoted the marriage of teacher and researcher. In this work, though, he sets out to equip the teacher with the researcher's knowledge and skills.

The motivations behind the book are two-fold. The first is to strengthen the critical skills of teacher-readers so as to make them more resilient to "the swings and roundabouts of pedagogic fashion" (xi), a worthy objective in itself. Nunan cites the

tendency in the field of language teaching for logico-deductive arguments and calls for more balance through "empirical approaches to inquiry" (xi). Thanks to books like this one, today's teachers are more likely to seek data in response to pedagogical issues, either through their own research or through that of others.

As well as equipping teachers with the researcher's skills, the book aims to facilitate the processing (reading and understanding) of research writing: to allow teachers to read critically others' research so as to be able to evaluate what they read. To do this, they must be informed and knowledgeable about research methods, and be able to assess a project's validity and reliability.

The book's overwhelming strength, aside from its balanced and accessible presentation of material, is its practical thrust, the fact that it seeks to "en-skill" the reader. Each chapter calls on a wealth of examples from research in language learning, and ends with a list of questions and exercises that review and reinforce learning. Nunan's approach is to present a synthesis of specialist writing on research and to apply it to real research issues. He repeatedly brings together others' insights into research methodology; and succinctly and cogently addresses the issues and assesses their contributions. The topic

issues (case examples) are interesting in their own right; as is the discussion of the research issues for which they are cited. Chapters end with annotated recommendations for further reading. There is a glossary of common research terms at the end of the book which helps with unfamiliar specialised terminology.

The book impresses with its logic and balance. It begins with an introduction to the tensions that characterise the research tradition, the distinction between qualitative and quantitative approaches, the philosophical underpinnings of each, and an understanding of vital principles, such as reliability and validity. Nunan declares himself near the outset, urging the reader "to exercise caution in applying research outcomes derived from one context to other contexts removed in time and space" (xii). Chapter 2 addresses issues in experimental design such as variables, sampling, and statistics. Chapter 3 looks at the principles of ethnographic research design and relevant issues, especially those relating to the vexatious notions of reliability and validity. Successive chapters follow a similar format and deal with case study research, classroom-based research, introspective and elicitation methods, interaction analysis, and program evaluation. Each of these chapters is characterised by a lucid

and accessible style and a balanced presentation.

Importantly, the book ends with a skills-oriented chapter, "doing research," well named for its emphasis on process. Here, the author gently leads the user through the logical steps from developing a research question, through conducting a research review, to implementing the project and presenting findings. Its strength derives from its feet-on-the-ground realism and sound practical and logical advice. For example, a table outlines typical problems encountered by graduate students, and solutions recommended. There is a neat, "step-by-step-ness" here that the beginning researcher will welcome, especially given the notorious ease with which one can drown in the research process, as evidenced in the dreadful attrition rate among research students.

If one is to judge a book by the success with which it achieves its stated aims, then this book is a winner. The user will indeed emerge a more critical reader of others' research and a more skilled and confident researcher.

If, as Nunan states in the Preface, there is evidence that "the teacher-researcher movement is alive and well and gathering strength," then I have no doubt that it will derive on-going nourishment from *Research Methods in Language Learning*.

Reviewed by Ruth Wajnryb, Macquarie University, Australia

AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIOLINGUISTICS. Janet Holmes. New York: Longman, 1992. 412 pp.

Sixth in Longman's *Learning about Language* series, *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics* is an introductory text aimed at first-year university undergraduates and senior school (sixth form) students. It covers a wide range of topics, generally moving from the easily perceptible to the less obvious in a constant effort to achieve maximum clarity. With examples drawn from cartoons, Monty Python, and advertising slogans, as well as from daily life, Holmes's book should appeal to students more than the average sociolinguistics text, and the author's New Zealand background may prove interesting to American and English students. The material is divided into three sections, yet remains highly cohesive throughout, bound together by a number of themes. The author's attention to cohesion, however, sometimes results in organizational problems, but instructors may be willing to sacrifice some extra time to syllabus preparation in order to maintain their students' interest in the subject matter.

In the Preface, the author indicates that she has two primary goals for the book: first, to share her enthusiasm for sociolinguistics while familiarizing students with the subject; and secondly, to pave the way for further study. By presenting anecdotal information in addition to classic research, humorous asides along with compet-

ing terminologies, she accomplishes both of these ends.

Assuming that her readers "have never heard of sociolinguistics, but . . . would like to know what it is" (p. x), Holmes opens her text at the bedrock of the field with an introduction to the concept of language variation. A variety of utterances, she explains, can be used to communicate the same idea, and the language which is ultimately selected will reflect social and emotional factors as well as carry literal meaning. To clarify her discussion, the author draws examples from within English, from across dialects, and from across distinct languages, offering a glimpse of the diverse material which will follow in later chapters. She then presents four "social dimensions" (p. 12), which are referred to repeatedly throughout the book: a social distance scale, a status scale, a formality scale, and two functional scales (referential and affective), and concludes with an outline of the text. This introductory chapter is an excellent one, succeeding not only in orienting the readers to the subject matter, but also in providing them with a conceptual framework by which to more easily digest unfamiliar ideas.

Section I, Multilingual Speech Communities, consists of Chapters 2 through 5, the first of which deals with choosing a code or variety from

one's linguistic repertoire. Holmes shows how different "domains" of language use (e.g., home/family; church/religion), as well as the social dimensions presented in the Introduction, are relevant to this selection, focusing on the speaker as an individual. She discusses diglossia and polyglossia, then turns to reasons for code-switching within a single social context. The rhetorical skill of rapid "metaphorical switching," through which a speaker draws on the symbolic associations of different languages, is distinguished from the rapid code-switching of second-language speakers, which is driven by lexical necessity. Holmes chooses to close the chapter with the observation that although code-switching requires a great deal of linguistic proficiency, it is generally frowned upon where multilingualism is not the norm. She attributes this attitude to the negative bias of the majority monolingual group, in a gentle appeal for linguistic tolerance which will often reappear in the text.

