昭和五十四年四月二十一日 第三種郵便物認可
第十五巻 第一号 平成五年五月一日発行

ISSN 0287-2420

¥750

JALT JOURNAL

JOURNAL OF THE JAPAN ASSOCIATION OF LANGUAGE TEACHERS

全国語学教育学会

VOLUME 15 NO.2

NOVEMBER 1993

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JALT Journal

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November 1993

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Editorial

Articles

Language teachers all recognize the importance of vocabulary learning in language acquisition. **Anita J. Sökmen** describes her research into how vocabulary items are stored in "**Word Association Results: A Window to the Lexicons of ESL Students.**" For her study, she recorded the associative responses of nearly 200 ESL students to a 50-item list of common words. The results indicate that learners form clusters of words in their mental lexicons. The article goes on to discuss implications for teaching.

This issue features three pieces which focus on writing. **Waiching Enid Mok,** in an article that serves to review and update the achievements of Contrastive Rhetoric, shows the relevance of CR to the Japanese writing classroom. Specifically, "**Contrastive Rhetoric and the Japanese Writer of EFL**" suggests that writing teachers in Japan directly confront cross-cultural differences in rhetorical styles, arguing such information ultimately makes the student's task easier. **Wai King Tsang** and **Matilda Wong** of the City Polytechnic of Hong Kong describe an intensive writing program and how it was used in "**Investigating the Process Approach to Writing.**" The researchers found meaningful gains in content and discourse organization as successive drafts were created, but little imporvement at the sentence level. The paper is of interest to all those teaching writing. **Norbert Schmitt** discusses how EFL compositions are judged in "**Comparing Native and Nonnative Teachers' Evaluations of Error Seriousness.**" En route he specifies a system of error classification in which an error is defined by the extent to which it involves the rest of the discourse. Japanese EFL instructors tended to grade grammatical errors in a prepared discourse as more serious than native English speakers, yet both groups of teachers recognized overall comprehensibility as a major criterion of quality in a composition.

Research Forum

The *JALT Journal's* **Research Forum** offers reports on English and Japanese language use. In the first, **Tamara Swenson, William Cline,** and **Cathering Bacon** describe and evaluate an English Language Day held at a Japanese junior college, a program that may well prove popular at other institutions. **Keiko Nonaka** investigates nine Japanese as a second language

users to determine the correlations among Japanese language use, acculturation to Japan, and the fear of making errors in JSL.

Point-to-Point

Ian Gleadall questions the need for "new Englishes" claimed in an earlier issue of the *JALT Journal*, in Akihiko Higuchi's November 1992 article, "New English in the Education System—Focusing on Singaporean English."

Reviews

The **Reviews** section has descriptions and evaluations of eight current publications in language education, with reviews from **Michael McCarthy, Lowell Brubaker, Martin Bauer, Thomas Hardy, Tamara Swenson, Bruce Horton,** and **Thomas Paikeday.** Topics under discussion include linguistics and language teaching, interlanguage, listening instruction, college teaching in Japan, and dictionaries of Japanese and English.

Acknowledgements

The *JALT Journal* gives special thanks to two members of the editorial board who are concluding their years of service—John Maher, who has served since 1990, and Michael Horne, who has been with the journal since 1983. We also thank Yuichiro Yamada for his assistance with this issue.

Word Association Results: A Window to the Lexicons of ESL Students

Anita J. Sökmen

University of Washington

The results of word association tests can give useful information about how words are clustered in the mental lexicon of second language learners. Seeing patterns in associations can help teachers present new vocabulary and evaluate student comprehension. This study investigated the results of a 50-item word association test administered to 198 ESL students at the University of Washington. Which kinds of responses were common, how ESL responses compared to native speakers', and how gender, level, native language, and age affected answers were considered. The results suggest that as students have more experiences with words, their lexicons reorganize into meaning clusters which reflect attitudes, emotions, or strong memories. There was also a great deal of similarity in the responses of native speakers and the second language learners. Finally, significant differences appeared according to gender, language, and levels of English and education.

連想語検査の結果：第二言語学習者の語彙を知る手がかり

第二言語学習者の観念語彙の中でどのような過程で単語が集められるかを知る上で、連想語検査の結果は有益な情報を提供する。連想に型があることを知ることは、教師が新しい語彙を紹介したり学生の理解度を評価するのに役立つ。本研究はワシントン大学の198人のＥＳＬ学生が受けた50の単語を使った連想語検査の結果を調査したものである。どのような応答が一般的か、ＥＳＬ学習者とネイティブ・スピーカーの応答の相違点は何か、又性差、学力、母国語、年齢が答えにどのように影響しているか等を考慮した。この結果から、多くの単語を知っている学生ほど、自分の語彙を意味のある語群（これは見解、感情、強い記憶を反映する）に整理していると推察される。同様に、ネイティブ・スピーカーと第二言語学習者の応答には多くの類似点があった。最後に、性差、母国語、英語力や教育によって、顕著な異なりが現われた事を述べる。

1. Introduction

After decades of neglect, vocabulary teaching in the field of English language instruction has been experiencing a revival in interest (Bahns, 1993; Judd 1978; Meara, 1980). This renewal is also evident in research into the organization of the human lexicon. Current theories focus on the idea that there is a network of associations, a web-like system that allows for easy storage and retrieval of words. Words seem to be linked in the mind in semantic fields with certain kinds of links being especially strong due to

linguistic habits. Coordinates (words which are on the same level, cat—>dog, including opposites, cold—>hot) and collocations (words commonly occurring together, hot—>weather) have the strongest links (Aitchison, 1987).

Word association experiments have been used to access word links in mental lexicons (see Fodor, 1983). With a typical word association test, the researcher presents a word and asks the subject to give the first word that comes to mind, the Kent-Rosanoff list (Postman & Keppel, 1970) often being the source for stimulus words. This list of 100 common words was originally used in 1910 to distinguish how words were associated in the minds of the mentally ill in contrast to the mentally healthy. The list has been popular in word association experiments because of the large amount of normative data available.

Since the mid-fifties, numerous word association studies have been done with second language learners. Researchers have asked for single responses, continuous responses (as many words as possible in *n* seconds), and restricted associations (giving a synonym, for example) in their studies. Some have allowed bilingual subjects to make interlingual responses.

Analysis of word association test results has often been done by word class: **supra/subordinate classifications** (words that show category relationships up or down; e.g., fruit—>apple, bread—>food, mountain—>Fuji); **synonyms** (words with similar meanings, e.g., ocean—>sea, boy—>guy, hard—>difficult); **coordinates** (words equal in rank and importance, e.g., bath—>shower, salt—>sugar, green—>blue); **contrasts** (words that show opposite meanings, e.g., doctor—>patient, slow—>quick, baby—>adult); and **collocations** (words that commonly go together, e.g., cold—>weather, eating—>lunch, dark—>night). Another type of association has been part of speech: **noun, verb, adjective, adverb.** Researchers have also ranked responses according to their popularity: primary (most popular), secondary, tertiary, and so forth. This ranking is known as an associative response hierarchy.

In studies of native speakers of English, Aitchison (1987) concludes that coordinates, including contrasts, are found to be very closely associated. In addition, collocations have "powerful and long-lasting" links. Aitchison also reports findings of various word association tests on native speakers, showing that people respond by using words in the same semantic field (needle—>sew), words in the same word class (n—>n, adj—>adj), and the partner in a pair (man—>woman) (1987). Browman (1978) writes that nouns and verbs strongly associate within their own part of speech (90%) and adjectives do so with less frequency (60%). Deese's (1965) work reveals that nouns will elicit

nouns (80%), whereas verbs and adjectives will elicit their own part of speech less often (50%).

Past word association research with second language learners leads us to expect that nouns are most likely to solicit nouns (Ludwig, 1984), and verbs will get more varied responses (Ruke-Dravina, 1971). Previous research also indicates that beginners have fewer primary responses because their lexicons are small and less organized (Meara, 1978). Advanced students have more synonyms and contrast words (Soudek, 1981). Regarding age and education, Riegel's (1968) study shows that older and more educated students have fewer primary responses.

However, these studies need to be looked at cautiously. The Kent-Rosanoff list, for example, has been criticized because its high-frequency words elicit highly "stereotyped" responses. That is, the majority of responses will be the same. Meara (1980), surveying second language word association studies, finds them hard to summarize since their purposes and methods of data collection are very different. He regrets that results speak for groups and not individuals and that these studies lack an overall strategy that would help us understand storage of vocabulary.

Aitchison (1987), in her analysis of studies with native speakers, points out that problems exist with word association results, since these surveys do not replicate natural speech activities and single word responses cannot tell us the many-faceted structure of mental word links. In addition, Coleman (1964) finds that the words around the stimulus can alter the results. In spite of these drawbacks, Aitchison feels word association gives useful information about mental links when it is combined with other sources of information about the lexicon, such as the results of slip of the tongue experiments and experiments with people who have speech disorders. In fact, these other experiments support the strong links of coordinate responses (bath—>shower) and collocational responses (blue—>sky) as well as the weaker links of classification and synonym responses.

Therefore, the present study is based on the belief that word association results do have a place in the search for understanding the semantic networks in the mind. Although they cannot help us accurately map all the words semantically clustered, they do tell us in general about the strongest types of links. The Kent-Rosanoff list, where students typically produce similar responses rather than idiosyncratic ones, may be very useful in showing trends that could help form pedagogical strategies for teachers who face classrooms of second language learners. Stevick (1976) believes that since words are

stored in associations, presenting words in a network of associations is an effective way to facilitate learning vocabulary in a second language. Consequently, although teachers cannot teach all the links in the mental lexicon, they could strive for the most common types in their presentations of vocabulary. The question is, which associations are most useful to teach?

2. The Study

The purpose of this word association study was to find trends in ESL learners' responses. It was hoped that the patterns in the responses would give insights into the following questions: What types of associations do ESL students commonly have? Are native speaker responses similar to ESL students'? Are gender, ESL level, native language, age, and education significant variants in responses? Finally, what implications do the answers to these questions have for the practical teaching of vocabulary?

3. Methodology

3.1 The Subjects

The survey was administered midquarter during Spring and Summer Quarters of 1990 at the University of Washington. Of the 198 respondents, 94 were men, 104 women. The levels were 92 beginners (in the first or second quarter of ESL study), 59 intermediates (in the third quarter of ESL study) and 47 advanced students. The respondents consisted of Japanese (108), Chinese (16), Arabic (13), Korean (18), and 43 others, including 26 who did not identify their native language. The majority of the respondents had a high school degree and some advanced education, and were in the age range of 20-30.

3.2 Data Collection

Teachers in an intensive English program and an academic English program volunteered to administer the survey to their students. To keep administration of the survey consistent, teachers were given explicit directions to read to their students.

The survey consisted of fifty words from the Kent-Rosanoff list which were simple enough that even ESL students with five weeks of classes would be familiar with them. There were 30 nouns, 19 adjectives, and 1 verb. Although only half of the words from the Kent-Rosanoff list were chosen, the order of presentation of those words was the same as on the original list. Aural cues were provided to students as a class, and each student responded in writing on a numbered form. An individual aural/oral survey format was rejected since it would have been time-consuming and more anxiety-laden for students.

Aural stimuli were also used because it was feared that students would slow down if they had written stimuli, belaboring words and not giving the first response that came to mind. Also, Cramer (1968) had found that the frequency of primary responses increased under time pressure. Although there was a risk that ESL students could misunderstand aural cues, this only appeared to happen in a small percentage of cases. These responses were analyzed based on what the student appeared to have heard, rather than what the stimulus was.

These were the words and their order on the survey: table, dark, music, man, deep, soft, eating, mountain, house, black, hand, short, fruit, chair, sweet, woman, cold, slow, river, white, beautiful, window, foot, girl, sickness, hard, yellow, bread, boy, bath, blue, hungry, ocean, head, long, city, butter, doctor, loud, bed, heavy, baby, moon, scissors, quiet, green, salt, street, king, cheese.

3.3 Data Analysis

There were 9049 responses to be individually coded and entered into the database. Each word association relationship was analyzed and coded on three levels: word class, part of speech, and popularity.

The initial division was by word class into five categories: supra/subordinate **classifications**, **synonyms**, **coordinates**, **contrasts**, and **collocations**. Contrasts were defined in a broad range as being opposites, for example, quick—>slow, doctor—>patient. Collocations were defined as words which go together from left to right. For example, woman—>beautiful was not considered to be a collocation since in normal speech it would be reversed. In addition, three other "classes" had to be created in order to categorize responses which did not fit into the five above. The first, **nonsense**, meant the coder could not determine what the relationship was, such as scissors—> honesty, butter—> long, salt—>people. The second was for **word forms** as seen in associations such as sickness—>sick, deep—>depth, and bad—> worse. Finally, an **affective** category was necessary for associations which showed a visual image, an opinion, an emotional response, or a personal past experience. Examples of these were table—>study, dark—>scared, sickness—>hospital.

The second division of all responses was for part of speech: noun, adjective, or verb. Adverbs were combined with adjectives since they were both modifiers; however, there were actually very few adverb responses.

The last division was based on the top three most popular responses for each stimulus word and coded as primary, secondary, and tertiary. In order to correct any inconsistencies in coding, numerous database searches were run to calibrate the codes.

4. Results

4.1 Non-Native Speaker Responses

Table 1 shows the categories of responses and the number of responses in each.

Table 1
Word Class Responses

Word Class	Number of Responses
Affective	4,284
Collocations	1,540
Contrasts	1,157
Coordinates	839
Classifications	652
Synonyms	474
Nonsense	76
Word forms	27

As can be seen in the table, most words solicited "affective" associations, suggesting that students develop word associations based on feelings, attitudes, or strong memories.

Parts of speech results (Table 2) confirm the work of Deese (1965), Ludwig (1984), Ruke-Dravina (1971), and the noun and adjective results of Browman (1978). Noun stimuli usually elicited noun responses while verb or adjectives did so less often. Adjective and verb stimuli were more likely to stimulate a response which formed a syntactic unit: adjective—>noun (deep—>kiss), verb—> noun (eating—>rice).

Table 2
Part of Speech Responses

Stimulus		number	%
Noun	Noun—>Noun	3,694	68.36
	Noun—>Adjective	1,192	22.06
	Noun—>Verb	518	9.59
Adjective	Adjective—>Noun	2,131	61.45
	Adjective—>Adjective	1,151	33.19
	Adjective—>Verb	186	5.36
Verb	Verb—>noun	105	59.32
	Verb—>Adjective	46	25.99
	Verb—>Verb	26	14.69

The next analysis involved word class associations within each part of speech. Within all of the noun stimuli, most responses were affective. The next

highest categories were coordinates and classifications. The fact that the number of collocations stimulated by nouns was very low may be, as Aitchison (1987) concludes, because nouns have fewer syntactic restrictions. Most of the adjective stimuli elicited collocational or affective responses (35% each). Contrasts were in second place. Verbs also had a high percentage of collocational (47%) and affective (40%) responses. Coordinates were third. There were no contrast responses. The percentages for each word class are displayed in Table 3.

Table 3
Responses Categorized by Word Class

Stimulus	Response	number	%
Noun	affective	3,025	56.35
	coordinates	771	14.36
	contrasts	466	8.68
	synonyms	267	4.97
	collocations	263	4.90
Adjective	collocations	1,195	35.06
	affective	1,193	35.01
	contrasts	691	20.28
	synonyms	205	6.02
	classifications	74	2.17
	coordinates	50	1.47
Verb	collocations	82	47.13
	affective	70	40.23
	coordinates	18	10.34
	classifications	2	1.15
	contrasts	0	0.00

The popularity of answers is arranged in the associative response hierarchy (Table 4, on the two following pages). These are sorted in descending order by the strength or popularity of response: "man" receiving 102 out of 2173 primary responses and "quiet" receiving only 17 out of the 2173.

To summarize the kinds of associations that ESL students make, the most striking result is that the majority of responses were affective. There were also many responses in the categories of collocations, coordinates, contrasts, or classifications. Only 25 percent of the primary responses were contrasts. However, where there were contrasts, they were very strong. Looking at the ten words with the most popular responses (stimulus words "man" through "woman"), seventy percent of those responses were contrasts. Finally, nouns usually solicited nouns, adjectives solicited adjectives or nouns, and verbs solicited nouns.

Table 4
Associative Responses by Popularity

Stimulus	Response (number of respondents)	Respondents to each stimulus (n)
man	woman,-en (103), strong (12), human (7)	186
blue	sky (87), sea (26), color (8)	189
bed	sleep,-ing (79), good (13), comfortable (11)	184
girl	boy (76), pretty (21), beautiful (10)	184
table	chair (75), desk (29), wood (15)	193
king	queen (73), England, president (7)	182
short	long (72), hair, tall, pants (14)	181
boy	girl,-s (70), play,-ing, young (7)	180
black	white (69), dark (18), cat (14)	184
woman	man, men (63), beautiful (25), pretty (10)	189
butter	bread (59), milk (13), cow (11)	175
deep	sea (58), water (12), hole (8)	166
foot	shoes (56), walk,-ing (21), hand (19)	183
soft	hard (55), bread (10), cream, cake, woman,-en (7)	188
cold	winter (54), hot (32), snow (15)	187
long	short (53), hair (20), way (9)	183
chair	table (49), sit,-ting (33), desk (28)	181
fruit	apple,-s (49), orange (21), sweet (17)	185
green	tree,-s (46), grass,-es (26), wood,-s (12)	190
dark	night (45), cat (30), black (23)	186
hungry	food,-s (44), eat,-ing (38), lunch (11)	192
bath	shower (44), room (11), soap, water (8)	153
white	black (43), snow (24), pure, house, clean (7)	174
head	hair (40), brain (24), ache (15)	178
slow	fast (39), quick,-ly (25), walk,-ing (9)	174
baby	cute (37), pretty (29), mother (14)	197
hard	soft (35), study,-ing (33), work (15)	179
eating	food (35), hungry (20), drink,-ing (17)	177
river	water (33), mountain (17), long (12)	181
scissors	cut,-ting (32), paper (26), sharp (5)	116
doctor	hospital (31), nurse (26), sick (24)	191
house	family (31), home (21), big (13)	189
hand	finger,-s, foot (30), leg,-s (12)	175

Table 4
Associative Responses by Popularity (Continued)

Stimulus	Response (number of respondents)	Respondents to each stimulus (n)
street	car (30), people (20), road (11)	182
sweet	sugar (30), cake (26), candy (25)	185
beautiful	flower,-s (29), woman,-en (27), view (16)	194
heavy	light (28), weight (25), stone (12)	182
window	door (28), wind (19), glass (18)	193
ocean	sea (26), wide (15), blue (14)	187
mountain	snow (26), Mt. Fuji (22), high, river (21)	190
moon	night (25), sun (24), star (12)	180
music	rock,-'n'roll (25), listen (14), piano (13)	192
salt	sugar (25), pepper (24) sea,-water (18)	159
bread	breakfast (25), butter (24) food, milk (10)	185
city	Seattle (24), country (21), town (18)	192
yellow	paper (23), color (22), signal (10)	192
loud	noise, voice (21), music (20)	163
cheese	milk (21), mouse (16), butter (13)	184
sickness	cold (21), hospital (12), ill (10)	158
quiet	night (17), library, noisy (13)	179

4.2 Comparison to Native Speaker Responses

Next, the primary (1), secondary (2), and tertiary (3) responses were compared to the responses of approximately 1008 native-speaker college sophomores in the 1952 Minnesota Word Association Norms (Postman & Keppel, 1970). Although there was a 38-year difference, previous researchers have found that such norms are still useful since the main difference has been an increased frequency in the primary responses over time (Jenkins, 1970). Ninety percent of the stimulus words had similar popular responses to native-speaker responses. Of those, 48 percent actually shared the same primary responses. Table 5 shows the comparison between L1 and L2 responses, non-comparable responses excluded.

The results of Table 5 shed light on the question of whether native-speaker responses are similar to ESL students'. Indeed, there is a very high percentage of similarity. Because these are so similar, trends from native-speaker research could be useful when planning vocabulary teaching for ESL students.

Table 5
Comparison to Native Speaker Norms

L2= Second Language Learner
L1= Native Speaker
(1) primary responses
(2) secondary responses
(3) tertiary responses

Stimuli	L2 Responses	%	L1 Responses	%
bath	(3) water	5	(2) water	22
	(3) soap	5	(3) soap	10
bed	(1) sleep,-ing	43	(1) sleep	56
black	(1) white	38	(1) white	75
	(2) dark	10	(2) dark	5
	(3) cat	8	(3) cat	2
blue	(1) sky	46	(1) sky	17
boy	(1) girl,-s	39	(1) girl	76
bread	(2) butter	13	(1) butter	61
	(3) food	5	(2) food	9
butter	(1) bread	34	(1) bread	63
chair	(1) table	27	(1) table	49
	(2) sit,-ting	18	(2) sit	20
cheese	(2) mouse	9	(3) mouse	9
city	(3) town	9	(1) town	35
cold	(1) hot	17	(1) hot	35
	(3) snow	8	(2) snow	22
dark	(1) night	24	(2) night	6
deep	(2) water	7	(3) water	10
doctor	(3) nurse	14	(1) nurse	24
	(1) sick	13	(2) sick	15
eating	(1) food	20	(1) food	39
	(3) drink,-ing	10	(2) drinking	14
fruit	(1) apple,-s	26	(1) apple	38
	(2) orange	11	(3) orange	9
foot	(1) shoe,-s	31	(1) shoe	23
	(2) hand	10	(2) hand	20
girl	(1) boy	41	(1) boy	70
green	(2) grass,-es	14	(1) grass	26
hand	(1) foot,feet	17	(1) foot	25
	(1) finger,-s	17	(2) finger	24
hard	(1) soft	20	(1) soft	67
head	(1) hair	22	(1) hair	13
heavy	(1) light	15	(1) light	58
house	(2) home	11	(1) home	25

Table 5
Comparison to Native Speaker Norms (Continued)

L2= Second Language Learner
L1= Native Speaker
(1) primary responses
(2) secondary responses
(3) tertiary responses

Stimuli	L2 Responses	%	L1 Responses	%
hungry	(1) food,-s	23	(1) food	36
	(2) eat,-ting	20	(2) eat	17
king	(1) queen	40	(1) queen	75
long	(1) short	29	(1) short	75
loud	(1) noise	13	(2) noise	21
man	(1) woman,-en	55	(1) woman	76
moon	(1) night	14	(3) night	7
	(2) sun	13	(2) sun	17
	(3) star	6	(1) star	20
mountain	(1) snow	14	(3) snow	6
	(2) high	11	(2) high	13
ocean	(1) sea	14	(2) sea	23
	(3) blue	7	(3) blue	11
quiet	(3) noisy	7	(2) noisy	11
river	(1) water	18	(1) water	24
salt	(1) sugar	16	(2) sugar	8
	(2) pepper	15	(1) pepper	43
scissors	(1) cut,-ting	28	(1) cut	67
	(2) paper	22	(3) paper	4
	(3) sharp	4	(2) sharp	9
short	(1) long	40	(2) long	33
	(3) tall	8	(1) tall	39
slow	(1) fast	22	(1) fast	75
street	(1) car	16	(3) car	11
	(3) road	6	(2) road	13
sweet	(2) candy	14	(2) candy	16
table	(1) chair	39	(1) chair	83
	(2) desk	15	(3) desk	2
white	(1) black	25	(1) black	61
	(2) snow	14	(2) snow	13
window	(1) door	15	(1) door	19
	(3) glass	9	(2) glass	17
woman	(1) man,men	33	(1) man	64
yellow	(2) color	11	(3) color	11

4.3 Statistical Analysis of Variance by Category

When L2 speakers' word association results were analyzed with a T-test, three gender differences were found, as shown in Table 6.

Table 6
Gender Differences Averages

Responses	males [n = 94]	females [n = 104]	*t*
Primary	10.085	11.596	2.063
Adjectives	11.149	12.894	2.534
Verbs	4.234	3.192	−2.601

[*T*-test with 1.96 or above being significant]

Women were more likely to have primary and adjective responses than men were, whereas men were more likely to answer with verbs. These results may be a reflection of the differences between women's and men's languages in English.

The next L2 analysis considered the effect of level of English on vocabulary association. As Table 7 shows, five divisions had significant results by level of English ability.

Table 7
Level Differences Averages

Responses	Beginning [n = 92]	Intermediate [n = 59]	Advanced [n = 47]	*F*
Contrast	6.641	5.966	4.106	3.590
Collocations	7.163	7.966	8.766	3.450
Nonsense	0.533	0.203	0.319	3.471
Affective	19.45	22.847	24.468	8.270
Verbs	3.293	3.627	4.532	3.075

[*F*-test ANOVA: 3.042 (significant at $p < .05$); 4.716 (significant at $p < .01$); and 7.158 (significant at $p < .001$)]

Compared to previous research, this table shows that having the greatest number of primary responses or synonyms was not of statistical significance by level. However, advanced students did have the least number of antonyms. Since they have more words in their lexicons and more detailed word clusters, it appears they are less likely to rely on a contrast association. At higher levels, clustering of vocabulary is along affective lines, using decidedly more verbs and collocations. Beginners were more likely to give responses which were contrasts or made no sense at all. They were very low in affective responses.

Predictably, intermediate students fell in the middle in all types of responses. These results support the conclusion that word webs in the lexicons of advanced students become more complex as they advance and have experiences with words which set up affective relationships, making the words more memorable. The next analysis measured language background as a factor in word association. Table 8 shows five types of responses which had significant differences according to language background.

Table 8
Native Language Response Averages

Responses	Japanese [n = 108]	Chinese [n = 16]	Arabic [n = 13]	Korean [n = 18]	*F*
Nouns	30.713	23.688	29.385	28.556	7.874
Adjectives	11.685	14.750	9.485	13.889	4.228
Verbs	3.435	5.063	5.769	3.667	3.554
Classifications	3.176	2.938	4.077	1.944	2.722
Collocations	8.380	5.000	7.923	7.722	4.724

[1-way ANOVA: 2.665 (significant at $p < .05$); 3.914 (significant at $p < .01$); and 5.705 (significant at $p < .001$).]

In particular, Chinese speakers were high in verb responses, but low in collocations and noun responses. Arabic speakers were high in classifications, high in verb responses, and low in adjective/adverb responses. Japanese and Korean speakers were low in verb responses and Korean speakers were low in classification. Why these differences are exhibited would be worthy of further study.

Finally, an analysis of age and years of education was conducted. In accordance with Riegel's (1968) research, it was found that students with more years of education and age did give fewer primary responses, but the differences were not statistically significant. However, students with the most education were more likely to give word form responses ($F = 4.81$ when 4.72 was significant at $p < .01$).

To summarize, the effects of background variables on word association, gender, ESL level, education, and language background showed differences which were noteworthy, while age did not.

5. Pedagogical Implications

The strongest implication from this research is the importance of providing experiences with words so that associative links which have some personal involvement or investment, such as an attitude, an emotional response, or a

strong memory, can be developed. The environment for fostering such an experience could be a project-oriented or a communicative activity in which new words learned become emotionally associated with each other. A local vocabulary scavenger hunt is a good example of such an activity. The class is put into teams and given a list of questions to answer outside of the classroom. For instance, students need to read signs and plaques around campus to find out for whom various buildings are named, what year the university was founded, or when a particular statue was unveiled. These words become associated with the experience of racing to get the answers and with a physical image.

A second implication is that we need to review how much of our vocabulary explanation and practice involve using synonyms and word forms. In terms of helping students store vocabulary, giving synonym or word form practice with vocabulary appears to be less useful than using classifications, coordinates, contrasts, and collocations. It would be helpful to get students involved using collocations (especially adjective + nouns and verb + noun), contrasts (especially adjectives in contrast when working with beginners), coordinates, and classifications through brainstorming and other word association activities (see Sökmen, 1991). For example, let's say the word "greasy" has come up in class. Instead of explaining with a definition, the teacher could ask, "What things can be greasy?" This would solicit collocations like greasy food, greasy hair, or greasy skin. Another on-the-spot exercise would be to ask students to brainstorm coordinates that would go with a new word, or ask them to create a classification tree for a word.

The implications for testing are important as well. Tests having students complete a classification or a coordinate cluster with words from their vocabulary list would be a good indication of their understanding of the word, as well as another reinforcement of a mental word link. Moreover, teachers should encourage interaction with native speakers to increase exposure to mainstream cultural associations.

Finally, simply having an awareness that men and women, language levels, and language groups have a penchant for certain associations may affect how we explain vocabulary. Teaching word meaning to men might be more effective by capitalizing on verb associations; for women, adjective ones. Advanced students appear to be more ready for verb associations than beginners; beginners, more responsive to contrasts. Word form practice is perhaps more useful for students with more formal education. Chinese and Arabic speakers may respond better to vocabulary taught with verb associations;

Arabic speakers, with classifications. Further research experimenting with these results in the practical teaching and testing of vocabulary could shed more light on these conclusions.

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Special thanks to Dr. Andrew Siegel, University of Washington, School of Business, for his help with the statistics in this research and to my ESL colleagues Cherie Lenz-Hackett and Ann Wennerstrom for their help with this manuscript.

An earlier version of this article was presented at TESOL '92, March 3-7, 1992, Vancouver, B.C., Canada.

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Contrastive Rhetoric and the Japanese Writer of EFL

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In the last two decades, contrastive rhetoric (CR) has expanded tremendously in scope. It has gone beyond text analysis to include investigations of political and historical contexts for writing as well as cross-cultural differences in the composing process. The fundamental attitude of CR toward L2 text production as interfered with by L1 rhetoric, however, remains unchanged. Taking this deterministic approach, the author discusses the pedagogical implications of CR research for L2 writing teachers. More specifically, suggestions are made with reference to English and Japanese rhetorics as to how L2 teachers can take advantage of learners' L1 rhetoric in the orienting process to L2 writing. The foci of discussion are on the similarities and differences between English and Japanese texts in terms of organizational style, use of logic and relative relationship between writer and reader, and instructional methods of Japanese and English writing in Japan. The discourse patterns under discussion include expository, argumentative, and technical writing.

対照修辞学と日本人の英語作文

過去二十年間、対照修辞学（contrastive rhetoric）の研究範囲はかなり広がってきた。文章の分析に留まらず作文過程における異文化の違いや、政治的、歴史的背景などについての研究まで及ぶ。しかし、外国語を用いて文章を書くときにはいつも母国語の修辞学の干渉を受けるという基本主張は変わっていない。この観点から、著者は対照修辞学の研究が外国語の作文の教師にとってどのような意味を持つのかを検討する。具体的には、英語と日本語の修辞学を中心にして、学習者の母国語の修辞学を外国語の作文指導に活用する方法について提言する。また、本稿では英語と日本語の文章構成、論理の利用、著者と読者との関係および日本における日本語と英語の作文指導法について論考する。文章のジャンルとしては説明文、論議文および専門技術的な文章を扱う。

1. Introduction

Having its roots in the tradition of the Prague School Linguistics, contrastive rhetoric (CR) was first introduced by Kaplan as a research approach to text analysis in the early sixties (Kaplan, 1966). After examining over 600 English compositions, Kaplan claims that non-native writers "employ a rhetoric and a sequence of thought that violate the expectations of the native reader" (p. 4). He argues that the rhetorical organization in his writing samples shows negative transfer from the non-native writers' L1 rhetoric and culture (1972).

In spite of the support expressed by some researchers and educators (e.g., Bander, 1978; Santana-Seda, 1974), Kaplan has been severely criticized for his research design and the specific thought or organizational patterns attributed to various culture groups (see Leki, 1991). In his modified version of CR (1987), Kaplan contends that although all kinds of rhetorical modes are possible in any written language, each language has certain preferences. He also points out (Kaplan, 1988) that since a text is a complex structure involving syntactic, semantic, and discoursal features (including cohesion and coherence, schematic structure, audience, and the sociolinguistic functions of a given text), CR does not and cannot ignore the composing process. A new direction for CR research is thus suggested. Researchers now look beyond contrasts in formalistic features and include investigations of the political and historical contexts of writing, as well as the socio-psychological, interactive properties of texts. This global view leads to the recognition of the fact that purpose, task, topic, and audience are all culturally informed (Carrell, 1984; Hinds, 1987; Jones & Tetroe, 1987). Writing is no longer seen as just creating and imitating written texts; it is a "social phenomenon that requires more than a minimal control of syntactic and lexical items in the target language" (Kaplan, 1988, p. 297).

Over the years, CR has expanded tremendously the scope of its research, resulting in new definitions of CR. Hudelson (1989) views CR as based on the assumption that not only are literacy skills learned and culturally shaped, but they are also transmitted by educational systems. Martin (1991) treats text as an interactive, dynamic, communicative process rather than a simple physical structure. He sees the ultimate goal of CR as providing information about what learners bring with them from their own cultures, and how it interacts with what they come across in the process of composing. This broadening of CR research brings us to a new understanding of the role of L1 rhetoric in L2 writing. The following sections survey the findings of previous CR research pertaining to English and Japanese rhetorics in particular, and consider what pedagogical implications those findings have for L2 writing teachers.

2. English and Japanese Rhetorics

2.1 Rhetorical Organization

To date, researchers have not come to an agreement as to how to define English and Japanese rhetorics. It has been shown, however, that the widely accepted, topic-oriented, linear pattern is not the only one apparent in a normal English text, nor is it unique to the English language (Braddock, 1974). For example, some rhetoricians (Young et al., 1970) argue that "cooperative"

forms of argumentation dominate English writing. They claim that English writers, instead of giving reasons to sway their opponents, try to move gradually toward a more central position that can be shared by both the writer and the reader. Alternatively, based on samples written by native speakers of English, Cheng (1982) describes English writing as a series of concentric circles emanating from a base theme. Her conception is that the most important idea is the closest to the center, whereas the outermost circle encloses the rest of the article. This uncommon view of English writing is worth noting as it leads one to consider that the interpretation of rhetorical patterns may be influenced by a reader's biases.

Hinds (1983a) argues that Japanese, like English, has a variety of typical rhetorical patterns. Generally, Japanese writing is marked by the circular approach common to most Asian language texts (Kaplan, 1966). It is characterized as an indirect approach "turning and turning in a widening gyre" (p.10). It remains, however, a controversial issue as to whether or not Japanese rhetoric is indeed circular and indirect.