In the third chapter, interaction between majority and minority language communities is pursued further, with the introduction of language shift. The reader learns that over time, as the result of economic and social pressures, the members of a minority language group generally become less and less proficient in their own language. If active defensive measures are not taken, it will most likely fall

victim to invasion by the majority language, ceding first one domain, then another. Minority language survival, however, is possible with institutional support, and in describing the establishment of bilingual schooling in Wales, Holmes offers an example of language revival in progress.

Continuing along the path away from the individual, Chapter 4 moves from minority language groups to multilingual nations and their communities. The terms "standard" and "vernacular" are examined, and Holmes emphasizes that a standard dialect gains prestige merely through the socioeconomic and political status of its speakers, rather than through any linguistic superiority. Via an examination of *lingua francas*, the author arrives at the topic of pidgins and creoles. Although often considered to be but amusing perversions of European languages, pidgins and creoles are shown to possess definite linguistic structures, and to be used just as seriously as is any other language.

Section I concludes with a macro-level analysis of multilingual nations. A distinction is made between the symbolic and utilitarian natures of "national" and "official" languages, respectively, and Holmes discusses at length the political turmoil often involved in selecting the language or dialect of one particular group as the official national language of a multilingual country. The remaining two-

thirds of the chapter is devoted to "language planning," and seeks primarily to acquaint the reader with some of the real-life applications of sociolinguistics. But although this goal is an admirable one, the amount of new material which is presented does not seem to justify the length of the chapter, which might have been collapsed into one significantly shorter. The abundance of examples, however, does make for interesting reading.

In a characteristically smooth transition, Holmes points out that while she has used multilingualism to aid perception of linguistic diversity, ample diversity may be found within a single language as well. This intra-language diversity provides the focus of Sections II and III, the former concerned with the users of language and the latter with its uses.

Part II begins with an analysis of the linguistic variation which exists between different geographic areas and social classes, revealing that one's speech usually indicates one's regional and socioeconomic background. As Holmes "know[s] from experience that some points will . . . be understood more quickly and thoroughly using an English example—at least for the initial encounter with a new concept" (x), she uses English illustrations here almost exclusively. Her discussion of cross-continental variation, or dialect chains, ultimately leads to a definition of

"language" which reflects the social as well as the linguistic: "a collection of dialects that are usually linguistically similar . . . [whose speakers] *choose* to say that they are speakers of one language. . ." (italics in original, p. 142).

Chapter 7 examines two additional characteristics of language-users: sex and age. The author contrasts sex-exclusive speech, such as women's use of "*atashi*" versus men's use of "*boku*" to mean "I" in Japanese, with sex-preferential speech, in which men's and women's language differ, but overlap significantly. Holmes suggests that a speech community's use of sex-exclusive or sex-preferential speech will indicate the degree of contrast between the sex roles of its members. She next turns to women's more frequent use of standard forms, criticizing the explanations which she finds inherently sexist in favor of those which credit such factors as women's greater sensitivity to context and supportive conversational aptitude. But while her motives are easily understandable, she unfortunately fails either to attack the former explanations in their entirety or to offer sufficient evidence for the latter. Nevertheless, this section does provide a valuable introduction to the significance of careful methodology and to the subjectivity of data interpretation. The end of the chapter addresses age-graded features and their relation to patterns of language change, and again

she communicates the importance of careful data analysis.

Chapter 8 is devoted to the final language-user features of Section II. Ethnic groups are shown to manipulate the majority language in ways which reveal their distinctive identity, and the importance of a speaker's social network, or regular pattern of informal contacts, is also demonstrated. Finally, in explaining her choice of the term "vernacular" rather than "sub-standard," the author urges awareness of the implications which may underlie superficially neutral sociolinguistic terms.

Holmes closes Section II with a shift from the static to the dynamic, highlighting the variation over time which inevitably arises from regional and social variation. "[I]t is not so much that language itself changes," she writes, "as that speakers and writers change the way they use the language" (p. 211), thus justifying the location of this chapter in the central section of the book. The reader learns that language-users will tend to adopt a form endowed with either overt prestige, which expresses social status, or covert prestige, indicating solidarity. Almost all of the social factors introduced previously are drawn together in this chapter as elements which affect the wave-like progression of language change, in addition to the new concept of "speech style," which dovetails into Section III.

The final section of the book clarifies the relationship between the uses of language and its variation in monolingual speech communities, and opens with a chapter examining how addressee and social context influence style selection. The author shows that recognition of an addressee's age and social background often elicits speech convergence, in which speakers subconsciously adapt their language to that of their listeners in order to communicate solidarity or respect. Speech divergence and its ability to make a political statement is also explored, followed by formal contexts and the social roles which they prescribe. Holmes next moves on to the interaction between contextual style and social class, highlighting the hypercorrection shown by lower middle class speakers in very careful speech. Registers, the jargon of those with the same profession or interests, provide the final topic of Chapter 10.

JALT Journal readers may find Chapter 11 particularly interesting, as it deals with both the functions of speech and their manifestation across different cultures. Speech function compartmentalization is presented as a complicated, rather subjective matter, and Holmes settles on a classification system which, although not wholly explained, generally proves itself useful for the purposes of this chapter. She first concentrates on directives in English, then on polite

address forms. The author subsequently examines cross-cultural linguistic politeness and greetings, and emphasizes that a culture's distinctive manner of expressing the same speech function will mirror its characteristic social values. In a passing reference to second language learning, she remarks that as a result of this social quality of language use, there is much more to learning a foreign language than grammar and vocabulary.