Much less problematic are two major literary traditions in Japanese that are considerably different from the organizational style found in most English texts. One, *jo-ha-kyuu*, developed from Noh drama, consists of a fairly linear sequence of "introduction-development-climax or conclusion." According to Hinds (1983b), this tradition is similar to the English rhetorical style. The other, *ki-shoo-ten-ketsu*, is a better known framework that has its origin in classical Chinese poetry and is still used by sophisticated Korean and Chinese writers (Achiba & Kuromiya, 1983; Hinds, 1990). This style begins with a long indirect introduction of the topic, which is further developed in the second part, followed by an abrupt transition or a vaguely related point, before all the previous parts are brought together in a conclusion.

While both *jo-ha-kyuu* and *ki-shoo-ten-ketsu* represent Japanese traditional rhetorical organizational styles, their application is no longer prevalent in modern Japanese prose. Although the latter is still introduced to Japanese students in elementary and junior high schools, it is rarely practiced. An informal survey by the author reveals that most college-level students do not know the *jo-ha-kyuu* pattern. Yet it is possible that either or both of these textual schemata subconsciously form the basis of Japanese speakers' judgment of good writing.

Besides the above traditions, another style has been found to describe modern Japanese writing. It is characterized by the author's decision to select "a baseline theme" (Hinds, 1980, p.133). Unlike the English concentric

approach described by Cheng (1982), the Japanese writers using this style return overtly to the underlying theme before progressing to a different perspective. This dominant style in popular essays apparently contributes greatly to the young generation's schemata of modern Japanese writing.

2. 2 Use of Logic

Kaplan (1966) suggests that different rhetorical styles represent different sequences of thought. In expository writing, Japanese and English writers seem to differ greatly in their use of logic. Hinds (1990) sees English expository paragraphs as a hierarchical development around a topic. Other sentences in the same paragraph evolve from the topic sentence and an indefinite number of subtopics or perspectives develop in prescribed ways. Kaplan (1988), like Hinds (1990), claims that such organization reflects scientific logic transformed into a deductive model which expository writers aim for and are consistently taught at school.

Although the deductive style is shown to be also possible in Japanese writing (Kobayashi, 1984), Hinds (1980) identifies a different expository prose style in Japanese popular essays. He finds that in popular essays most paragraphs tend to be organized by a return to a baseline theme, with loosely connected perspectives. He thus argues that Japanese writing is more commonly based on an inductive style and labels it, along with Thai, Korean, and Chinese, as having "delayed introduction of purpose" (Hinds, 1990, p. 98). Similar claims have been made by Kobayashi (1984), who found in her research that when writing in their L1, Japanese tended to use a specific-to-general pattern and to relate text information to their own experience. By contrast, Americans tended to follow a general-to-specific rule and to restate text information. Kobayashi comments that when Japanese writers argue, they prefer to personalize the topic, be vague about the major issues, and tend to focus on trivial points. Harder (1984) regards this as a problem showing Japanese writers' inability to argue as a result of their cultural assumptions about what is rhetorically agreeable. The truth, however, may be that for a Japanese reader what is hinted at is more important and acceptable than what is too bluntly presented.

Another illustration of the Japanese sense of logic is given by Ballard and Clanchy (1991), who suggest that Japanese learners, out of their great concern for achieving harmony, often try to justify the bases of differing interpretations in their source materials and make no attempt to test or evaluate them. Inevitably, their work is judged by English readers as illogical and lacking critical thought.

2. 3 Roles of Writer and Reader

In his comparative study of English and Japanese expository and argumentative writing, Hinds (1987) points out the cross-cultural differences in the roles of writer and reader. He classifies Japanese as a "reader-responsible" language and English a "writer-responsible." He found that Japanese writers do not need to give clarification or full explanations of their views. Instead, they drop hints and leave behind nuances (Suzuki, 1975). This type of prose earns high praise from Japanese readers because it offers them opportunities to savor the "mystification" (p. 31) of language. On the other hand, the reader-oriented approach of English writing makes writers responsible for presenting their views clearly.

Japanese and English writers also differ in their assumption of shared knowledge with the reader (Hinds, 1987). Japanese texts tend to assume a very high degree of knowledge shared between the writer and the reader, whereas English readers expect most of the propositional structure to be provided by the writer. The latter idea suggests that the writer has to assume very heavy responsibility. According to Hinds, the reasons for these differences are related to the different literary traditions and expectations of the two different cultures. Historically, English writers' great concern for clarity can be traced back to the emphasis on literacy in classical Greece and post-reformation England. The Japanese, on the other hand, are oriented to shared social purposes and value indirectness and nuances. Language is, for them, a medium for social cohesion rather than self-expression. Their attitude toward reader responsibility can be seen both as a continuation of the influence of Classical Chinese, and as a reflection of their communicative responsibility to be empathetic and intuitive (Carson, 1992; Hinds, 1987).

In their examination of business writing styles from different cultures, Jenkins and Hinds (1987) found that English business letters, like expository and argumentative writing, reflect a reader-oriented approach. They see two most distinctive features of English business letters: personalizing the content to the reader and taking a "you-attitude" to appeal to the reader's pride. Japanese business writing, on the other hand, focuses on the relationship, or space, between writer and reader. The writer is careful in selecting the format and language that will most effectively establish or maintain the appropriate relationship with the reader. This emphasis on the socially acceptable distance between the writer and the reader differs greatly from the English business writer's attempt to create familiarity with their readers.

In her study of technical and business writing, Dennett (1990) found that not only do the Japanese and Americans have very different attitudes toward the audience, their attitudes toward writing also differ. Her American subjects used writing in their work as a discovery process for themselves as well as a tool for reporting work, whereas her Japanese subjects generally regarded writing as "the wrap-up stage of thinking, a separable work task to be addressed separately" (p. 7). Dennett's findings suggest that the Japanese treat writing more as a product than as a process. This difference in what writing means to the Japanese and Americans is full of implications for teaching. Dennett also found that while all the Americans showed great concern with their readers, there was general indifference toward the audience among the Japanese.

To conclude this section on rhetorical differences, I would like to stress that apart from the tendency to dichotomize different rhetorics, some CR researchers easily fall into a monolithic idealism in criticizing other rhetorics. Negative views of Japanese writers' use of logic, for example, reflect biases of researchers with an English rhetorical perspective. This leads one to question the validity of the use of English rhetorical standards (British or American) to evaluate the English writings of non-native writers for non-native readers. Unfortunately, the issue of what rhetorical framework to use for writing in English as an international medium has not attracted much attention from CR researchers.

3. Writing Instruction in Japan

Students in Japan, on the whole, receive very little or no direct instruction in writing in their native language. It is generally assumed that, once past elementary school, one will have acquired the basic writing skills and thus no longer need any formal training in writing. There is also a general belief among Japanese teachers that writing is learned by reading. Hence the emphasis of Japanese language instruction is on reading model texts rather than training writing skills. Practice in writing under a teacher's guidance seldom occurs beyond junior high school. The instructional styles and beliefs of most Japanese composition teachers are described in a study by Liebman-Kleine (1986), which shows that Japanese writing teachers put emphasis on clarity, organization, and beauty of the language. Since writing is regarded as a private act, teaching tends to take the form of lectures, and there is little sharing of writing or ideas among students. Memorization is still considered an effective learning method, and much literary reading is required. As a result, most Japanese students' L1 rhetorical skills remain underdeveloped.

In junior and senior high school, students learn English and have composition classes, but there is little training in writing beyond the sentence level. Not surprisingly, classroom instruction in English composition resembles the Japanese model. According to my own observations, the teaching routines most often found in an English composition class are translating, asking for translation, explaining grammar and word usage, and reading aloud. In almost all cases, lectures are given in L1, and emphasis is placed on grammar and spelling. Very often, students have to memorize incoherent sentences as if they formed a complete passage and recite them in front of the teacher in or out of class. In a typical high school level English writing class, tasks are restricted to sentence-combining, paraphrasing, and translating, and the largest unit of discourse is the paragraph.

4. Implications for Pedagogy

Putting aside the issue of the rhetorical standards for international English, CR research in English and Japanese rhetorics raises our awareness of the fact that problems are bound to arise when there are cross-cultural differences in attitudes about what constitutes good writing. This awareness leads to several implications for the teaching of EFL writing to learners with a Japanese mindset, which, in some cases, also apply to learners with other L1 backgrounds.

First, it is essential that composition teachers adopt a new attitude toward their students' errors, and address the issue of sensitivity to cross-cultural differences in the classroom. Leki (1991) thinks that the highest value of CR studies is that they simplify students' tasks by offering them glimpses into the differences between the target language and their native language. Such differences inform the students, and possibly the native teacher, that they come from different rhetorical traditions which have been shaped by different cultures. In a culturally heterogeneous group, the teacher can use students' L1 knowledge and experience as a resource for uncovering cross-cultural differences. Awareness of the differences is important because it makes students realize that to become part of the target language discourse community, they need to develop new attitudes, to meet certain criteria of the target language's traditions, and, in some cases, to put aside their native language habits.

To Japanese learners, for example, adjusting to Western logic—which perhaps contradicts some of their own cultural attitudes—can be extremely difficult at the beginning. For that reason, Harder (1984) argues that adjustments must be made in both directions. This means, on the one hand, that Japanese learners must recognize that their own patterns do not necessarily fit into the Western ideological structure; on the other hand, the teacher must

learn to appreciate Japanese patterns of communication, identify cross-cultural differences, and help students make transitions to Western patterns. Instead of telling students to abandon their Japanese traditions entirely on the first day of instruction, the teacher can start out with their patterns and work from there. One example is that when a pervasive "specific-to-general" pattern is found in the students' texts, it can be helpful to have the students practice reversing the arrangement of ideas to emulate the Western style. Likewise, in teaching translation, it can be helpful for the teacher to capitalize on the differences in overall organization between the two languages and make students aware of the necessity to reorganize the flow of information from the original (see Hinds, 1990, for an illustration of English/Japanese translation).

Second, the social-constructionist rationale behind CR focuses learners' attention on audience and context (Hinds, 1990; Kaplan, 1988; Leki, 1991). In most cases, an L2 audience or context represents a discourse community of different cultural knowledge, experiences, assumptions, and expectations. As discussed by Dennett (1990) and Jenkins and Hinds (1987), the Japanese seldom compose with an audience in mind except when writing letters. Furthermore, they assume a high degree of shared knowledge with their readers. These mismatches create barriers which make it difficult for Japanese writers to function effectively among native speakers of English. Hence, there is a need for the teacher to teach them audience analysis skills and the expectations of the English reader in the pre-writing stage. In an academic context, it is especially important for the teacher to explain explicitly to the students the widely accepted criteria used by academic audiences to evaluate their work. Such essential ingredients of good English expository writing as clarity, significance, support, unity, and conciseness are not necessarily taken for granted by Japanese learners.

Third, it is the responsibility of English composition teachers to teach students how to develop a critical mind and take a stand. English writers are expected to show a high standard of critical thinking and argue their views in a rational manner. The same expectations are, however, either non-existent or less stressed among the Japanese. Teachers cannot assume that critical thinking is already inherent in their students' minds. Since neither a critical attitude nor self-expression is as highly appreciated by the Japanese as it is by English speakers, Japanese students may need a great deal of time and practice to learn how to be critical writers. Teachers should be ready to accept challenge with great patience. They can try to create non-threatening situations where students can express and exchange opinions with one another.

Fourth, the writing teacher can incorporate the textual orientation of CR into a process approach. Leki (1991) argues that L2 readings should be used along with L1 readings as models for comparison and analysis. In so doing, students will be able to discover and consider such rhetorical differences as use of logic, writers' attitudes, and writer-reader relationships between the two languages. Scarcella (1984) also suggests that teachers guide such activities by feeding students information about the cultural and discoursal differences between L1 and L2. Giving explicit explanations and teaching close reading skills should help learners to identify and understand the differences better. The goal here is to help learners cultivate a sense of Western logic and rhetorical diversity. Once their knowledge of the target language and culture is developed, the learners' consciousness of their own rhetorical styles may increase.

In conclusion, CR has great potential to inform the teaching of second languages on both micro- and macro-levels. The new social-constructionist view of CR brings the teacher's and learners' attention to both the process and the product of rhetoric. It is my hope that CR research will continue to shed light on second language teaching by studying more closely the connection between process and product, as well as the ideological dimension of writing in different cultures.

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Investigating the Process Approach to Writing

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This paper reports on six case studies of a 16-hour process writing program. The purpose of the research was two-fold: (a) to investigate the processes used by the students in composing and revising their essays as they applied the process approach to their writing, and (b) to evaluate the effects of this approach on the quality of the students' writing. The research involved six first year full-time students at tertiary level. They were native Cantonese speakers who were introduced to the process approach to writing, and were required to write two expository essays for practice and assessment. In each case, they wrote an outline and four drafts before turning in the final copy. Initial drafts showed changes in content and organization, while later versions were marked by revisions of language use and mechanics. A comparison of the first and second writing assignments indicated numerical gains in content and organization scores. Qualitatively, both researchers agreed that the students' improvement in content and discourse organization was substantial, but improvement at the sentence level was minimal. A gain in writing readiness was also noted, a view which was echoed by the students themselves. The implications of the research are that the writing program described here helped to develop confidence and fluency, while improving content and discourse organization, but failed to effect major improvement at the sentence level.

英作文学習の過程（プロセス・アプローチ）を研究する

本稿は16時間にわたる英作文学習過程の６つのケース・スタデイを報告する。研究目的は２つある。１つは、学習者が小論を書き、修正する時に適応する過程を考察すること、第２には、この学習法が書かれたものにどの位効果的に作用しているかを評価することである。

調査の対象は、全授業に出席する第３レベルの１年生６名である。彼等は、広東語が母国語で、英作文で初めてプロセス・アプローチを学び、練習と査定のために２編の解説文的論文を書くことが必修とされた。６つのケースすべて、学習者は大要を書いて最終原稿に到達するまでに４回の草稿を経過しなければならなかった。初期の草稿は内容と構成に変化が見られ、回を重ねるごとに語法や創作技術に修正が目立った。

第１課題と第２課題を比較すると、内容と構成の面での学習効果が大きい。質的には、学習者が内容とデイスコース構成の面で実質的に上達したが、文章レベルでの進歩は最小である点で本研究者２名の意見は一致している。又、学生が以前より英作文を進んで学習しようとするようになったことも研究者はあげているし、学習者もこの意見に共鳴している。

この研究は、前述したプログラムが英作文の内容とデイスコース構成を推敲するだけでなく、学習者の自信と流暢さを促進するのには役立つが、文章レベルでの大きな進歩には影響しなかったことを含意するものである。

1. Introduction

The research reported in this paper is based on certain assumptions from the writing literature: (a) some writers are more skilled than others; (b) the processes used by these skilled writers are learnable; (c) the processes have to be evaluated by detailed investigation; and (d) case study is an effective way to carry out such investigation. Although the literature provides no adequate support for a clear and distinct dichotomy between skilled and unskilled ESL writers (Raimes, 1985), it is reasonable to identify some writers as more skilled than others. The research reported here was motivated by the belief that "the processes used by skilled writers can be described and taught in the classroom" (Raimes, 1985, p. 229). To strike a resonant note with Zamel (1983), the authors believe that only by studying these processes in detail can the appropriateness of teaching methods and approaches be evaluated. In this respect, case study is an effective investigative tool.

Studies of writing programs have been carried out by Zamel (1983), Raimes (1985), and Mohan and Lo (1985). These studies all shared a common focus with the studies reported here, namely, process writing in ESL classrooms. Raimes's (1985) study found that less proficient writers need more of everything: time; opportunity to talk, listen, read, and write in their L2; instruction and practice in generating, organizing, and revising ideas; attention to the rhetorical options available to them; and emphasis on editing for linguistic form and style. "Attention to process is thus necessary but not sufficient" (Raimes, 1985, p. 250). Explicit instruction in the composing process is also needed in order to ensure successful writing.

Zamel's (1983) case studies of six advanced ESL students attempted to discover what advanced students do in the process of writing. The research showed that generally the students devoted most time to the creation of the first draft. The less skilled writers were determined not to commit errors and therefore attended to them prematurely; on the other hand, the more skilled writers devised strategies which allowed them to pursue the development of their ideas without being diverted by lexical and syntactic considerations.

Mohan and Lo's (1985) study showed that the compositions of Chinese Hong Kong students were largely directed toward sentence-level accuracy. Many teachers believed that the most serious problem of their students was incorrect English usage. As Mohan and Lo noted:

> It is generally recognized that many second language learners have difficulties with academic writing in English. Some of these difficulties are sentence-level problems with grammar and vocabulary. However,

a special feature of academic writing is the importance of discourse organization. (p. 515)

While Mohan and Lo's concerns with academic writing in ESL were shared by the students in the present investigation, the present researchers have additional considerations as listed below:

1. *Genre:* Hong Kong students have the least practice in expository and argumentative writing (Mohan & Lo, 1985, p. 527).
2. *Source of Feedback:* Feedback comes, more often than not, from the teacher alone, who acts as the authority; this may be detrimental to the students in their attempts to become independent writers.
3. *Timing of Feedback:* Most feedback is given after the product is submitted; feedback of this nature is, in general, more for assessment, but "feedback during writing is much more helpful" (Cramer, 1985, p. 4).
4. *Priorities of Feedback:* Teachers' feedback may be misleading: when they seemingly focus on problems of mechanics, usage, and style, their students may have a rather limited notion of composing and as a result falsely prioritize the treatment of local errors (Butturff & Sommers, 1980).
5. *Accuracy:* Grammatical accuracy does not necessarily follow from students' preoccupation with the issue.
6. *Multiple Drafts:* Students may have the misconception that writing multiple drafts is a waste of time, without realizing that "instruction in and guidance throughout the composing process will lead to a better written product" (Barnes, 1983, p. 139).