Chapter 12 offers another look at the use of language by and about women, examining Western English-speaking society almost exclusively. The hypothesis that the hedging and boosting features of "women's language" (e.g., tag questions; emphatic stress) express a lack of confidence is presented, and Holmes delivers a scathing critique of the early research conducted in this area. She then develops the theory that while men may use hedging and boosting techniques primarily to express a lack of power, these features are more often used by women to soften directives and negative comments or to facilitate conversation. As part of her analysis of interaction, Holmes contrasts women's emotionally supportive gossip with men's highly critical and often insulting banter, concluding that both serve the identical goal of promoting solidarity. The chapter ends with the issue of sexist language. Chapter 12, if assigned in isolation,

would provide students with a helpful introduction to the topic of sex and language. Within the context of the entire book, however, the distinction between how *women* use language, addressed in Chapter 7, and how *women use* language, addressed here, is a bit unclear, thus resulting in a redundant feel to the chapter, even if much of the material has not been previously presented.

In Chapter 13, Holmes looks at attitudes toward language in general and standard and vernacular English in particular, before turning to applied sociolinguistics and its relation to the field of education. She describes how sociolinguists have worked to correct the notion of "linguistic deprivation," arguing that children who use vernacular forms are not linguistically deficient, but rather the victims of a school system which institutionally places them at a disadvantage. The main aim of this chapter is to reiterate explicitly the consistent background hum of the entire text: first, that people's attitudes toward a language variety reflect their attitudes toward its users and uses more than toward the code itself; and secondly, that since all codes are linguistically equal, we must learn to accept linguistic variation rather than stereotype people according to the language variety which they use. Holmes's message is a valuable one, yet this chapter seems to lack the coherence of the others, even growing a bit repetitive at times.

It does add a feeling of unity to the book thus far, as most of the earlier chapters are mentioned here, but perhaps this function might more appropriately have been left for the Conclusion.

The concluding chapter gives a well-organized, lucid synthesis of the information which has been presented. Reviewing the knowledge needed for appropriate language use, each chapter is considered in terms of its contribution to sociolinguistic competence. The four social dimensions which have appeared regularly are discussed here more thoroughly, and the suggestion that they are universally useful analytical tools leads to a short discussion of sociolinguistic universals. Discovering generalizations which link language and sociology, the author explains, is the ultimate object of the sociolinguist, perhaps leading the reader to wonder whether more than a few pages should have been devoted to the topic. The text finishes on an apologetic note, acknowledging that discourse analysis, language and thought, and the ethnography of communication all had to be neglected, and that bilingual education and second language learning were only lightly touched upon. Referring to the topics which she has had to omit, however, may serve Holmes's goal of arousing her readers' interest in the subject, and encourage a number of them to pursue additional study.

In addition, at the end of each

chapter, the author lists new concepts introduced, references, and suggestions for further reading. The book also includes an appendix of phonetic symbols with key words selected for their stability across different varieties of English, and a glossary containing terms which are used in the book but not defined.

One of the most pleasant aspects of *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics* is the self-awareness of the author, who seems intent on communicating information rather than expounding it. Smooth transitions are the rule, and the logical progression underlying the structure of the book is evident. Holmes binds the text tightly together, linking later chapters to earlier ones and re-considering old examples from new angles. There is a negative side to the text's cohesiveness, however. At times, instead of simply referring back to material, the author appears to present it again in a slightly altered format, sacrificing space which might have been used to address another facet of sociolinguistics. And while the distinction between multilingual and monolingual, or language-user and language-use, may be difficult to maintain, it seems that a bit too much diffusion occurs between the sections of the book, given that their clear-cut divisions were set up by the author herself. On the other hand, because no part of sociolinguistics acts in isolation, some intermingling is inevitable, and dividing the book into sections does help focus the reader's

attention.

An interesting feature of the book is Holmes's versatile use of "exercises," which serve as more than mere tools for gauging comprehension. Often they are employed as illustrations in order to make the text more interesting, appearing almost in the form of a puzzle. At other times they provide an alternative means of presenting new information, and in these cases, after actively involving her readers in the material, Holmes gradually brings them out in such a way that it is sometimes difficult to realize where the exercise ends and the regular text begins. Other exercises require still more reader involvement, and even suggest research projects which are applicable to life.

The connection to reality is further enhanced by the many examples which punctuate the text. When introducing an idea, Holmes generally offers an example first, then unravels it in terms of the new concept, immediately anchoring the concept to the language which it describes. Those more familiar with sociolinguistics may even notice a tendency to provide examples beyond what is needed for clarity (as in Chapter 5), and may feel slightly unforgiving regarding topic omissions by the author. The newcomer, however, is more likely to experience the high degree of illustration simply as a much more read-

able text.

As well as familiarizing readers with the subject matter itself, the text also introduces the critical thinking required of sociolinguists. Instead of expressing her own point of view exclusively, Holmes also analyzes the work of others (as in Chapters 7 and 12); and when clarifying a term, the implications of different definitions are often contrasted before a selection is made (as in Chapter 8). Charts, graphs, tables, and soft statistics all appear; and exercises calling for data interpretation further promote the development of scientific thought.

What Janet Holmes has contributed to the field, then, is a conscientious introductory text which clearly communicates both the indissoluble link between language and sociology and the importance of linguistic tolerance. She uses a variety of techniques to make the assimilation of new ideas as easy and enjoyable as possible, emphasizing their relevance to the reader's own life. And while some topics remain unaddressed, Holmes's intention is to give a broad introduction to sociolinguistics rather than offer an exhaustive summary of the field. She accomplishes this goal admirably, producing a work which will appeal to the lay reader and will also provide a useful cornerstone to first-year sociolinguistics classes which adopt it.

Reviewed by Lauren Shapiro, Nagasaki Junior College



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LANGUAGE IN USE: A PRE-INTERMEDIATE COURSE. Adrian Doff and Christopher Jones. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 144 pp.

An initial leafing or cursory glimpse through *Language In Use (LIU)* while browsing through your local book store would bring to mind such comments as "colorful," "nice layout," and "attractive." Unfortunately, very little pedagogical value can be gleaned from such a brief inspection and fleeting comments. Upon closer inspection, one finds a great deal of value and a high degree of functional language being presented here, at least in the hands of a well-trained or experienced teacher. The closer I looked, and as I taught some of the units in this text, the more I began to think that, in the hands of an inexperienced or untrained ESL/EFL teacher, *LIU* would lose an immense amount of its pedagogical value. Of course, this is not unique to *LIU*. Several texts come to mind, including the popular *Interchange* series (Richards, Hull, & Proctor, 1990-91). However, it is most important to note that a conscientious and well-prepared teacher can help students achieve their own goals as well as the course goals of *LIU*.

In this review, I intend to demonstrate the strengths and weaknesses of this text with regard to the students for whom it is designed. After identifying the level for which *LIU* is intended, I will deal with the key fea-

tures of the texts. These include the dual syllabus which is built into the design, the speaking, reading, listening, and writing aspects, along with the Teacher's Book and the Self-Study Workbook.

Level

LIU is designed to meet the needs of students who have completed a beginner's course in English, or who are coming back to English after studying it at some time in the past. This covers a pretty broad range, especially considering that here in Japan virtually every high school graduate (more than 90% of the Japanese population) has completed six years of English study. Six years is certainly enough to qualify as a beginner's course. Add to this the business people and housewives who study English at some point in their careers and Doff and Jones's target market comprises most of the Japanese adult population. The same would apply to the adult populations of most (West) European and (Southeast) Asian countries. Doff and Jones refer to this text as aimed at a "pre-intermediate level." *LIU* is most appropriate—or would be most beneficial—for students who have a reasonable foundation (TOEIC 420+) in English, especially in the receptive skills, but who have had very little opportunity, or need, to use English

for oral communicative purposes. For, while *LIU* does provide more than enough grammar exercises, especially in written form, it succeeds at promoting oral proficiency more than any other skill. Clearly, the students at this level are adults—university level students and above—and this is where most of the materials and topics are directed. It is also where most of the materials were piloted before *LIU* was published. These are the students who will benefit most from using *LIU*.

Key Features

LIU consists of 24 four-page units, intended to last approximately three classroom hours each. There are also revision and extension units every six units. The classroom book is accompanied by a Teacher's Book, a Self-Study Workbook, and two cassette tapes, one for the Classroom Book and one for the Self-Study Workbook.

One of the unique features of *LIU* is the dual syllabus design, consisting of a grammatical syllabus and a topical syllabus. The odd-numbered units are grammar-based and the even-numbered units are topical. The grammar, as well as the vocabulary (which is the main focus of the topic units), appear to become progressively more difficult throughout the text. Grammar-based units begin with simple description language (e.g., This is..., There are..., It has..., etc.) and

finish off covering narration, prediction, and duration. The topical syllabus is heavily weighted towards vocabulary development and oral fluency practice. These are clearly targeted towards adult learners and would prove inappropriate for other learners. Fortunately, Doff and Jones attempt to provide numerous opportunities for the structure of the grammar-based units to be recycled through the topical units, as well as recycling the vocabulary from the topical units through the grammar-based units. This design may prove a boon to the prepared teacher making a serious and conscientious effort to do this recycling. However, there must be substantial teacher effort to get the most out of *LIU*. Because of the effort required, *LIU* is, in my opinion, quite unsuited for many of the free-access conversation schools of Japan. It will produce the most substantial results when studied sequentially from unit one through unit 24, constantly and conscientiously recycling.

The Classroom Book

The Classroom Book is meant to provide for the presentation and practice of particular grammatical points and structures as well as to introduce topics for discussion, while the Self-Study Workbook is designed for reinforcement or review outside of normal class time. Many teachers, however, are sure to find particular exercises from the Self-Study Workbook

quite useful as teaching and learning aids when used in the classroom. The Classroom Book contains exercises in pair work, group work, as well as listening activities, reading activities, and writing activities. As stated above, these activities begin by presenting the grammatical structures to be practiced. The presentation techniques and strategies offered in the Teacher's Book, however, are rather bare and straight-forward. There is little in the way of lead-in activities or warm-ups. Nevertheless, there are often three or four presentations in a typical grammatical unit, which is far superior to many of the texts out on the market that are limited to one particular focus.

The listening activities in the Classroom Book are used "as a basis for presentation or as a stimulus for a speaking or writing activity." While this is certainly a valuable and appropriate teaching technique, it doesn't teach aural comprehension skills. Of course, there is likely to be incidental improvement from listening to the tapes, as there would be from listening to the teacher or other students. However, the development of listening comprehension skills is one of the weaknesses of *LIU*, in my opinion. Most of the tapescripts are used to present and model correct grammatical structures. Therefore, they teach grammar and not listening comprehension. In order to improve this situation and teach listening compre-

hension, the teacher must step in and become more involved. While the modeling of particular grammatical points seems appropriate for the students' Self-Study Workbook, it hardly warrants use as the major listening component inside the classroom with a native speaker teaching. Teachers who manipulate these tapes and/or bring in their own supplementary listening activities will be doing their students a service.

In a manner similar to listening, *LIU* deals with writing mostly as a tool for teaching grammar. Most of the writing exercises consist of producing simple sentences and/or paragraphs as a means of practicing a specific grammatical structure or as a way to discuss the topic of the unit. While this may certainly have a role in any comprehensive language course, it does not teach the process of writing per se. *LIU*, at most, provides a few cursory note-taking exercises. This is, however, perhaps appropriate in a course where oral proficiency is given so much focus. It is not entirely reasonable to expect the writing process to be emphasized in such a course.

Reading as a separate skill, on the other hand, is given more substantive and systematic attention than either listening or writing. Doff and Jones have included both scanning and skimming exercises to go along with the more traditional types of reading exercises which are typically found

in general English texts. These exercises include guessing vocabulary through context and answering general comprehension questions.