2. Method

2.1 Objectives

This study has two objectives. One is to investigate the processes used by the students in composing and revising their essays as they applied the process approach to their writing. To accomplish this objective, the following emphases were built into the writing program to address the six problems encountered by local learners, as discussed above:

1. *Genre:* Special attention in the form of mini-lectures and notes was given to the discourse organization of expository writing.
2. *Source of Feedback:* Cramer's "collaborative approach" (1985) was adapted for use in the classroom, resulting in the students working either in pairs or in groups of three. Students edited their own work before editing the efforts of others.

3. *Timing of Feedback:* As comments should be "intended to motivate revision" (Sommers, 1980), editing sessions were held at various times during the composing process. Each student gave and received feedback from peers after outlining, and after each drafting/revising stage.
4. *Priorities of Feedback:* Feedback sessions addressed content and discourse organization before sentence-level concerns. Instructions were given out in such a way that the students were constantly reminded to prioritize global over local concerns, while not discouraging them from "correcting" sentence-level mistakes if necessary. Any attempt to stop the students from treating local mistakes was considered artificial and adverse to the efficiency of the feedback sessions.
5. *Accuracy:* With the belief that "form grows from content and is inseparable from it" (Judy, 1980, as cited in Zamel, 1982, p. 206) on the one hand, and that the students perceived they needed grammar guidance on the other, the researchers decided to give grammar quizzes to be completed at home.
6. *Multiple Drafts:* It was brought to the students' attention that the writing processes involved in drafting and redrafting contributed to the improvement of the product, and that ultimately time would be saved.

The other objective is to evaluate the effects of this approach on the quality of the students' writing. The aspects of writing investigated under this objective were:

1. An evaluation of two writing assignments focusing on writing readiness, content, organization, vocabulary, language use, mechanics, and syntactic complexity. The following constitute the evaluation: (a) changes between essay drafts were identified, and (b) changes between the first and second assignments were noted.
2. A matching of students' perceptions of needs and their expectations before the writing program with their perceptions after completing the program, as expressed in two writing tasks.
3. A matching of students' perceptions of their writing problems at the beginning of the program with their evaluation of the effectiveness of the program in solving these problems, based on their responses to two questionnaires.
4. An action plan drawn up by the students.

2.2 Subjects

The six subjects were all Hong Kong Cantonese speakers who were learners of English as an auxiliary language. They were recommended to the English Foundation Program of the City Polytechnic of Hong Kong in year one. They had obtained Grade D or below in HKCEE English[1] or Use of English in the Advanced Level Examination[2] before they started their tertiary study programs, and they could be described as "limited/remedial" learners. Their majors were International Business Studies, Accountancy, or Architectural Studies. After taking general English for two terms, they were assigned to take a 16-hour writing class, meeting for a two-hour class session once a week. For convenience in scheduling, groupings were made by the English Department according to the students' majors.

2.3 Procedure

The 16-hour writing program was spread out over eight weeks in the final term of a three-term academic year, 1991. In the first hour of the program, a needs analysis in two parts was conducted. It included a 10-minute writing task on needs and expectations, followed by a questionnaire on the major problems normally encountered in writing.

In the 14 hours following the needs analysis, the students were introduced to the notion of process writing through mini-lectures, handouts on composing processes, and hands-on experience with brainstorming, mapping, freewriting, quickwriting, steady-writing, editing, and revising. These materials were adapted from Reid (1982). They followed the basic schema of the process approach: brainstorming, mapping, freewriting to get into a topic; quickwriting and steady-writing of drafts; and multiple rounds of peer editing and individual revising.

After this introduction to the process of writing, the students started the first of the two writing assignments. They brainstormed for ideas and topics, generated an expository topic, and wrote an outline, followed by a peer feedback session. They went through a non-stop quickwriting of the first draft for an hour. This was meant to overcome mental blocks[3] in getting into a topic and was also intended to gain time to be more productively spent on generating subsequent drafts. Zamel (1983) noted that her students spent the greater portion of their time on the first draft; however, the present writing program attempted to reverse that situation, that is, to help the students finish the first draft quickly, and then spend the greater proportion of time in revising it and working on subsequent drafts. The students then steady-wrote the second draft for one hour, and after that edited collaboratively in class in groups of two

or three for content and organization. At home over the weekend, they revised their drafts and developed third drafts, which were then discussed during class between peers, focusing on language use and accuracy. The students then revised their drafts again to develop fourth drafts, which were further edited in class and revised to improve content, organization, and language. At the beginning of the fifth week, each student handed in a writing file which contained four drafts and a final copy. The teacher graded the essays holistically while at the same time commenting on various aspects of the writing. The above composing processes and administrative procedures were repeated in dealing with the second expository writing assignment.

In the 16th hour, the students were offered the opportunity to evaluate what they had done in this writing program. They completed a 20-minute writing task on their thoughts and feelings about the program, and filled out a questionnaire on the effectiveness of the course in tackling the writing problems which they mentioned at the outset. They were also asked to fill out an action plan form to set themselves specific and realistic goals for the improvement of their writing in the future. To supplement their composing activities, the students completed 15 take-home problem-oriented grammar exercises. They were encouraged to work at these exercises individually in their own time, and to bring questions to the class for discussion.

3. Analysis

3.1 Holistic Grading

The teacher (one of the researchers) graded the final section of the writing assignments holistically during the eight weeks of class. As Table 1 shows, three subjects (A, B, and F) improved by an intermediate grade (from C+ to B- or from C to C+) in Assignment 2, and the other three (C, D, and E) received the same grades in Assignment 2 as they did in Assignment 1.

Table 1.
Letter Gradings by the Teacher

Subject	Assignment 1	Assignment 2	Gain in Assignment 2
A	C+	B-	+
B	C	C+	+
C	C+	C+	0
D	C+	C+	0
E	C	C	0
F	C+	B+	+

+ = Grade improvement
0 = No change in grade

3.2 Analytical Scoring

The final versions of the first and the second writing assignments of the six subjects were analytically marked by two independent readers[4] (not the authors) using Jacobs et al.'s (1981) ESL Composition Profile (1981) on content, organization, vocabulary, language use, and mechanics. The teacher, who graded the assignments holistically during the eight weeks of class, reread the papers using the same profile as the two independent readers to check for interrater reliability. The three readers were given randomly ordered papers with number codes for the purpose of blind rating.

Table 2 presents the average gain scores. Three subjects (A, B, and F) had positive gains, while the other three (C, D, and E) showed losses. The analytical scoring pattern as shown in Table 2 exactly matches the holistic grading pattern as shown in Table 1, in that the three subjects who showed gains were those who were upgraded by their teacher, and the other three were those who had no change of grade in the second assignment.

Table 2.
Average Gain Scores

Subject	Content	Organization	Vocabulary	Language Use	Mechanics	Total
A	2.3	2.0	1.3	1.3	(0.3)	6.6
B	0.3	1.7	0.7	0.7	(0.3)	3.1
C	(1.0)	(0.3)	(1.3)	(0.7)	0.3	(3.0)
D	(3.0)	(1.7)	(1.3)	(2.7)	0.0	(8.7)
E	0.0	0.0	(0.3)	0.0	0.0	(0.3)
F	1.7	0.3	1.0	0.0	0.3	3.3
Total	0.3	2.0	0.1	(1.4)	0.0	1.0
$\bar{X}$	0.1	0.3	0.0	(0.2)	0.0	0.2

Note: A score in parentheses indicates a negative value.

In numerical terms, Subject A gained the most and Subject D gained the least. The performance of these two students thus stood out from the rest of the group. After discussion between the researchers, it was found that the first and the second topics written about by each subject, except for those by D, focused on the same field (A—Business; B—Hong Kong Social issues; C—Art and Design; D—Architecture and Social Problems; E—Hong Kong Social Issues; F—Business). Subject D's second assignment was significantly worse than the first one. The difference in scores between the two assignments might have been magnified by the switch of topic, from one related to his major field of study, architecture, to an unrelated one, social problems. Subject A's second assignment was significantly better than the first one. The difference in scores between the two assignments might be attributable to the

more intensive teacher supervision she received. Subject A was the only student in the writing class for International Business majors, and thus had to pair up with the teacher for "peer" editing.

3.3 Post-rating Discussion Between the Researchers

After the rating by the three readers (the teacher and the two independent readers), the researchers (the teacher and the co-researcher) read, in the order in which they had been submitted, the two writing files submitted by each subject. They discussed the quality of the papers and noted the major changes between drafts and between the final versions of both assignments. The researchers also counted the number of words written in the first drafts as a measure of writing readiness.

The results of word count are reported in Table 3, which shows that all (except Subject F) wrote more in the first draft of Assignment 2 than in the first draft of Assignment 1. Discussion between the researchers focused (a) on Subject E, who showed the greatest gain in writing readiness; (b) on Subject F, who was the only one in the group who wrote less in the first draft of Assignment 2; and (c) on the performance of all subjects in the essay drafts of the first and second writing assignments.

Table 3.
Number of Words in First Drafts

Subject	Assignment 1	Assignment 2	Gain in Assignment 2
A	827	940	113
B	444	590	146
C	472	624	152
D	552	661	109
E	430	741	311
F	675	479	(196)

Note: A score in parentheses indicates a negative value.

Subject E showed the greatest gain in the number of words written in the first draft of Assignment 2. At the end of the writing program he offered a direct and explicit evaluation of his gain in writing readiness in terms of the number of words written. He wrote that he could "write more word [*sic*] than before within a certain period of time." Subject E's gain in the second assignment was especially noteworthy, as he had written the least among the subjects in the first assignment.

Subject F was the only student who wrote less in the first draft of Assignment 2 as compared with Assignment 1. The drop in the number of

words written might be attributable to the fact that she was thirty minutes late to class and had only half an hour to write the draft.

Taking all the subjects into consideration, the following observations can be made about the essay drafts:

1. There was substantial gain in writing readiness.
2. There was substantial improvement in content and discourse organization.
3. There was little improvement at the sentence level.

4. Discussion

4.1 The Essay Drafts

Although the students were led through the various writing stages in a systematic manner, some did not restrict their thinking and development of ideas to the initial pre-writing stage. Interestingly, they all reported that they went through an ongoing process of thinking, writing, and revising throughout the various drafts.

The students reported that the preliminary outline they had prepared before the actual writing was useful, and most of them used it as a guideline when they began to write. A few students, however, indicated that they changed their outline during the writing process, or at least did not stick rigidly to it. The brainstorming of ideas occurred even after writing had begun. While the preliminary planning was necessary to help them think and develop their ideas, the students were eager to change directions during their writing as they felt appropriate or necessary.

As one student wrote in the introduction to his first draft about the problems of Hong Kong people living in "cage" flats:

> Most people may come to Sun Shui Po & Mon Kok they will find the building in crowded formed. This is the "cage" flat. It means the people living in the flat with small area and there is wire around the bed. It is a serious problem in Hong Kong. Why are people living there? What problems will they encounter? How to improve these problems?

In his second draft, the introduction became:

> When you go to Sun Shui Po or Yau Ma Tei, you will find some old buildings in which windows are broken and surrounded by wires like cage. If you go up to the building, you will also find it has many crowded small flats. These flats are called "cage" flats. These *flats basically are composed of beds in which they are surrounded by*

> *chains of wires. In a flat, there is not one but two people living upper bed and lower bed. Each bed is only for a people since it is very small. These people living in "cage" flats like a bird which is trapped in a cage.* Not only do they has small area to live, but they also face other problems. It is a serious social problem in Hong Kong. Why are they living there? What problems will they encounter? How to improve these problems?

Obviously, the student developed several ideas about the physical conditions inside the "cage" flat (as italicized above) as he was writing the second draft, and felt the need to explain the term more fully.

The brainstorming and addition of ideas was still evident in the later drafts of the students' writing. In another instance, one student wrote about the ways a company can motivate its employees. After discussing several ways of motivating people, she concluded her essay in the following way:

> In conclusion, if a company motivate their employees wrongly, it will seriously affect the performance of the employees. A poor motivation system may lower the efficiency of the company or even a strike would take place in the most serious case.

This was the way she concluded the first and second drafts. But when it came to the third draft, she was not totally satisfied with this conclusion. In the third draft, adding to the original conclusion as reproduced above, she wrote:

> ... Therefore, the importance of a good motivation system cannot be ignored. The advantage of having a good system of motivation the employees is that the companies can have a high working efficiency. It is the main gate leading a company to become successful.

This additional point in the new conclusion constituted a better round-up of the whole paragraph, and enabled the student to end her essay forcefully.

The above extracts of students' writings illustrate that the writing process of these Hong Kong students, like other writers, is recursive and non-linear, and that "planning is not a unitary stage, but a distinctive thinking process which writers use over and over again during composing" (Flower & Hayes, 1981, p. 375). In every rewritten draft, the students' minds were constantly interacting with new ideas which were generated in the whole writing process. As Zamel puts it, "revising ... occurred throughout the process and generally meant composing anew" (1983, p. 173).

In the various drafts, the students rewrote chunks of work, and each fresh draft turned out to be different. Throughout the process of writing new drafts,

original ideas were kept, new thoughts were added, and revisions were made. It is noteworthy that the initial drafts showed changes on the global level. When they proceeded from the first draft to subsequent ones, the students concentrated on the ideas and their arrangement, in other words, on content and organization.

One student chose to write about the development and significance of photography:

> Photograph is a kind of art in our world, it acceptes part of our lives, and capture the instantaneous moments for permanent record.

This idea was actually written in the first paragraph of the first draft. The same idea (as italicized below) was moved to the third paragraph of the essay in the third draft. Instead of being an introductory idea, the idea was further enriched and read as follows:

> . . . A lot of people fall in love with photograph because there are a plenty of attractions and meanings. *This is a kind of art in our world and it captures instantaneous moment for permanent record in part of our lives.* This is the special and typical character of photograph. Art is our society. Photograph is a kind of art which use light as color and camera as pens to draw our world.

Likewise, in another student's work, the development and rearrangement of ideas were constantly at play throughout his initial drafts. This student started writing about the effects of a tax increase on tobacco products. In his first draft, he greeted his readers with the main purpose of his essay and wrote:

> Today's topic I am going to talk about is effects of tax increases on tobacco products. Tax increases on cigarette had been announced a month ago by the Treasurer. In order to make the youth to give up smoking, the govt increased a 200% tax on cigarette. . . .

Then, in his second draft, he revised and repositioned this point to read:

> Do you feel that there is fewer people smoking in the street? Also, do you find your family's members smoke lesser than before recently? Since tax increase on cigarette had been announced a month ago by the Treasurer of Hong Kong Government, smokers' behaviour may have a little bit change. . . .

It is clear that the student felt that the first draft was stylistically inappropriate and removed the first sentence in the original draft, which gave the impression of a public speech. In place of this, he raised two questions to lead the reader

into the theme. However, he was still not completely satisfied with this second draft. The same point was further reorganized in the third draft and read:

> Since tax increase on cigarette had been announced a month ago by the Treasurer of Hong Kong Government, smokers' behaviour may have a little bit changes. In order to make the youth to give up smoking, the government increased a 200 percent tax on tobacco products. This action may arouse different effects on different classes of people.

In the third draft, the student came to feel that his thesis should be immediately apparent at the start of the composition. To highlight this idea, he rearranged his material and removed the two questions that he had included in the second draft.

While substantial changes were found in terms of content and organization in the students' initial drafts, editing work also took place in the subsequent drafts through peer editing. Most students considered peer editing helpful and effective because it contained comments on both the global and local aspects of the essay. Critical comments such as pinpointing major problems or noting the inadequacy of a certain point or paragraph were given. This was a useful process in editing, because when the students went through one another's work to spot grammar mistakes or problems of mechanics, they realized that the objective eye of another student was useful in detecting careless errors.

In the whole process of writing, the students came to appreciate the value of revision, and learnt to attend to the main ideas of the essay first before considering more specifically the language used in the writing. This observation confirms what Wiener (1980) and Zamel (1983) believe: first, that it is more important to address the issues of content and meaning early on, when constructing one's ideas in a piece of writing; and, second, that it is wrong to assert the priority of language skills right from the start of the writing, as language is of concern only when the ideas to be communicated have been expressed.

4.2 The First and the Second Writing Assignments

4.2.1 Post-rating discussion between the researchers: The following observations were made when comparing the essay drafts:

1. There was substantial gain in writing readiness.

   During the close comparison of the first drafts of both assignments, it was found that the students generally wrote more in the one-hour non-stop quickwrite for the second assignment. In other words, the practice with process writing had improved their writing

readiness in terms of the number of words written in the first drafts within the one-hour limit (see Table 3). Despite their initial worries that they did not have enough ideas to write about and that they were not able to express their ideas appropriately, the students were able to write at great length and, through the various stages of writing, the content of their writing assignments was more substantial than they had expected.