Information gleaned from the reading passages is used in follow-up speaking and writing activities. This adds a sense of purpose and usefulness to the reading for both the students and the teacher. Most of the reading passages are no longer than a few short paragraphs and can be dealt with in an acceptable amount of class time. Adult learners will generally find them interesting. They also lend themselves extremely well to extension activities. It should be noted that most of the more significant reading passages are strategically placed in the topical units, which, as previously mentioned, are designed for vocabulary development.

The Focus on Form section appears on the fourth and last page of each grammar unit. Focus on Form clearly lays out the basic patterns that were practiced during the unit. This is usually done through model sentence patterns and often includes pair work activity for students. While this is intended to be used as a review or summary, many teachers will find it of value during the presentation stages of a lesson. Focus on Form also includes activities to provide students with practice in pronunciation.

The Self-Study Workbook

Since much has already been mentioned about the Self-Study Work-

book, it will only be dealt with briefly here. This book is useful not only for students studying on their own time, but in the classroom as well. The grammar and vocabulary exercises, in the grammar and topical units, respectively, can be used as additional practice activities during class time, if needed.

The Teacher's Book

The Teacher's Book is laid out extremely well and is designed to be user-friendly. Each unit begins with a brief identification of what the unit intends to cover linguistically or topically. The grammar is explained clearly but only in a skeletal fashion. Language notes pointing out particular rules and necessary exceptions are included here. Enough optional extra ideas are included, with short practice activities provided in most cases. Role-play cards and information for students to complete the pairwork and group activities are well organized here. Perhaps the most convenient feature here is that each page of the student's text lies opposite of the corresponding page of the Teacher's Book.

Conclusion

LIU provides both teacher and student with plenty of useful material and activities. It will certainly help adult learners develop their speaking proficiency. Reading skills should also show improvement. The topical units are targeted towards adult learners and so should prove to be popular

Reviews

when exploited properly. Listening skills and writing skills may not fare as well. The recycling of grammatical structures and vocabulary is a new and innovatory idea that will undoubtedly assist those learners who only study English a few hours a week.

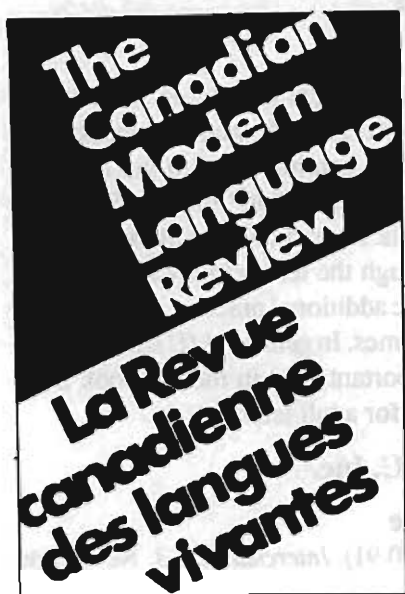
The small caveats above notwithstanding, *LIU* should prove itself a

valuable text in helping students return to English studies successfully and in helping them to get over the "pre-intermediate" plateau. Speaking skills in particular will benefit, although the teacher may have to provide additional practice and activities at times. In general, *LIU* should fill an important void in the textbook market for adult learners.

Reviewed by Patrick Colabucci, IPEC, Inc.

Reference

Richards, J., with Hull, J., & Proctor, S. (1990-91). *Interchange 1-3*. New York: Cambridge University Press.



Anthony S. Mollica
Editor

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VISIONS: AN ACADEMIC WRITING TEXT. Emily Lites and Jean Lehman. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1989. pp. xvi + 191 ¥2,210.

Japan's English education has long neglected the productive side of English proficiency, whereas productive competence has been recently acquiring importance because Japanese people need to speak out in many fields in an age of global communication. They admit they are poor at speaking, but they are not fully aware of their lack of competence in writing as well. At high school, writing is limited to the sentence level, and discourse and rhetorical organization are totally ignored. Furthermore, most composition exercises consist of translation from Japanese to English. The result is that even advanced students who can spell correctly and have a good knowledge of grammar cannot write more than a sentence or two. This situation continues until these students are suddenly required to write for academic or professional purposes.

In such an educational environment, *Visions: An Academic Writing Text* can be used as a practical measure to help undergraduate or adult students develop writing skills so that they may be successful in their academic or professional goals. The book, designed for college, university, or adult ESL students, is intended for use in the writing component of intensive English programs. It is coordinated with *Visions: A Pre-*

Intermediate Grammar, but can be used independently. The focus is on the integration of writing skills for academic purposes; in other words, for the expectation of academic readers. The book guides students step-by-step through the process of carefully sequenced features of writing—vocabulary, reading, grammar, topic development, and rhetorical organization—towards eventual production of writing. Each task is controlled and designed to build new skills and strategies on those already learned, thus leading students to integrate all skills and strategies into writing. This approach to writing serves to encourage unprepared Japanese student writers, rather than having them stall in frustration as often occurs in free composition. The use of some methods involving the process approach are also helpful. Brainstorming for ideas, peer discussion, and peer collaboration in draft revision involved in the reading and writing sections serve to integrate listening and speaking with writing.

The focus of the book, the integration of writing skills, is well-reflected in its organization. Each of the twelve chapters begins with a section called "Vocabulary in Context," which is followed by "Reading," "Understanding Through Writing," "Getting Ready to Write Paragraphs," and

"Writing Paragraphs." Some chapters have additional sections on lexical topics. Each section consists of several subsections which include explanations and exercises. This organization seems too elaborate and repetitious at first glance, and Japanese students may find it difficult to understand directions for exercises and grammatical and rhetorical explanations given in English. Comprehending directions and explanations might be an additional task for these students. However, it is a necessary one, and the repetitious nature of the book's organization and abundant examples will help them as they proceed from one chapter to another, and will finally become an effective means for unprepared students to develop reading skills as well as writing skills.