2. There was substantial improvement in content and discourse.

   Both researchers felt that the organization of the students' writing had shown great improvement. For example, in student A's first writing assignment, the essay topic was a case study which discussed communication problems between the sections in the Investment Operations Department of a company. This discussion called for a detailed analysis of the whole case, and some good examples. In this essay, the student had used only one long example to illustrate the problem she was discussing. However, one example was not sufficient to fully develop the essay. Indeed, it was felt that if this student were given a chance to practice writing this type of essay more than once, she might become more skilled. This improvement did emerge in her second writing assignment, in which she analyzed the role of culture in helping or hindering a company manager's work. In terms of content and organization, the second essay showed a more substantial development of ideas. Most impressive was the student's adequate use of examples to illustrate the major strands of her thoughts.

3. There was little improvement at the sentence level.

   The students' vocabulary, language use, and mechanics did not show any marked improvement. Little change was found at the sentence level. The comparisons between the students' first and second writing assignments did not show much difference in syntactic complexity in that the students preferred simple and compound sentences over complex sentences in both writing assignments. Some interesting questions are thus raised for further consideration: Were the grammar exercises given to the students in the course of this program ineffective? Would it have been better if grammar had been treated explicitly in class and with teacher supervision? Was timing a factor? In other words, should these grammar exercises have been given to the students before they started any writing task?

4.2.2 Holistic grading and analytical scoring: In addition to the teacher's holistic grading and analytical marking of the papers using Jacobs et al.'s (1981) Profile, an independent assessment of the students' two writing assignments using the same Profile was conducted. Interrater reliability was demonstrated in two ways:

1. The grades assigned by the teacher correlate well with the average scores of the three readers (see Tables 1 and 2) in the sense that the higher grades for Assignment 2 over Assignment 1 correspond to the gains, and no change in grades corresponds to the other scores.
2. The analytical scores of the teacher and the two independent readers for each piece of writing were close to the extent that they did not exceed a difference of ten points, which is allowed in the Jacobs Profile.

4.3 The Program as a Whole

The students were very interested in the design of this writing program. They were enthusiastic and involved in trying out the process of writing for the first time.

In their evaluations, the students found that the emphasis on non-stop, quick writing of the first draft of each writing assignment gave them a new and inspiring writing experience. They had never expected that they could write so much about a topic within an hour in class. A major advantage of this innovative experience, as one student reflected, was that ideas flowed out in the quick-writing process and that everything in the mind could be readily written down. The non-stop, quick writing was highly productive and generative, and undoubtedly helped the students' otherwise serious problems with initial mental blocks.

In addition, the students' evaluations are categorical about the effectiveness of writing various drafts in overcoming problems such as the use of illogical structures and the inclusion of irrelevant materials. Some of the comments by the students are

. . . had a clear concept of writing . . .
. . . increases my confident to write everything I want to write . . .
. . . gives me a new organization in my essay . . .
. . . gives me a new idea and experiment in writing; so we gain the techniques . . .
. . . can write more words than before within a certain period . . .
. . . know how to organise and construct a passage . . .

As these comments indicate, the students were, in general, positive about the effectiveness of the program.

In addition, the students' indication of the concommitant effectiveness of this program in dealing with grammar mistakes should not be overlooked. This finding echoed what the researchers had noticed in their post-rating discussion. Further, in their action plans drawn up at the end of the program, the students emphasized a strong need to improve their language at the sentence level. Undoubtedly, this area calls for particular attention in future writing programs.

5. Conclusions

Despite limited time and other administrative constraints, the students were successfully led through the various stages involved in the process of writing. Overall, they showed a qualitatively significant gain in the content and discourse organization of their writing. This implies that the program helped improve the students' skills in developing and rearranging their ideas. The program also helped the students develop confidence and fluency in writing. This is evident in their readiness when writing the first drafts of Assignment 2 (longer first drafts than those of Assignment 1) within a one-hour time limit. The students themselves were aware of their gain in fluency. As one student indicated in his evaluation, he could "write with more fluency than before."

However, the program failed to effect major improvement at the sentence level. The comparisons between the students' first and second writing assignments showed small or no numerical differences in the vocabulary, language use, and mechanics scores. Little difference was also noted in terms of syntactic complexity. The students preferred simple and compound sentences over complex sentences even in the second assignment. Therefore, the present investigation does not support Judy's belief that "form grows from content and is inseparable from it" (1980, as cited in Zamel, 1982, p. 206). The short duration of the program could be a factor here. The findings could, then, point to one or a combination of the following options for future programs of this kind:

1. A different treatment of grammar (to deal with grammar explicitly in class with teacher supervision, or to introduce it at the beginning of the program to compensate for the students' limited proficiency and knowledge of it).
2. A longer course duration.

3. Wide reading for a broad exposure to the language system. This last consideration could possibly be the most important factor in leading to improvement at the sentence level. As Smith (1981) indicates, it is wide reading rather than writing alone that allows one to become familiar with all the systems that must be acquired to write successfully.

Notes

[1]HKCEE is a public examination organized by the Hong Kong Examinations Authority for Form Five graduates (equivalent to Grade 11 in a U.S. school).

[2]The A-Level Examination is a public examination organized by the Hong Kong Examinations Authority for all Form Seven students (equivalent to Grade 13 in a U.S. school).

[3]"Blocks" here refer to the inability to write, that is, "writer's block" (Rose, 1984), as in the phenomenon of students taking more than two hours to write the first paragraph of an essay (Phinney, 1991).

[4]Both readers majored in English in their Postgraduate Certificate in Education at the University of Hong Kong. They have been teaching English in local secondary schools for eight years and six years respectively. They were also official HKCEE markers between 1985 and 1990.

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Comparing Native and Nonnative Teachers' Evaluations of Error Seriousness

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There is a widely held belief that Japanese teachers of English place much more emphasis on grammatical accuracy in error correction than do their Assistant English Teacher (AET) colleagues. To test the validity of this belief, a survey instrument was designed which asked both groups to evaluate a variety of student composition errors for seriousness. Both groups of teachers were then asked to state the criteria they used in their error judgments. The results showed that the Japanese teachers did indeed tend to judge grammatical errors more harshly than their native-speaking counterparts, and some explicitly used grammatical accuracy as their main criterion in grading papers. Most AETs noted comprehensibility as the primary basis for their judgments. Interestingly, despite their harsher appraisal of grammatical errors, the majority of Japanese teachers also reported using comprehensibility as their most important criterion.

学生の間違いに対する日本人教師とＡＥＴの評価の対比

日本人英語教師はＡＥＴに比べて、間違いの指摘の面で文法の正確さをより強調すると広く信じられているようだ。この考えの妥当性を調べるために、日本人教師とＡＥＴ両グループにどんな間違いがより深刻だと思われるかを尋ね、調査票を作成した。そして両グループの教師にどんな基準で間違いを指摘したかを述べてもらうことにした。事実、結果は日本人教師はネイティブ・スピーカーよりも厳しく文法的誤りを評価していた。また、その中の何人かは作文を審査する時に文法の正確さを最も重要な基準とするとはっきり述べた。これに比し、ほとんどのＡＥＴは、解りやすさを主要因とした。興味深いことに日本人教師は文法面で厳しく作文を審査したにもかかわらず、彼等の大多数が判断の基準はＡＥＴと同じように解りやすさが一番重要な基準だと述べた。

1. Introduction

In a bid by the Japanese government to improve English classes in Japan, an increasing number of native-speaking assistant English teachers (AETs) have been introduced into the Japanese classroom. In the resulting interaction between the AETs and resident Japanese teachers of English, a number of differences in teaching emphases and priorities have surfaced. Possibly one of the most discussed differences has been how to deal with errors. Almost all teachers would agree that there are some errors that need to be corrected. The question becomes, which errors and when? In light of the fact that several

studies have shown that errors do not usually prevent comprehension (Chastain, 1980, 1981; Guntermann, 1978; Olsson, 1973; Piazza, 1980), there seems to be an impression among the AETs that the Japanese teachers place a disproportionately high emphasis on formal accuracy.

This paper will explore whether AET and Japanese teachers do in fact approach errors differently, focusing specifically on how seriously AET and Japanese teachers judge various kinds of written errors. To achieve this, two particular areas need to be addressed: error classification and error evaluation. In order to compare AET and Japanese teachers' judgments of errors in a principled way, it is first necessary to categorize the errors to be judged. Also, any report on error judgment should include an attempt to isolate some of the criteria teachers use when evaluating those errors.

2. Classification of Errors

The most common way errors have been classified is according to categories such as phonology, lexis, semantics, and syntax. These categories are useful in a general discussion, but the tendency of errors to cross category boundaries may limit their use when more precise definitions are desirable. The following example illustrates how the traditional categories can become blurred, even when attempting to define errors limited to a single word.

* He dribed the horse yesterday.

The word "dribed" consists of three simultaneous errors. Should we focus on the misspelling of "b" for "v," the incorrect morphological form "drived" for "drove," the lexical misuse of "drove" for "rode," or a combination of the three? At the sentence or discourse level, errors can become even more convoluted. Clearly, many errors may prove rather complex for these descriptions.

A different approach, called a Surface Strategy Taxonomy, was developed by Dulay, Burt, and Krashen (1982). In it, errors are classified as one of the following: (a) error of omission (necessary item is omitted); (b) error of addition (prohibited item is present); (c) error of substitution (incorrect item is present in place of a correct item); (d) error of misordering (items are in an incorrect order). This system reflects the view that language consists of incremental units strung together serially. It may have serious difficulties classifying errors occurring at the sentence or discourse level in one of the four specific categories (Lennon, 1991).

Burt (1975) made a distinction which recognized that errors may impinge upon more than one linguistic component at one time. She differentiated

between global errors (ones which effect overall sentence organization) and local errors (ones which are limited to a single part of the sentence). She found that global errors tend to seriously hinder communication, while local errors do not.

Lennon (1991) proposed combining the global/local concept with breadth of error to derive a two-component classification system. The "extent" of error is the linguistic unit which the error permeates. This might be a morpheme, word, phrase, clause, sentence, or discourse. Often, the error cannot be discerned by looking only at the unit in which it exists; the listener/reader may have to check the sentence or discourse context to identify it. How much language the reader/listener must examine to determine if an error has occurred is referred to as the "domain" of the error.

From these descriptions, we can develop a list of possible error categorizations (Table 1). Domain will always be at an equal or higher rank than extent, never at a lower rank, because the amount of language necessary to determine the complete error can never be less than the error itself.

Table 1
Extent/Domain Categories

	Extent						
Domain	Morpheme	Word	Phrase	Clause	Sentence	Discourse	Extralingual
Word	M/W	W/W					
Phrase	M/P	W/P	P/P				
Clause	M/C	W/C	P/C	C/C			
Sentence	M/S	W/S	P/S	C/S	S/S		
Discourse	M/D	W/D	P/D	C/D	S/D	D/D	
Extralingual	M/E	W/E	P/E	C/E	S/E	D/E	E/E

A few examples will help to illustrate the extent/domain concept. The following error examples come from student book summaries of the novel *The Outsiders* (Hinton, 1989) and were used in the survey instrument. In the error "hitted," the morpheme "ed" is the problem, and that fact is discernible by looking at the word, therefore it is a Morpheme/Word error. On the other hand, in the sentence "The church was safety," the morpheme "ty" is incorrect, but we have to look at the complete sentence to ascertain that, making it a Morpheme/Sentence error. Spelling errors are usually Word/Word errors as the word is incorrect, and that is usually obvious without looking further afield, that is, "fighting" misspelled as "fithing." Let us try a more global example at the discourse level. "Ponyboy and Johnny like watching movies.

He went to watch a movie." The second sentence is fine if it stands alone, but in a discourse context the pronoun "he" is erroneous since the previous referent is ambiguous. This error is classified as Word/Discourse. A person would be committing a Word/Extralingual Context error by saying "They went south," but pointing or gesturing to the north.

This system may prove a principled way to describe errors since it includes the notion that errors often reach beyond their immediate component into the surrounding linguistic environment.

3. Evaluation of Errors

When evaluating errors it might be assumed that comprehensibility is a prime consideration. However, Chastain (1980) found that his subjects rated about 50 percent of erroneous forms as comprehensible, but unacceptable. From this data, he concluded that many errors are considered unacceptable for reasons other than lack of comprehension. Some possible reasons appear in Ludwig's (1982) survey of native-speaker error judgment studies. In it, she identifies five recurring factors affecting judgments of correctness: comprehension, irritation, acceptability, communication strategies, and personality. There are conflicting reports on the relative tolerance of errors by native and nonnative speaking subjects. The prevailing view seems to be that nonnatives are less tolerant of nonnative errors than native speakers (Galloway, 1980; Sheory, 1985).

For example, Santos (1988) found more severe judgments of composition errors by nonnative speaking professors than by native-speaking ones. In fact, Sheory (1985) concluded that tolerance of errors increases as language proficiency increases.

By way of contrast, Birdsong and Kassen (1988) concluded that as people increase in language proficiency they become harsher in their judgments of error seriousness. They found that French-speaking teachers of French were harsher judges than English-speaking ones, and in general, teachers judged errors more harshly than students. A study by Ervin (1978) reported similar results in a Russian context. A recent study by Kobayashi (1992) found that native English speakers were stricter about grammaticality when judging ESL compositions than were native Japanese speakers.

In order to gather empirical information on this unresolved subject in a Japanese context, and to explore assumptions made about AET and Japanese teachers' evaluations of errors, a survey study was designed focusing on the following questions:

1. Do Japanese teachers judge errors more harshly than AETs?

2. Which categories of errors are judged more harshly by each group?

On the methodological side, a decision was made to utilize Lennon's (1991) Extent/Domain distinction as the way to classify errors. This raised a third research question:

3. Would the Extent/Domain classification system prove to be a viable way to describe errors in this study?

4. Procedure

From the 27 possible error categories (Table 1), ten were selected which would allow a representative and manageable sampling of errors along the global/local continuum. The phrase and clause categories were collapsed into a subsentential (SS) category. The extralingual classifications, being more appropriate to spoken communication, were ignored. The final ten categories were Morpheme/Word (M/W), Morpheme/Sentence (M/S), Word/Word (W/W), Word/Subsentential (W/SS), Word/Sentence (W/S), Word/Discourse (W/D), Subsentential/Subsentential (SS/SS), Subsentential/Sentence (SS/S), Sentence/Sentence (S/S), and Sentence/Discourse (S/D).

Fourteen book summaries were collected from students enrolled in a pre-college intensive English program at Temple University in Osaka, Japan. Summaries of the same book were taken so that sentences containing individual errors could eventually be formed into a cohesive discourse. Approximately 60 error-bearing sentences were extracted from the student summaries and presented to four native-speaking raters who had been trained in the simplified Extent/Domain error classification system. Sentences in which the error classification was agreed upon by at least three of the four raters were put into a pool from which three examples for each of the ten categories were chosen.[1]

The final survey instrument (see Appendix) was created by arranging the 30 error-bearing sentences into sequence and adding supplementary contextual information in brackets to make the resulting summary cohesive. A seven-point Likert scale was attached to each erroneous sentence. The respondents were asked to indicate the seriousness of the error contained in each sentence by circling a value on the Likert scale and then, when finished, to answer the following question, "On what basis did you judge the seriousness of the errors?"[2]

Thirty-eight surveys were collected, twenty from AETs and eighteen from Japanese teachers. Most respondents were males teaching at the high school or college level. The average teaching experience was six years for AETs and 12.1 years for Japanese teachers.

The ratings for the three sentences in each error category were averaged to achieve one rating per respondent per error category. A mean could then be derived for each of the ten categories. Next, an analysis of variance procedure (ANOVA) was used to establish whether any error categories contained statistically significant differences between the teacher groups.

5. Results

Each error category contained from 51 to 60 ratings (three erroneous sentences per category x 17-20 respondents). Table 2 illustrates the mean of these ratings for each category.

Table 2
Error Category Means

	Japanese (n = 18)		AET (n = 20)	
	$\bar{X}$	*SD*	$\bar{X}$	*SD*
Morpheme/Word	3.64	1.03	2.80	.96
Morpheme/Sentence	3.83	.88	2.28	.88
Word/Word	3.07	1.20	1.83	.74
Word/Subsentential	3.94	1.10	3.38	1.04
Word/Sentence	4.01	.78	3.61	.90
Word/Discourse	3.44	1.30	3.98	.87
Subsentential/Subsentential	4.08	.96	3.00	.81
Subsentential/Sentence	4.23	.97	3.87	.96
Sentence/Sentence*	3.93	1.16	4.50	.98
Sentence/Discourse	2.60	1.06	2.54	1.59

*Only 17 subjects.

The mean ($\bar{X}$) of the Japanese ratings was higher than the mean AET rating for every category of error except Word/Discourse and Sentence/Sentence. Table 3, illustrating the ANOVA analysis results, shows that the difference was significant in four of the categories: Morpheme/Word, Morpheme/Sentence, Word/Word, and Subsentence/Subsentence.

6. Discussion

An examination of the means in Table 2 supports the position that nonnative teachers are harsher on errors than native teachers, at least when dealing with story summaries. In eight out of 10 categories, Japanese teachers judged the errors as being more serious than did the AET teachers. The difference between the average of the Japanese means (3.79) and the AET means (3.25) is quite striking, although only four of the 10 comparisons are significant.

Table 3
Univariate *F*-Tests With (1,35) D.F.