"Vocabulary in Context" includes subtechnical and content vocabulary exercises. Subtechnical vocabulary consists of terms common across fields of study. These terms reenter in later chapters. Content vocabulary is based on the topic of the **"Reading"** section. The benefit of this section is that students work on exercises without dictionaries so that they may develop the skill of guessing word meanings from context. Japanese students tend to memorize word meanings in Japanese translation found in the dictionary; they are not encouraged to guess meaning from context as a learning strategy.

The **"Reading"** section begins with

warm-up activities which include peer discussion on several questions relevant to the topic. This serves to provide schema to facilitate reading. Such skills as predicting, skimming, and scanning are also introduced here.

"Understanding Through Writing" is the section which analyzes the reading and works as a bridge connecting reading and writing. Students first obtain general understanding by means of indentifying true and false statements, answering questions, finding main ideas, making inferences, and identifying implications. Then they analyze the reading in terms of vocabulary, sentences, and discourse. The means employed for analysis are giving general and specific information, identifying synonymous sentences, making sentence fragments into complete sentences, paraphrasing, recognizing paragraph organization, indentifying noun phrases, using synonyms, recognizing the organization of a longer piece of writing, and so on.

"Getting Ready to Write Paragraphs" deals with discourse grammar selected from the reading on the basis of frequency in written discourse. Exercises subsequent to general explanations of selected elements of discourse grammar begin with a recognition exercise which helps students identify those elements in the reading. Grammar is treated practically as one of the several features of writing.

In the final section, **"Writing Para-**

graphs," students apply what they have learned to writing a paragraph or short composition of several paragraphs. Students are first provided with preliminary explanations on the rhetorical organization of paragraphs. The book then adopts some methods used in the process approach. Students brainstorm for ideas, organize them, write drafts, revise two or more times, and collaborate both in generating ideas and revising drafts. They are encouraged to bring their own ideas into academic discourse, and also given opportunities for selecting topics. The authors stress brainstorming activities because they have creative potential and alleviate the anxiety intrinsic to the first phase of writing. Various techniques for brainstorming are explored since different strategies are effective for different writers and different stages of students' progress in writing. Throughout the writing process, the authors also emphasize cooperative learning, which invites students to exchange ideas and information, and also serves to integrate listening and speaking with writing. In order to facilitate peer discussion, the book provides ample suggestions about topics and techniques for discussion. A revision checklist helps students check their own and peers' work for revision. However, Japanese students and teachers are not familiar with brainstorming and cooperative learning, so teachers would be well

advised to prepare carefully and get used to these techniques in order to gain the maximum result. With regard to teacher feedback and correction, the authors recommend in their message at the opening of the book that the focus be on content and organization the first time a paper is submitted and then on grammar and mechanics in revised papers. They also recommend attention to the emphasized points of the current chapter concerning content and grammar. The "Writing Paragraphs" section is of course the culmination of the book and thus cleverly induces students to produce writing suitable for their academic purposes.

There are, however, some drawbacks to the book. Content vocabulary is sometimes identical to non-technical vocabulary, and sometimes to technical vocabulary. The distinction between subtechnical and content vocabulary is also unclear and unnecessary to students. It is enough perhaps to say simply "vocabulary." Another drawback concerns the selection of topics in the reading sections of the twelve chapters. They concern technologies, natural science, social science, and education. No topic is chosen from humanities. This selection could be more suitable for undergraduate students from various fields of study. Moreover, topics concerning social science and education deal with American situations such as "Post-Secondary Education in the

United States," "American Telephone and Telegraph: A Regulated Monopoly?" "Fast Food Industry in the United States," "Banking in the United States," and "Taking Standardized Tests." This is quite natural for a textbook designed for college, university, or adult ESL students, but it is doubtful if these topics stimulate Japanese students' interest when used as an EFL textbook. Another minor flaw is perhaps the lack of relevant, interesting photographs and pictures. The tight organization and careful guidelines can sometimes be oppressive even though they are helpful

on the whole for unprepared students and teachers inexperienced in the approach of the book.

In conclusion, *Visions: An Academic Writing Text* offers an innovating and challenging approach to writing for Japanese students and teachers alike. The authors successfully combine form-dominated (i.e., rhetorical rather than grammatical) controlled composition with the process approach. Despite some drawbacks, this book will help Japanese students acquire writing skills that are integrated with the other three skill areas.

Reviewed by Kazuko Yamada, Temple University, Osaka

ESL IN AMERICA: MYTHS AND POSSIBILITIES. Sarah Benesch (Ed.). Portsmouth, New Hampshire: Boyton/Cook Publishers, a subsidiary of Heinemann Educational Books, 1991. 133 pp. \$16.50.

Working from a belief that understanding "students' histories and cultures as well as their current social and economic problems" is essential for effective ESL teaching and administration, the editor of this brief volume has collected an impressive set of essays exploring the social and political context of ESL. *ESL in America: Myths and Possibilities* focuses upon historical and sociopolitical, rather than pedagogical factors in ESL. Contributors include a civil-rights attorney, a professor of law, a sociologist, and a school principal. One is an ESL student.

The nine articles in *ESL in America* (seven of which were written especially for this collection) are divided into three sections. Part I, "Myths," explores popular myths about immigrants to the U.S. such as: earlier immigrants were more willing to learn English than today's immigrants; laws declaring English the official language are adopted to help immigrants; most immigrants come to the U.S. seeking political freedom and economic opportunity; most immigrants are welcomed to America. In exploding these and other myths, the articles in this section offer valuable historical and legal analyses of twentieth century immigration.

Part II, "Educational Policy," focuses on community college ESL and

bilingual education, in particular, it discusses reforms needed to make English language education more responsive to the real-life needs of students. By exploring the impact of policies upon real students, the articles in Part II argue persuasively that current policies do not serve many immigrants and refugees in America.

Part III, "Possibilities," includes descriptions and analyses of three innovative programs that share the assumption that effective English language education must be linked to a broader analysis of the social and economic conditions affecting students' lives. The most practical, classroom-oriented articles in the collection, Part III explores important innovations that will interest both teachers and program administrators.

Individual contributions to *ESL in America* reflect the editor's stated concern for social and political forces affecting ESL. In the first article in Part I, "Myths," Juan Cartagena argues that the movement to declare English the official language is another example of language restrictionist movements that can be traced to the early twentieth century. Cartagena examines the literature of U.S. English, the main organization supporting official English. Like other critics of U.S. English (e.g., Crawford, 1992; Donahue, 1985), Cartagena concludes

that the official English movement is based primarily upon powerful myths about immigrants and America.

The slight "Who Are the Americans?" was written by an ESL student, Samuel Hernandez, Jr. Its inclusion reflects an important theme of the volume, that teachers and program administrators must learn to listen to the voices of the students they serve.

More substantially, in "Living in Exile," Georges Fouron examines the Haitian community in America. Drawing upon the dependency theory of migration, Fouron's historical analysis of U.S.-Haitian relations shows the crucial role U.S. policy played in creating the conditions for large-scale Haitian immigration to the United States, as well as for the difficulties experienced by Haitians in the U.S. Fouron discusses the alienation of most Haitian parents from U.S. schools, but otherwise his article does not spell out the implications of his analysis for ESL instruction.

In "ESL and the Myth of the Model Minority," Philip Tajitsu Nash traces the shift in the myth of Asian immigrants from "yellow peril" to "model minority." Nash argues that the new myth of the model minority disguises the fact that racism continues to limit the upward mobility of many Asian Americans, who are channeled into limited white-collar jobs having little authority and lower wages than those paid to white workers with similar levels of education. In a concluding

section, Nash suggests ways that ESL programs may move beyond the myth of the model minority to better serve Asian students. (A similar concluding section would also have strengthened Fouron's otherwise excellent article.)

Section II, "Educational Policy," consists of two of the best articles in this collection. Sarah Benesch's "ESL on Campus: Questioning Testing and Tracking Policies," critically examines the widespread practice of using ESL placement scores to track students into remedial programs (many of which require students to pay additional fees). Although focused specifically on ESL tracking, Benesch's analysis of decontextualized skills testing will also interest administrators and teachers who are responsible for designing and implementing ESL tests. Benesch's provocative critique of ESL testing should be required reading for all ESL professionals. In the second article in Part II, "Contextual Complexities: Written Language Policies for Bilingual Programs," Edelsky and Hudelson argue that no single policy for writing and reading instruction will satisfy the needs of all ESL students. Their argument for local policy making is an eloquent plea for granting teachers and students the autonomy they need to create effective language programs.

Part III, "Possibilities," opens with an informal description of "How We Welcome Newcomers and Celebrate

Diversity at the Garfield School," by a school principal, William Waxman. Waxman's contribution is followed by Elsa Auerbach's and Loren McGrail's "Rosa's Challenge: Connecting Classroom and Community Contexts," an outstanding practical analysis of specific ways to adapt ESL programs to the social and political conditions affecting students. Auerbach and McGrail describe the problem-posing approach to curriculum development and suggest a wide range of tools for teachers, including student-written materials, oral histories, photo-stories, and action projects. Teachers who are looking for a concise and useful description of the participatory approach to ESL would be well served by reading this article.

The final article in the collection, "A Collaborative Model for Empowering Nontraditional Students," by Teri Haas, Trudy Smoke, and Jose Hernandez, describes a collaboration between teachers in two writing courses and an instructor in a social science course called "Conquered Peoples in America." With the growing interest in linking ESL classes to regular subject-area courses, this article should interest many teachers in colleges and universities. Unfortunately, the unusual format of the article—a transcription of a discussion among the collaborating teachers—makes it difficult for readers to derive general principles or specific ideas for designing their own

collaborative programs.

The editor of *ESL in America* is to be commended for centering our attention on questions like "Why did our ESL students leave their countries to come to the U.S.? How have U.S. government policies affected their home countries? What are the myths about past generations of immigrants? How do those myths affect today's immigrants?" ESL professionals have often heard that they must understand the world outside the classroom if they are to make informed pedagogical choices. Rarely, however, are they *shown* how such an understanding can dramatically affect program design and teaching practice. This edition achieves that aim.

Despite its strengths, *ESL in America* will not be for everyone. Most of the articles are obviously written for a U.S. audience. Cartagena's discussion of the official English movement, for instance, is not an introduction to this issue, but instead a critical analysis of one side of the debate. Some of the pedagogical practices, such as linking ESL to content-oriented courses, would work only at an English-speaking institution. The discussion of immigration is limited to the U.S. context. The critical analysis of ESL testing and placement practices applies to U.S. colleges and universities. Researchers interested in detailed studies of alternative testing practices, partici-

patory methods, immigration education, or other topics will be disappointed. Indeed, other books have covered some of the same ground as *ESL in America* (e.g., Cooper, 1989; Corson, 1990; Fairclough, 1989; McKay & Wong, 1988). Within limits, then, *ESL in America* is to be recommended.

In perhaps the best statement of

the purpose of this volume, the editor asks: "How can we change the ways we teach to help these students see the myths exposed, the obstacles eliminated, and the possibilities expanded?" *ESL in America* is a solid contribution toward answering this crucial question, which should concern all ESL practitioners.

Reviewed by James W. Tollefson, University of Washington

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TEACHING ENGLISH OVERSEAS: AN INTRODUCTION.

Sandra Lee McKay. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992. 155 pp.

This book is, as its title suggests, intended for those who plan to teach or are currently teaching in countries where English is not spoken as a native language, but the breadth of its content may come as a surprise to those seeking an "introduction." Hapless jobseekers looking for practical information on overseas employment will not satisfy their interests here. Instead, the book focuses on the professional concerns of teaching English in both developing and technological societies, and offers a broader and deeper perspective than its title discloses.