Variable	Hypothesis SS	Error SS	Hypothesis MS	Error MS	*F*	Significance of *F*
M/W	6.74	37.33	6.74	1.06	6.32	.017*
M/S	23.49	28.93	23.49	.82	28.41	.000*
W/W	16.57	33.69	16.57	.96	17.22	.000*
W/SS	2.44	42.18	2.44	1.20	2.02	.163
W/S	1.64	27.36	1.64	.78	2.09	.156
W/D	2.79	45.38	2.79	1.29	2.15	.151
SS/SS	11.47	29.32	11.47	.83	13.70	.001*
SS/S	1.30	35.24	1.30	1.00	1.29	.263
S/S	3.28	42.28	3.28	1.20	2.72	.108
S/D	.08	70.71	.08	2.02	.04	.836

* $p < .05$

However, the four significant figures do point in a similar direction. The significant categories are mainly clustered at the "local" end of the error hierarchy. It is here that the smaller components of language (morphemes, words) and their corresponding rules of use are prominent. Morpheme/Word errors typically consist of the incorrect use of verbal inflection, such as *-ing* or *-ed*. Morpheme/Sentence errors are likely to be lack of agreement between subject and verb, or misuse of the inflections which change cognates into different parts of speech. Word/Word errors are usually spelling mistakes. These are all areas normally associated with grammatical accuracy. In these categories at least, Japanese teachers do grade more severely, and seem to be more concerned with formal accuracy than their native-speaking counterparts.

At the other end of the scale, Sentence/Discourse errors, (where the sentence itself is correct, but is misplaced in discourse) were consistently more difficult to evaluate for both teacher groups. There were respondents from both groups who saw the confusion these sentences caused in the story flow and rated them severely; conversely, other respondents from both groups rated these same sentences as either correct or not serious. This led to very inconsistent results within each group. A possible explanation for this lies in the way the survey instrument was constructed. Although respondents were explicitly instructed that some sentences might not fit well with the rest of the composition, it is likely that some viewed the sentences attached to the Likert scales as discrete, isolated entities, instead of as part of a cohesive summary. This would explain the correct/not serious judgments. Additionally, during the initial error categorization stage, the four native-speaking raters also had

difficulties coming to agreement on errors in this category. Clearly, the problem of categorizing the most global types of errors has not been resolved.

The respondents' comments on how they judged the seriousness of errors were interesting on several counts. They seemed to indicate that comprehensibility was the overriding criterion for judging the gravity of error. Out of the 20 AET responses, 19 included some indication that obstruction of meaning was a primary factor when dealing with errors. In addition, no AET indicated that grammatical correctness was their main basis for error evaluation. These responses were expected, but somewhat surprisingly, most of the Japanese teachers stated similar views. Ten out of the 14 Japanese teachers who responded to the question also indicated that the ability to transfer meaning was more important than grammatical accuracy, although three teachers specifically mentioned their preference for grammar. Many expressed the feeling that the Japanese school system places too much stress on grammatical accuracy, making it difficult for students to improve in communicative fluency.

Comparing these criteria comments with the error seriousness ratings highlights a discrepancy between professed beliefs and actual error correction practice. One possible reason for this discrepancy is the tendency for teachers to judge students' work according to language aspects the teacher knows best. Following this, English teachers who emerge from the Japanese school system grammatically competent but lacking in confidence to actually use English in a meaningful way, would stress grammar in their grading, even if they are aware of the importance of meaning. Speculation aside, the error seriousness criteria comments can be taken as an indication that although Japanese teachers evaluate formal errors more severely than native speakers, most are also very conscious of the importance of comprehensibility.

Another recurring point concerns "mental effort" as a criterion for judging the severity of errors. Four respondents stated that the amount of time or number of readings necessary to understand the meaning of a sentence was the primary basis they used in evaluation. This suggests a possible direction for new research: Can time required to make an error evaluation be used as a measure of (a) comprehensibility and (b) error seriousness?

As to the viability of the Extent/Discourse classification system, there are signs that it is useful. The survey included a wide variety of learner errors, some of them quite complex. The Extent/Discourse system seemed better able to describe this variety than any of the other systems discussed. It still has serious difficulties describing the most global error areas, but this appears to

be a universal weakness. It may be that broad global errors are simply too complex to be easily fitted into convenient categories.

7. Summary

The results of this study indicate that Japanese teachers put a greater emphasis on formal accuracy than AET teachers. They judge grammatical errors more gravely overall than their native-speaking counterparts, and a proportion of them explicitly cited formal accuracy as their prime criterion in evaluating errors. However, since most Japanese teachers indicated comprehensibility as the most important measure for assessing errors, we may see a shift away from this formal emphasis in the future, especially if external factors, particularly modifications in the college entrance examinations, are conducive to change.

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Notes

[1] Because there were no Sentence/Discourse errors (in which a sentence is grammatically correct but out of place in the discourse) in the student summaries, these sentences were contrived.

[2] Khalil (1985) stresses the need for authentic, contextualized language data in error studies. To obtain a variety of error types, it was necessary to use errors from several students. However, care was taken to contextualize the errors by embedding them in a single discourse. Also, respondents read a synopsis of the story before they began rating the errors in the summary.

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Appendix

Error-Bearing Sentences Extracted from Student Summaries of *The Outsiders* (Hinton, 1989).

[Continuity is maintained by author's summary in brackets.]

HOW SERIOUS ARE THE MISTAKES IN THE FOLLOWING SENTENCES?

Indicate your opinion by circling one number on each scale.

CIRCLE ONE NUMBER: Not at all serious Very serious

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

[This 1 to 7 scale appeared to the right of each error-bearing sentence.]

The character in this story are Darry, Sodapop, Ponyboy, Dally, Johnny, and Two-Bit.

He is one main character, Ponyboy.

Ponyboy is the youngest brother in his family, but this doesn't mean that has parents.

His parents died in an accident sevral years ago.

[Ponyboy's older brothers are Sodapop and Darry.]

I love Soda better than Darry.

[They belong to a gang called the Greasers.]

They have companions having group consciousness like a gang each other.

The Greasers are poor, but they who are interested in many things are always searching for something to satisfy them but never find it.
[The Greasers have many problems]
They have some problems except money problems.
[The rival gang is the rich kid gang called the Socs.]
The Greasers have long hair. On the other hand, the Socs have cutted hair. One night, his brother told him that he was going to marry Sandy.
[Johnny is Ponyboy's best friend in the Greasers gang.]
Ponyboy and Johnny like watching movies. He went to watch a movie.
[There was a fight by the theater]
They saw fithing between the Socs and a Mexican man.
[Two other Greaser friends, Dally and Two-Bit, met them at the theater.]
Dally has the strongest and meanest of the gang.
They met two girls there whom they are Socs girls.
[Cherry is one of the Soc girls.]
Dally talked to Cherry, but she didn't have interest to Dally.
[Dally became angry with Cherry.]
Johnny's character is not brisk, but he told Dally to leave.
[After Dally left, Ponyboy, Johnny, and Two-Bit talked with the girls. Later, the girls wanted to go home, but they didn't have a car.]
So Two-Bit finally spoke them into letting him drive them home in his car.
After he dropped off the girls, Two-Bit went to home.
They always liked doing their favorite things.
[After talking with Johnny for awhile in the park, Ponyboy hurried home because it was very late.]
When he returned home, his older brother Darry got angree.
[Darry criticized Ponyboy for staying out too late.]
Darry blamed Ponyboy had been out too late.
Darry hitted him.
[Ponyboy ran away from his house. He went back to the park. Johnny was still there, so they started talking again. Meanwhile, a drunken Soc gang drove to the park to attack Ponyboy and Johnny.]
They were drunking.
Johnny was afraid of the Socs, the reason he was attacked by them before.
[The Soc gang held Ponyboy underwater in a fountain. Afraid that Ponyboy would drown, Johnny stabbed the leader of the Socs with a knife.]
Johnny killed Ponyboy.
[When they saw their leader dead, the other Socs ran away. Johnny pulled Ponyboy out of the fountain.]
Ponyboy was okay though looked so deadly.
Johnny was scared because he kills someone.
[Fearing the police, they left town.]
They got on the train at this night.
They went to the church on the hill.
The church was safety.

Research Forum

Evaluation of an English Language Day

Tamara Swenson, William Cline, and Catherine Bacon

Osaka Jogakuin Junior College

1. Introduction

Osaka Jogakuin Junior College (OJJC) is a small two-year college with one major, English. From May 1972 to May 1991, the college conducted an off-campus overnight Spring English Seminar for incoming first-year students. During the seminar, students and teachers were to use only English. Activities included songs, games, small group discussions, skits, hiking, group story telling, in addition to breakfast and dinner with teachers. Over the years, a number of students commented in graduation questionnaires that the Spring Seminar was one of the highlights of their school life.

However, after 1991, the decision was made to cancel the seminar the following spring and establish a new on-campus English program, an English language day. Inspiration for a revised program come from a number of language fair events held in the United States. These programs varied from a single day to an entire summer and included "festive" activities designed to promote enthusiastic target language study and use (Conner, 1977; Ervin, 1976; Griswold, 1983; Schrum, 1983; Schrum 1985). Review of these programs led to a decision to create a modified language fair at OJJC with the following goals: (a) to increase the use and enjoyment of English; (b) to introduce students to the campus and its learning resources; (c) to introduce students to each other and to teachers; (d) to prepare students for English study at the college; (e) to reduce teacher fatigue.

Months of planning and material development went into the English language day, which was named "Passport to English." During each of three days, approximately 120 students participated in the program. Students were divided into eight groups, with about 15 students in each group for the day. Seven activities were arranged so that the incoming students would begin by getting acquainted and progress to more challenging English use. Groups moved around the campus and met different teachers for each activity during the 9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. program.

2. The Program

Activities were designed to correspond to the program goals. The linguistic demands were considered appropriate for the general level of first year students. The following is a brief summary of the activities used. In some cases, more than one task was available, allowing teachers to select those of interest to them.

Activity 1: Getting to Know You

1. Handshakes: Students and teachers mixed to shake hands and introduce themselves, formally and informally (Frank & Rinvolucri, 1983).
2. Line-up Game: Students lined up according to their birth dates and other criteria.
3. Find Someone Who: Students searched for someone who met the criteria for various questions.

Activity 2: Getting Directions

1. Rhythm in English: Students practiced getting and giving directions (Molinsky, Bliss, & Graham, 1989) and completed an information gap map.
2. Sim-Town: Students formed a simulated town and gave directions.

Activity 3: Getting to Know You Better

1. Forced Choices: Students were given two alternatives, such as "cat—dog," moved to a group with others who made the same choice, and explained their choice (Frank & Rinvolucri, 1983).
2. Opinions: Students completed a values questionnaire and gave opinions.
3. Complete the Statement: Students finished a series of open-ended statements (Richard-Amato, 1988).

Activity 4: Treasure Hunt

Students followed clues posted around the campus to find information needed to complete an answer sheet. Students were given 70 minutes to visit areas such as: the computer lab, to get information from computers; the learning resource center, to get information from audio and video tapes; and the library, to gather information from various sections. Prizes were awarded for speed and accuracy.

Activity 5: Picture Stories

1. Jigsaw Pictures: Students reassembled pieces of two pictures.
2. Story Telling: Students selected one of the jigsaw pictures, made up a story, and told it to other students (Ur, 1988).

Activity 6: Puzzle Stories

1. Scrambled Words: Students assembled scrambled words to make sentences which were shared.
2. Scrambled Sentences: Students assembled scrambled sentences to make stories (Yorkey, 1985).

Activity 7: Acting it Out

1. Again with Feeling: Students repeated a sentence to express different feelings.
2. Across the Room: Pairs simultaneously shouted across the room to get information from their partners.
3. Role Play: Students were given a scene to act out (Sadow, 1982).

These activities helped students to become acquainted, familiarized them with the campus, and gave them chances to use English for fun.

Finally, a unifying aspect for the program was the use of a **passport**, carried by all students, which included the schedule. After completing each activity, students received a flag sticker in their passports showing that they had participated. This was similar to the "*Schlumpf* stamp in their passports" given students in one language fair, a New Jersey German immersion weekend (Oberding & Magee-Onofrietto, 1982, p 357).

3. Participants' Evaluation of the Program

Method: Evaluation of the Passport to English program was accomplished in two ways. Students were asked to complete a questionnaire which evaluated how the program met its goals and recorded their attitudes toward the individual activities. In addition, teachers were asked to respond to a questionnaire evaluating the effectiveness of activities which they had taught. The student questionnaire was administered in Japanese, while the questionnaire to the teachers was in English.

The Student Questionnaire: A total of 248 of the 360 students completed and returned the questionnaire—67 of the first-day students, 63 of the second-day students, and 118 of the third-day students. Responses were tabulated separately, allowing evaluation of the effectiveness of each day's program, as well as the effectiveness of the entire program. In addition, students evaluated

the individual Passport to English activities on a five-point scale, answering "How useful was each of the activities?" and "How enjoyable was each of the activities?" Translation difficulties prevented the questionnaire from being ready in time for immediate administration to students on days one and two. These two groups answered the questionnaire on the day following the program's completion. Students who participated in day three answered the questionnaire immediately after the close of the program.

The Teacher Questionnaire: Fourteen teachers taught during the program, with some teachers covering only one or two activities, while others taught up to six. The ten questions which teachers answered dealt with the effectiveness and interest of the various activities and the program itself.

4. Results and Discussion

Student Questionnaire Results: Students responded to the following general "yes-no" questions (percentage of positive responses are given in parentheses):

1. Did you become more familiar with the OJJC teaching staff? (77%)
2. Did you become more familiar with other students? (88%)
3. Did you become more familiar with the campus and classrooms at OJJC? (67%)
4. Did you become more familiar with using English? (40%)

Students rated each of the seven activities according to usefulness or enjoyment on a six-point scale. Ratings 1, 2, and 3 were considered positive, while 4, 5, and 6 were considered negative. "How useful was each activity?" elicited 81-85% positive responses for the various activities. "How enjoyable was each activity?" elicited 78-85% positive responses.

Space was also provided for student comments. Students reported that they had generally enjoyed the program (14), but had found it very tiring (19). In other comments, students reported feeling nervous about their ability to speak (22), feeling that they wanted to try harder to speak English (12), and feeling that they could speak better because of the program (4). Students also suggested creating smaller groups (2), making the program more individual (1), having two days instead of one (1), and giving pre-practice activities (1). All student comments were made in Japanese.

Student Questionnaire Discussion: Student response to the day-long program can be seen as broadly positive in terms of "how useful" and "how enjoyable" each of the activities was. Considering the "usefulness" of activities, the majority of the students found them either extremely useful or very useful.

When the "useful" ratings are included with the first two responses, the approval rating rises to more than 80 percent for each of the activities. Similar results were obtained regarding the enjoyability of each activity. More than 50 percent found the activities either "very enjoyable" or "extremely enjoyable." When these figures are combined with the third category, "enjoyable," the approval rating again reaches more than 80 percent for all but two activities.

However, the responses to the "yes/no" questions indicate that there was a slightly negative perception of how well the program met the goal of helping students become more familiar with English. This was especially true for students who did not answer the questionnaire immediately after the program, strongly indicating that while some level of success was initially perceived, it was not maintained. Results recorded after a period of reflection may indicate more realistically the program's effectiveness.

In response to the "yes/no" question, "Did you become more familiar with the OJJC teaching staff?" most students (77%) answered "yes." However, a day-by-day breakdown indicated that students who completed the questionnaire at a later date did not feel as strongly that they were more familiar with the teachers. This can also be seen in the response to the question "Did you become more familiar with other students?" Overall more than 80 percent responded positively or neutrally. However, there was a larger number of "no" responses among those who had a waiting period—14.3 and 13.4 percent, as opposed to 7.6 percent for those given the questionnaire immediately following the program.

Ratings for familiarity with the campus were also not as high as had been anticipated. Regardless of the day of attendance, more than 30 percent of the students responded negatively. Earlier orientation tours, taken by all students, may account for this.

The activities themselves generally received positive reviews from the participants. The approval rating for all activities, as measured by the number who selected "extremely useful/very useful" or "extremely enjoyable/very enjoyable," was more than 50 percent. This increases to 80 percent when the number who viewed the activity as "useful/enjoyable" is taken into consideration. However, not all activities received uniformly high ratings; indeed, some activities received more than 15 percent disapproval, indicating need for further revision and improvement of the program.

Teacher Questionnaire Results: Teachers evaluated activities they taught on a five-point scale, from 1 (poor) to 5 (very good) for each of 10 questions. Ratings of 1 or 2 were considered as negative, 3 as neutral, and 4 or 5 as

positive. The questions follow. Average response rates for all of the activities—except 4, the Treasure Hunt—and the response rate for each activity are given in parentheses.