The book is divided into two parts: Part I, "The Larger Context," deals with the sociopolitical, economic, and cultural considerations which affect the teaching of languages in a given country; while Part II, "The Educational Context," focuses on the implementation of national policies by educational institutions. Each chapter begins with a theoretical basis and provides the basic terminology needed for an informed discussion of economic and sociopolitical factors. A selection of case studies then serves to exemplify the theoretical concepts put forth in the chapter and to reflect a diversity of experiences and reactions of individual teachers to the problems of their particular teaching assignments. A section on "Explor-

ing the Ideas" accompanying each chapter suggests topics for thought and discussion, enabling readers to articulate the concepts put forth in the chapter and apply them to the specific political, economic, and cultural conditions of a specific geographical area of interest. They can then examine and evaluate them through their own personal experience in the manner that the case studies have illustrated. "Researching the Ideas" outlines practical research tasks for further exploration of the issues; research questions, sample project plans, lists of core sources, and even sample interview questions help to provide a basis for the tasks. A bibliography of related sources concludes each chapter.

Part I: The Larger Context

Part I is divided into three chapters, the first of which views language teaching within the sociopolitical context. It begins by defining language planning, and shows how the language planning process may be used to fulfill governmental and societal objectives. McKay relates language planning to the necessity of balancing the interests of nationalism with the realities of efficient policy implementation. Fishman's (1969) scheme for categorizing nations in terms of language planning needs facilitates a discussion of the reasons

for various language planning decisions on the national level.

In Chapter 2 we see how economic incentives bear on motivation for language learning and ultimately on the teaching of language, first by explaining the relationship between economic factors and language spread, followed by an explanation of how diglossia, the use of two languages or varieties with differing prestige levels used in separate societal domains, relates to economic factors.

Chapter 3 addresses the larger cultural context as it relates directly to education; and, closer to home, as it affects the role of school and classroom. It then relates the basic principles of ethnography, or the cultural study of how people interact within a particular setting, to language teaching by defining the etic and emic perspectives of a culture with an end toward advocating the adoption by teachers of an emic perspective, in order to deal more effectively with cross-cultural misunderstandings in the classroom. This is followed by a discussion of what cultural content, if any, should be included in a specific curriculum.

Part II: The Educational Context

The two chapters of Part II are concerned with the Educational Context and deal respectively with the effects of language education policies and institutional structures on teaching. Chapter 4 examines ways in which decisions made by Ministries of Education affect teaching and

teachers. Under this topic are subsumed such issues as the choice of a language as the medium of instruction, how vernaculars may be regarded, implementation of curriculum guidelines, and which varieties of English are promoted.

Chapter 5, addressing the institutional context, describes the many ways in which educational funding can affect student populations, hiring, materials, course offerings, and language objectives. The chapter also suggests points one should investigate before accepting an overseas position. As in other chapters, the case studies here of contrasting institutions in various countries offer readers clear examples of a range of situations and suggest short research projects as encouragement to explore the ideas further.

Teachers who began their overseas careers through such organizations as the U.S. Peace Corps or British Volunteer Service Overseas may have had a similar opportunity in their training programs to view their jobs within the larger context this book affords. In recent decades, however, increased international mobility has made it easier for teachers to find employment worldwide on their own volition, with the result that many teachers go abroad with little or no idea of the larger implications of their job within the cultural and sociopolitical framework of their host country. As a result, most expatriate teachers can probably recall instances

in their experience when naiveté on their own part or that of a fellow employee resulted in ramifications which caused damage to institutions, students, teaching careers, and cultural understanding. In light of this, the book serves the important purpose of filling a crucial information gap in preparing teachers for what to expect, and for examining their own beliefs about education, teaching, and culture. In addition, it is timely in providing information directly applicable to the quandaries and tasks facing the many new nations which are springing into being almost overnight, with their attendant language planning dilemmas: the part that nationalism and nationism play in language planning decisions; the choice of official languages; decisions about what variety of a language to promote in government and education; issues of corpus planning, such as the expansion of vocabulary to update the use of a language; or the development of a writing system.

McKay takes a strong stance in her assumptions that English teachers who accept employment in a host country need to be informed of the specific social and political consequences involved in the teaching of English in the host country. The book warns that they need to be aware of their own deepest cultural biases. The role of

the expatriate English specialist, McKay insists, should be only to produce greater language proficiency within the given structure, rather than to try to effect political or social change.

While she acknowledges that this awareness is perhaps not wholly possible due to the fact that our cultural view is deeply ingrained, McKay suggests that as teachers we are in a better position than most to inform ourselves, view our own cultural biases with some degree of objectivity and compensate for them; and that as professionals we are obliged—unquestioningly, from the author's viewpoint—to do so. For readers in accord with her assumptions, the book offers practical assistance in fulfilling such an obligation.

While the obscurity of its title may result in its being overlooked by those who need it most, the book's thoughtful organization makes it useful as a course text for training programs of either new or experienced educators, as a reference volume for individual teachers in overseas settings, and as a starting point for those who wish to pursue individual research. It will be a useful addition to all who take their professional responsibilities as guests in an overseas education system seriously.

Reviewed by Elizabeth King, International Christian University
Reference

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Information for Contributors

EDITORIAL POLICY

Note: Submissions must conform to the Guidelines printed below.

The *JALT Journal* welcomes practical and theoretical articles concerned with foreign language teaching and learning in Japanese, Asian, and international contexts. Areas of specific interest are

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Format

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JALT JOURNAL 第15巻 第1号

平成5年4月25日 印刷

平成5年5月1日 発行

発行人 全国語学教育学会 (JALT)

発行所 JALT 本部

〒116 東京都荒川区西日暮里2-32-10

グロリアス東京301

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