1. Did the activity prepare students for classes? (3.8)
   (1 = 3.9; 2 = 3.2; 3 = 4.0; 5 = 3.8; 6 = 3.4; 7 = 4.4)
2. Did students become better acquainted during the activity? (3.8)
   (1 = 4.5; 2 = 3.0; 3 = 4.4; 5 = 3.6; 6 = 3.1; 7 = 4.5)
3. Was the activity stimulating and enjoyable? (3.9)
   (1 = 4.1; 2 = 3.6; 3 = 4.3; 5 = 3.6; 6 = 3.3; 7 = 4.6)
4. Did the activity promote student cooperation? (4.0)
   (1 = 3.8; 2 = 3.6; 3 = 4.0; 5 = 4.2; 6 = 4.1; 7 = 4.1)
5. Did you as a teacher become better acquainted with students? (3.5)
   (1 = 3.1; 2 = 2.9; 3 = 4.8; 5 = 3.3; 6 = 2.8; 7 = 4.4)
6. Did the materials help promote English use by the students? (4.2)
   (1 = 4.2; 2 = 4.6; 3 = 4.4; 5 = 4.1; 6 = 3.4; 7 = 4.7)
7. Did the materials interest the students? (3.8)
   (1 = 4.0; 2 = 3.3; 3 = 3.8; 5 = 3.6; 6 = 3.3; 7 = 4.6)
8. Were the materials well prepared? (4.2)
   (1 = 4.8; 2 = 4.3; 3 = 3.9; 5 = 3.8; 6 = 3.6; 7 = 4.6)
9. Were the directions to the teacher easy to follow? (4.4)
   (1 = 4.4; 2 = 3.6; 3 = 4.6; 5 = 4.6; 6 = 4.6; 7 = 4.6)
10. Were the directions to the students easily understandable? (4.5)
    (1 = 4.6; 2 = 3.9; 3 = 4.6; 5 = 4.7; 6 = 4.6; 7 = 4.5)

The average rating for each activity on all 10 questions was 1 = 4.1; 2 = 3.6; 3 = 4.3; 5 = 3.9; 6 = 3.6; 7 = 4.5

Teacher Questionnaire Discussion. The teachers involved in the activities were generally positive about the program, but found some problems. These included difficulty in understanding the directions to teachers for some activities, the impression that it did not further acquaint students and teachers, and the sense that there was too much to do during the allotted time. Teacher concerns also need to be addressed in program revision. Most important is the need to clarify or replace some activities.

5. Conclusions

On-campus programs may indeed prove to be more useful for students than overnight English language camps. In an effective program, the activities need to be organized and sequenced in a way that encourages use of English, allows for student success, and increases enjoyment. While the program outlined here can not be considered an unqualified success, it can be used as

a model for similar programs at colleges—and perhaps even high schools—in Japan. With proper planning, careful implementation, and a mixture of enthusiastic teachers and students, the English language day can be a useful introduction to the use of English and to a campus. As well as being an alternative to an exhausting overnight program, the English language day provides a useful new program for any institution.

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The Fear of Making Errors in JSL Acquisition

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I. Introduction

The terminology "fear of making errors" is used to describe the phenomenon of a learner's feeling of sounding silly or funny in trying out the target language (Hatch, 1985; Krashen, 1982; Schumann, 1978). In particular, does fear of making errors influence attitudes towards second language acquisition, as apparent from the learner's inclination either to seek out or avoid communicative opportunities? Within the limited scope of the study, it was hypothesized that those who have more interaction with native speakers may well show positive attitudes, and thus use positive interactional communication strategies (CS); and that negative attitudes would similarly be reflected in the use of negative CS. Thus, the purpose of this study was to find out what kinds of positive oral CS or interactional features learners with less fear displayed, and what sorts of negative attitudes were displayed by those with more fear.

In order to investigate the correlation between the subjects' fear of making errors and their strategic communication features, results of survey questionnaires were analyzed according to five criteria. These were: (a) a measure of the rate of the subject's current ability to use Japanese; (b) a measure of their degree of participation in Japanese culture and society, which might be equivalent to the degree of assimilation to the target language and culture (society as a whole); (c) a measure of the actual amount of time spent using the target language, Japanese; (d) a measure of their degree of fear of making errors in Japanese; and (e) their ages as well as their length of stay in the target society, Japan. In particular, (b) and (c) were considered to reveal their types of motivation (i.e., integrative or instrumental, as in Gardner & Lambert, 1972) and acculturation in the target language and society.

In terms of their previous language-learning experience or background, the kinds of learning environments might also have to be taken into account in determining the reasons for various features and phenomena observed in the subjects' spoken/written production. That is, what learning situations or environments affect the subjects' degree of fear of making errors as well as their characteristic features of production? Is there an actual influence of type of motivation, or learning environment, on language acquisition? How have the subjects learned or been taught the target language? Answers to these questions were elicited during telephone interviews.

In an attempt to investigate the correlation between the nature of foreign language acquisition by adult learners and their fear of making errors, two experimental studies were done—investigating both English as a Second Language (ESL) in the United States and Japanese as a Second Language (JSL) learners in relation to their degree of fear of making errors. The discussion here will concentrate mainly on the results of the data for the JSL learners, with occasional reference to a previous ESL study (Nonaka, 1990).

2. The Study

The research focused on the subjects' "fear of making errors" in their second language, Japanese, and its possible correlation with seven other variables, namely, age, length of stay in Japan, self-reported proficiency level, extent of participation in the target culture, hours spent weekly on interaction in the target language, and characteristics of spoken and written target language (TL) production. Utilizing an ex post facto design, the research was designed to "look at the type and/or degree of relationship between the . . . variables" (Hatch & Farhady, 1982, p. 26).

The subjects were nine English-speaking women residents of Japan, chosen from several metropolitan areas including Kobe, Kyoto, Osaka, Nagoya, and Tokyo. Their ages ranged from 20 to 49, their length of stay from 6 months to 20 years, and their nationalities included American, British, Canadian, Irish, and Australian. Unlike subjects in an earlier study (Nonaka, 1990), their purposes for staying in Japan were self-oriented, due to their occupations, interests, or other independent goals. The subjects were limited to those who had had at least 300 hours of in-class language training; thus the research dealt only with subjects considered to be roughly equivalent in their proficiency level—either high-intermediate or low-advanced.

Each subject was asked to fill out a questionnaire in English designed to elicit the degree of fear of making errors, as well as age, length of stay in Japan, self-reported proficiency level in Japanese, extent of participation in Japanese culture, and hours spent weekly on interaction in Japanese. The analysis of the subjects' oral production in Japanese was based on informal telephone interviews. In order to elicit characteristics of written production, each subject was also asked to translate a story and five additional sentences from English into Japanese.

3. Results and Discussion

Subjects identified themselves with one of the following five levels:

Level 1: Subjects who think it is good to make errors.
Level 2: Subjects who do not mind making errors at all.
Level 3: Subjects who do not mind making errors as much.
Level 4: Subjects who want to avoid making errors as much as possible.
Level 5: Subjects who always want to avoid making errors.

Table 1 shows the number of subjects identifying themselves with each level in both the present JSL study and the earlier ESL study (Nonaka, 1990).

Table 1.
Number of Subjects at Each Proficiency Level

Level	1	2	3	4	5	Totals
JSL Subjects	1	1	3	3	1	9
ESL Subjects	0	3	6	4	0	13

Interestingly, the JSL subjects ranged from one extreme to the other, whereas the Japanese ESL learners chose only the three intermediate levels. Unlike any Japanese ESL learner, one JSL learner felt that making errors is actually a good thing, although at the same time there was one who felt that errors should be avoided at all costs. The one level 1 subject was identified as 1A, the one level 2 subject as 2A, the three level 3 subjects as 3A, 3B, and 3C, and so forth. Figure 1, on the following two pages, shows how the subjects responded to questions 1 to 5 of the questionnaire, the characteristics of their written production, and features observed during the five-minute oral interviews. Figure 1 also notes the purpose of each subject's stay in Japan.

There was no evidence of correlation between fear of making errors and (a) age, (b) length of stay in Japan, (c) self-reported proficiency level, (d) extent of participation in Japanese culture, and (e) hours of interaction in Japanese each week. The results for variables (b) and (c) are similar to those found for Japanese ESL learners in the U. S. (Nonaka, 1990), but are different for (a), (d), and (e).

The younger (20s) JSL subjects ranged from levels 1 to 5 with regard to fear of making errors, while the older subjects (40s) ranged from levels 2 to 4.

Regarding length of stay, it may be noted that the subject with the greatest fear of making errors (5A) was also the one who had come to Japan the most recently—only a half-year before the study, in fact. One can only wonder if her concern about error-making was related to her relative newness to the

Figure 1.
Descriptive Data on the JSL Subjects

Subj.	Age	Years in Japan	Proficiency	Extent of Participation	Hrs/week Interaction	Purpose in Japan	Features of written production	Features of oral production
1A	20s	5	very good	frequent	50	graduate study	almost no performance errors in the use of the orthography	many natural expressions and colloquialisms; informal language use; use of pause fillers
2A	40s	8	good to fair	frequent	1-10	EFL teaching and Zen	total lack of writing skills	no use of particles; adopting L1 word order in L2 speech; some colloquial, familiar, and informal expressions; frequent use tag-question marker *ne*
3A	20s	2	(very) good	extensive	17+	EFL teaching	almost no performance errors in the use of the orthography, except for the failure to show consonant doubling	frequent use of idiomatic expressions; frequent lack of particle use; incomplete sentences and short utterances, such as set/fixed phrases; pause fillers
3B	30s	2.5	fair	infrequent	1-2	EFL teaching	ability to translate colloquial sentences but not literary text	basic level of speech with one- or two-word utterances and phrases
3C	40s	17.5	very good	frequent	many	EFL teaching	*kanji* (characters) used only for more basic words	much use of idiomatic expressions and polite ways of speaking as well as informal colloquialisms; variety in terms of levels and registers of speech; pause fillers
4A	20s	4	good	moderate	2-4	EFL teaching	*kanji* used only for a few basic words	frequent use of colloquial expresions; proper and appropriate use of formal and informal expressions; use of negative pause-fillers *aa-aa, sou-sou*

Figure 1.
Descriptive Data on the JSL Subjects (Continued)

Subj.	Age	Years in Japan	Proficiency	Extent of Participation	Hrs/week Interaction	Purpose in Japan	Features of written production	Features of oral production
4B	40s	8	good	infrequent	1-2	business and EFL teaching	intermediate level use of *kanji* with no mistakes; some mistakes in *kana* (syllabaries); correct presentation of English loan words; accurate penmanship	appropriate use of various registers, but with more frequent use of informal and colloquial expressions than of formal language; proper use of politeness; prevalence of longer, more complete sentences; used pause-fillers such as *aa-aa, sou-sou*; best presentation of a humorous story
4C	40s	10	good	frequent	10-15	EFL teaching	exclusive use of formal and archaic style of language; advanced level of *kanji* use	very natural formal and polite spoken language; most frequent use of pause-fillers, formal/informal and natural-sounding colloquial expressions
5A	20s	0.5	very good	infrequent	70*	study and journalism	high intermediate use of *kanji*; correct presentation of English loan words	very natural-sounding colloquial expressions; use of pause-fillers; errors in verb conjugations and particles; use of polite forms rather than very informal colloquial language

*5A's 70 hours per week include watching television and 20 to 30 hours of formal Japanese study.

country, and to a more general anxiety about coping with a new language and culture. It might be that her concern about errors would decrease over time.

Those who described themselves as having relatively frequent participation in Japanese culture also described themselves as having 10 hours a week or more of interaction in Japanese. Those with less participation generally had less than 10 hours a week of interaction, with one obvious exception, 5A, as shown in the footnote to Figure 1.

With regard to oral production characteristics, those who have had many chances to interact in the TL (1A, 3A, 3C, 4C, 5A) tended to use simple yet natural-sounding pause-fillers—such as "*anoo*," "*maa*," and "*chottoo*"—in their spoken interaction; these are roughly equivalent to such English expressions as "I mean," "let me see," and "let me think about it a moment." Those subjects also knew when and how to use such colloquial expressions as "*ja-nakute*" or "*ja-nakutte*" and "*unn, dakedo*" to express the adversarial cases, which would be approximated in English by "well," "it's not," and "however." By contrast, those with very little interaction (3B, 4A, 4B) did not seem familiar with such positive pause fillers and colloquial expressions, but filled pauses with such expressions as "*aa, aa*" and "*sou, sou*" (known as *aizuchi* in Japanese), which do little more than signify that the listener is paying attention.

In general, those who had longer exposure to Japanese culture and language showed more natural discourse patterns and markers than those who did not, as evidenced by their natural and effective use of such colloquial expressions as "*anmari kiita-koto nai-to omoi-masu-kedo*" ("I don't think I've heard much about it"); "*nan-te iu-n(o)-desu-ka*" ("What do you call it?"); "*ee soo-desu-ne*" ("Yes, I think so."); and "*. . . shitai-kara*" (". . . because I feel like . . ."). On the other hand, those with little actual interaction in Japanese (3B, 4B) showed only a rather formal or polite style of spoken Japanese.

It was particularly interesting to find that the JSL learners generally took a positive attitude, trying to ask questions whenever they did not understand what their partner said. This is why quite a few instances of interrogative discourse markers, such as "*eigo kudasai*" ("Please give me an English translation") or "*nan-te iu-no-desu-ka*" ("What do you call it in English?") were used as positive strategies.

Finally, in written production, there was a direct relationship between length of stay and skill at translation.

4. Concluding Remarks

The use of pause-fillers correlated with the amount of exposure to the target language and culture, and subjects displayed more diversity in producing various positive pause-fillers. Some observations can be made:

1. A vital factor for the attainment of natural language, including its colloquial usage and politeness features, seems to be whether or not a learner had sufficient immersion in the target culture to master the practical phase of language manipulation.
2. The aspect of motivation is also significant, for the kinds of language people learn or acquire can be influenced by the sort of motivation they have.

Moreover, the problem of learning environment is another critical issue. The JSL learners tended to show diversity in their acquisition patterns, regardless of the similarity of their purposes for being in Japan. This may reflect the individualism of Western education, in addition to the varied purposes, length of stay, and non-standard curriculum. Furthermore, the fact that ESL and JSL learners showed different patterns in terms of the correlation between their degree of fear of making errors and their use of pause-fillers could be due to the fact that their motivations and learning styles were different, together with their different cultural backgrounds.

Earlier versions of this paper were presented at JALT '90, Omiya, Japan, November 1990, and TESOL '91, New York City, March 1991.

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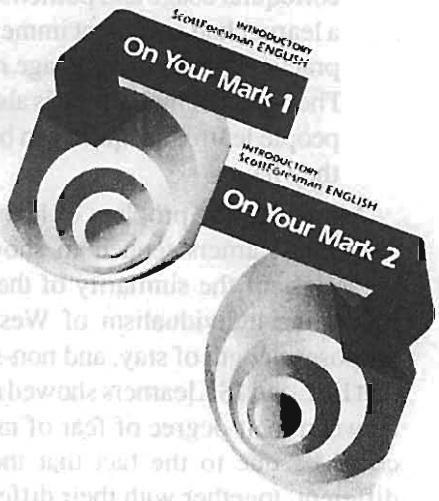

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A Division of HarperCollins*Publishers*

Point-to-Point

"Cultural English," "International English," and Language "Standards"

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The recent article by Akihiko Higuchi (November, 1992), "New English in the Education System—Focusing on Singaporean English," raised some interesting points regarding possible future developments in the teaching of English as a foreign language in Japan, particularly with respect to which norms or models of English are the most appropriate "standard" to use. The article argues against accepting either "standard American" or "standard British" as a model, and in their stead proposes that varieties of "New English," such as Singaporean English, should be considered as alternatives. It is argued that this will help to increase the sensitivity of Japanese EFL students to other Asian cultures. Perhaps, also, such a New English will serve as a more appropriate standard to follow until such time as Japan has developed its own distinct form of "cultural" English.

I question the usefulness and relevance to Japanese English Language students of receiving instruction in a parochial form of English restricted in its use to a single country (whether Singapore or Japan). Further I argue that the circumstances and aims of Japanese and Singaporean learners are fundamentally different.

Far from being "unprecedented" (p. 159), English is a relatively late arrival as an international language: Compare the present and previous use of Arabic, French, Ancient Greek, Latin, Russian, Spanish, and (as a written international language) Chinese. English has achieved preeminence through its use in air traffic control communication, computer languages and information storage, international conferences, and international journals. These modern aspects of English as an international language are distinct from the earlier historical conditions under which English became a prominent language in, for example, India and Malaysia. We can therefore recognize these two forms of English as "international" English and "cultural" English.

The former must be intelligible amongst all its users, and overlaps with both "inner-" and "outer-circle" English. Cultural English is a tool for communication within mixed language nations: an L2 which may undergo transformation to L1 (the "New English" as used in India and Singapore, for example). I prefer to drop the term "inner-circle" English in favour of "settler"

English (where a predominantly immigrant population retains English as the L1, as in Australia, Canada, and the U.S.A.). For people speaking cultural or settler English, intra-national use takes precedence. Compatibility with other forms of English, even in the international arena, might be regarded as of secondary importance, or even irrelevant.

I take the stance that, in general, the "target language" (Higuchi, p. 160) in Japan is international English, as defined here. This reflects the reasons for learning English expressed by most of my Japanese students of English: to communicate within the international community, and to visit "settler" countries.

Singaporean cultural English is an L2 with some characteristics of an L1, such as being "stable and institutionalized" (p. 160). It is used for communication within a nation which has had to cope with more than one major L1 (compare the development of English in Britain during the last 1500 years or so). Therefore, proposing a form of cultural English for Japan (p. 169) implies that a New English will eventually rival, and ultimately supplant the native Japanese language.

In present day Japan, many English loan-words have been loosely transliterated into katakana and given their own "culture-specific meanings," especially by the sales and marketing media. As I understand it, Higuchi's proposal would (in effect) result in this "cultural English" being transliterated back into the Roman alphabet, with its own colloquial standards quite independent of any other form of English. The eventual result (already true to some extent) over relatively few years would be a form of English intelligible only in Japan, which would then have two national languages: the original Japanese and a new form of English. The latter would be largely redundant, that is, would have no useful function: There is only one major L1 in Japan, and therefore no requirement for a "cultural" L2; if it is intelligible in Japan only, it cannot function as "international" English.

The difficulty Higuchi has with the appropriate "standard" to use for Japanese EFL stems in part from the definitions on which he relies (p. 163). A dictionary definition of "standard" is: "having no special or unusual features; ordinary; regular" (McKechnie et al., 1978). In linguistic usage, the term "standard" denotes exclusion of constructions and pronunciation considered too colloquial or provincial. The important point here is the concept of neutralizing a language to the extent that the remaining vocabulary, pronunciations, and constructions can be understood by the majority of those

with knowledge of that language. The well-known BBC standard, derived from "Queen's English," has gradually lost its elitist connotations (in the U.K.) through increasing neutralization during its use on radio and television. Equivalent standards for other languages are readily recognizable: for example, "correct" Italian, as spoken to the RAI standard, and Japanese *hyojungo*, as spoken to the NHK standard.

Particularly in the case of English, the use of a neutral standard is wise because there is remarkable local variation in the pronunciation of vowel sounds, perhaps more so than in any other language. Higuchi recognizes the existence of various accents and dialects (in American English) and asks, "how can a specific 'model' among the varieties be selected as a standard...?" (p. 164). The answer is that "standard English" is none of these particular varieties; it is what remains after attempting to remove local variations. In practice, most English speakers bear some traces of local accent or dialect, so Higuchi's definition, quoted from Platt et al. (1984), is perfectly apt: A standard is "an ideal towards which one may strive but may not necessarily reach" (p. 163). In general, the stronger the accent and dialect, the narrower the geographical range of intelligibility. Conversely, closer adherence to a standard which sufficiently neutralizes parochial accents and dialects extends intelligibility beyond national borders, that is, it justifies that standard for use at the international level.

It is undoubtedly true that users of standard English, "are in a minority in every English-speaking community" (p. 163). However, it can also be argued that the total number of users of standard English is higher than for any particular dialect group. Therefore we should not be left with the impression that looking towards such a standard is unrealistic and irrelevant for the Japanese (or Singaporean) learner. The fact that speakers of standard American and standard British English can understand one another with ease is one argument that these forms of English are sufficiently neutralized to justify their use as international standards. It is unfortunate that both these standards derive from countries with particularly imperialistic histories, but emotive reaction against these standards is difficult to support objectively. Consider, for example, Higuchi's charge that, "within a limited British or American standard for English, we cannot express properly our own social values and the flavor of our own culture" (p. 170), in the light of the recent international successes of many Asian authors (e.g., Amitav Ghosh) writing highly-acclaimed literary works in English.

Some of the language-learning situations reflecting British or American life might be unreal (p. 166), but this is not a serious problem in Japan because the target language for Japanese students is international (rather than cultural) English, and the Western way of life is in fashion.

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Reviews

ANTILINGUISTICS. Amorey Gethin. Oxford: Intellect Limited, 1992. 275 pp.

Should language teachers be attracted to or put off by a book with the title *Antilinguistics*? Is it an attack on linguistic orthodoxy that language teachers will find constructive, instructive, and useful in their own professional context, or merely a Luddite onslaught, a bowl of sour grapes thrown at a rather easy target? At this point I must declare an interest, since I am acknowledged by the book's author as one of those who gave him "sympathetic encouragement" (p. iii). There my interest ends. The book and its contents are the work, and responsibility, of Amorey Gethin alone. When I came to write this present review, my mind was torn between the two responses posed above to its provocative title. My reading of the book, I am glad to say, inclines me towards the first interpretation. The book is thought-provoking, different, is based on years of experience in teaching English as a Foreign Language and writing EFL textbooks, and is rigorous in its critique of (mainly) Chomskyan approaches to language. If it has any major weakness, it is its emphasis on attacking approaches that glorify syntax at the expense of other, non-syntax based models of language description. There is also an occasional tendency to use repeated sledgehammer blows to crack the smaller nuts of vulnerable example sentences which may be found in the works of mainstream linguists. Its strength lies squarely in its insistence that we get back to *meaning* as what language is essentially about, and in its persuasive arguments for the deep roots that linguistic meaning has in everyday communication. "In the end it is a matter of reality and unreality, of sense and nonsense; the distinctions are rooted there, not in abstractions" says Gethin, commenting on the difference between *for* and *because* as expressions of causality (p. 50). It is this practical, meaning-based explanation of communication that informs everything in Gethin's demolition of the notion that underlying syntactic principles dominate the construction of utterances, and that it is the task of linguists to build models based on those underlying abstract principles.

Language teachers tired of theoretical and descriptive linguists' attempts to force the elusive distinctions of meaning in language forms into sterile (and ultimately unusable) categories such as "deep structure" and "transformation" will find much in this book that will refresh the parts other grammarians fail to reach. Gethin already holds credentials for an original (and usable) description

of English article usage in his well-known EFL coursebook co-authored with Cook and Mitchell (Cook, Gethin, & Mitchell, 1967). In *Antilinguistics* we find equally original and convincing explanations of the *'s* contraction of *is* (pp. 44-48), embedded in one of his several blistering attacks on Smith and Wilson (1979); of countability phenomena and article usage (pp. 75-89), during an exposé of weaknesses in Quirk et al.'s *Comprehensive Grammar* (1985); and on the restrictions on clause-embedding (pp. 51-59), in one of the many sections that take Chomsky to pieces. (Unusually, as well as quoting Chomsky's written works, Gethin cites remarks made by him in broadcast interviews.)

Gethin's rejection of mainstream linguists' attempts to "account for" linguistic facts leads him to certain fundamental conclusions about language teaching. Good learners are essentially good observers; no amount of theoretical dismantling of the language can guarantee effective learning or acquisition, and what the learner should always be observing is how language constructs itself and makes its real-time choices of words, their forms and their order in response to the practical distinctions of meaning necessary to word the world. Gethin may be suspected of advocating a cognitive-code view of language learning, but he would as surely reject this as he would the sterile behaviourism of structural approaches: the key is not the construction of an abstract theory of the target language but an ever-unfolding dynamic view of the meaning potential of its vocabulary. Were Gethin an orthodox linguist, he might here call in the support of Halliday, for whom meaning potential lies at the heart of language choice, or of the recent attempts at constructing word-grammars, or of those who take a strongly lexicalist view of language teaching (e.g., Willis, 1990). And yet Gethin would reject the support of these possible allies, too. For Gethin, any description or prescription for teaching that takes away from the close observation of day-to-day language facts and which attempts to bind those facts into a theory or monolithic description is doomed to failure. But not only is the futility of "universals" and abstract rules a reason for shunning linguistic orthodoxy, for, underlying Gethin's position is a moral rejection of the authority which "experts" command over our thought and professional environments. Chapter 4 of *Antilinguistics* takes on the professional structure of language teaching, with its increasing reverence of experts, diplomas, theories, and methodologies. Gethin pleads for a humanistic profession, where experience is counted, valued, and shared in a non-threatening environment, and where expert authority can be openly questioned and exposed, where the

sway of linguistics over the profession is challenged, and where experts are called to account for their own slavery to ephemeral trends and passing fads. Gethin sees the part played by linguistic-experts in our profession as an example of the malign influence of social scientists in the world at large, underlined in his recent critique of the social sciences in *New Scientist* (Gethin, 1992).

The book's chapter titles give as good an indication of Gethin's position as anything, and include "Unapplied Linguistics," "Ungenerative Grammar," "The Fantasy of Structure," and the rather quaint-sounding "Chomskyan Mistakes Made Plain." Behind these unorthodox titles and many charming and refreshing examples of "unscholarly" language ("Chomsky's obsession with formal abstraction sometimes seems to turn him temporarily barmy," [p. 41]) lie a deep conviction that language teachers and learners *should* engage with language and not leave the job to linguists; they should engage with it in practical contexts and be open to its subtlety of relationship between form and meaning. But they should not frighten themselves into believing that some hidden abstract system which they must discover at all costs lies behind it all. Language is *doing* rather than knowing in the abstract sense, and meaning is manifested in use. Linguistic analysis of the conventional kind is ultimately circular, using what we know things mean to demonstrate structural principles that try to "account for" meaning, but which in fact do no more than tell us what we already knew. To Gethin, herein lies at best madness, at worst an awesome edifice of abstraction which frightens the non-initiated and dominates the language teaching profession, but which at bottom is a house of cards.

Many mainstream linguists will reject Gethin's work for failing fully to contextualise itself within contemporary descriptive and applied linguistics. Where does he properly recognise the contribution of Firthian approaches? Of descriptive and applied linguists who have rejected the introspective mentalism of the Chomskyan tradition and sought enlightenment through observation of real language data (discourse analysts, corpus linguists, etc.)? Why hammer so hard at Chomsky, whose influence, many would argue, was scant in European language teaching circles? Gethin would no doubt defend himself from these charges because he sees the universal reverence attached to Chomsky's work as a metaphor for the folly of all linguistics. It is the principle that theory and (faulty) description go largely unchallenged until the next fashion takes over that Gethin is intent on exposing, and the dangerous dominance that wrong-headed experts can wield over a profession. As such, many language teachers who

trust their own intuition and experience but find it increasingly questioned and forced into retreat by the tyranny of theory and orthodoxy, and the questionable authority of teacher trainers, will find this book a breath of fresh air, and long-overdue support for their (unfashionable) position.

Reviewed by Michael McCarthy, University of Nottingham

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REDISCOVERING INTERLANGUAGE. Larry Selinker. London: Longman, 1992. 288 pp.

Larry Selinker is best known for naming and developing the concept of interlanguage to account for the intermediate and distinct language systems that learners apparently construct during second language learning. His new book, *Rediscovering Interlanguage*, provides a historical summary of the evolution of this concept together with the author's current thinking on related phenomena, most notably the fossilization of language systems short of target language competency. Beyond this though, Selinker has produced a work that is rich in ideas, personal and warm in tone, and candid in its evaluations. It constitutes a major publishing event in the field of applied linguistics.

While Selinker's book is definitely historical in its approach, it is so in an atypical fashion. Summaries of the development of ideas usually assume that contemporary understanding is clearly more enlightened than that of the past. This point of view denigrates (or at least relegates to practical insignificance) much previous thinking and research. Selinker feels that this is a fundamental mistake. He maintains that contemporary SLA is guilty of turning its back on valuable earlier thinking and research that should be known and used. By ignoring cogent questions, interesting ideas, and still valid data, SLA has undermined its current position and slowed its future progress. In Selinker's words: "(a) students do not learn the history of their field; (b) colleagues constantly re-invent the wheel; (c) bandwagons regularly appear" (p. 1).

Concerning (a), Selinker cites and describes in some detail earlier books, articles, and dissertations that he refers to as "founding texts" and "highly valued texts" which deserve to be studied by researchers today, not out of reverence for the past, but because these works ask very relevant but still unanswered questions. As for (b), Selinker comments that "it would be embarrassing to detail [this] trend" (p. 1). However, he does do so when he ably discusses the history of the interlanguage concept, showing its similarities to, and differences from, notions developed by other researchers. Finally, in (c) Selinker points out that the bandwagon effect can be expressed as either attraction to new ideas or repulsion from old ones. He seems especially concerned with the latter, which he labels as the "baby and bathwater syndrome" (p. 2). Here the author focuses on several of the earlier works that he feels have been undeservedly neglected or misinterpreted by contemporary researchers. These include writings by Fries, Lado, Weinreich, Harris, Corder, Nemser,

Brière, and several others. Selinker argues, in short, that the earlier literature, carefully studied and judiciously evaluated, can inform contemporary thinking and give it direction that is otherwise lacking.

In *Rediscovering Interlanguage* Selinker attempts to present a carefully studied and judiciously evaluated body of literature. The technique that he brings to this task is rather unique (at least in this context): the methodology used in Talmudic studies, that is, the careful reading of certain critical texts and the commentary upon them. (This approach, Selinker argues, would make bandwagon effects impossible [p. 2].) In addition, Selinker proposes that we adopt a "purposeful misreading strategy" (p. 3) whereby we allow some leeway in interpretation of what is written, avoiding a too literal understanding. He maintains that the failure to do this in the past led to the "baby and bathwater syndrome" mentioned earlier, in which an essentially valuable idea is discarded because (typically) parts of it are expressed in too strong a fashion. As examples of this, Fries' *Teaching and Learning English as a Foreign Language* (1945) and Lado's *Linguistics Across Cultures* (1957) are discussed in detail. Selinker contends that some of the ideas in these books (especially the one by Lado) were stated too strongly, leading to their general rejection in the 1970s. By substituting or inserting qualifying words in several of the stronger statements, the value of these works again becomes apparent. For example, in discussing some issues in contrastive phonology, Lado states: "By following through on this matter of distribution of each phoneme we would eventually locate *all* the sequences that *might* cause difficulty" (Selinker's italics). Commenting on this, Selinker proposes "a positive 'purposeful misreading' . . . of Lado that removes the word 'all' in this quote and underscores 'might'" (p. 17). Selinker concludes:

> A careful rereading of seminal works by Fries and Lado is helpful in understanding an important theoretical strand informing us, in part, how we have reached our present point in SLA and IL studies. Additionally, there is much in both authors that is relevant to ongoing concerns, especially if one takes Lado not as a dogma (for it clearly fails when interpreted that way) but as a source of testable hypotheses in SLA about the structure and function of ILs, especially concerning the phenomenon of transfer. (p. 23)

After discussing Lado, the author goes on (Chapter 2) to Weinreich's *Languages in Contact* (1953) and the notion of interlingual identifications, that is, assumptions of identity be-

tween native and target language elements made by second language learners. Selinker credits this idea with being "*the* concept that led me to an initial understanding of language transfer" (p. 28). In Chapters 3, 4, and 5 the author reviews a variety of studies that address the question of the nature of interlingual identifications. In these chapters he makes a special effort to show how the "purposeful misreading" technique can produce interesting, testable hypotheses when applied to earlier contrastive analysis, error analysis, and bilingualism literature.

Chapter 6 is devoted to the theoretical advances made by Paul Van Buren and S. Pit Corder. Corder's many contributions to SLA receive special attention and praise. Selinker states that "Corder 1967 is *the* paper that began current interest in SLA and IL studies" (p. 149), and in the chapter summary he adds that Corder "provides a rich perspective, or perhaps metatheory, much of which was not there before and from which clear, precise and testable hypotheses have been and continue to be gleaned" (p. 167). Selinker then presents a list of 39 significant concepts he credits to Corder, concluding, "How could we manage without [them] and Van Buren's input into [them]?" (p. 168).

In a sense, the Corder chapter is the highlight of the book, although the final four chapters are also significant. Chapter 7 contains a discussion of experimental approaches to the study of language transfer and the results of three early studies: Nemser (1961), Brière (1964), and Selinker (1966). These studies demonstrated, among other things, that transfer from NL can be a facilitative factor in SLA. In Chapter 8 some contributions from other fields (most notably psychology) to understanding interlanguage are described, while Chapter 9 consists mainly of a script of a (recalled) conversation between several representatives of a variety of relevant professions on the reality of interlanguage fossilization. The arguments and counterarguments presented show the difficulty (impossibility?) of resolving such debates.

The last chapter, entitled "Reframing interlanguage: Where we are," is somewhat anticlimactic because the careful reader will pretty well know "where we are," thanks to the author's clear presentation in the earlier chapters. His argument is that language transfer is a key to linguistic understanding. "It is concluded . . . that some parts of IL do not correspond well with a linguistics that has as a basic assumption that the world is a set of monolingual languages" (p. 261). Selinker's conclusion, well documented, is that "current conceptualization of theory in SLA is limited and limiting. In reframing the IL debate, we argue for researching the particularities of fossilization and language transfer in a broad concep-

tual/historical framework" (p. 264). The long tradition of empirical research into language phenomena by other disciplines such as psychology should definitely by included in this reframing.

There are not many shortcomings, and only a few typographical errors were noted. By far the biggest problem with this book is the lack of an author index. For example, Selinker credits psychologist Donald S. Boomer with "constant probing... of the fundamentals of our discipline [leading] to looking at language transfer empirically in a new way" (p. 230). However, Boomer's name does not appear in the References, at least not as a senior author, and the lack of this index makes it difficult to locate any relevant reference.

In conclusion, it should be clear that Rediscovering Interlanguage is not just a history, nor is it a typical review. In a sense this is a journey through the literature, and Selinker has assumed the role of guide, pointing out the significance of things that otherwise might go completely unnoticed. It is a good book, well written, and while "wise" is a word that is rarely used in describing contemporary scholarly writing, this is the word that comes to mind after reading it. A careful study of *Rediscovering Interlanguage* should be required of all teachers of second languages.

Reviewed by Lowell Brubaker, Nagasaki Wesleyan Junior College

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LISTENING IN LANGUAGE LEARNING. Michael Rost. New York: Longman, 1990. 278 pp.

Listening in Language Learning does not attempt to be a complete discussion of all theoretical approaches to listening and the teaching of listening in the foreign language classroom. It is a systematic introduction to the process-oriented approach to the teaching of listening. While Rost's book provides the reader with some recent theoretical thinking on the topic of listening related to the area of language teaching, the book has a strongly pragmatic orientation as well. It is a fine exercise in applying recent theoretical developments to course design and classroom practices. From the structure and organization of the book to the discussion questions at the end of each chapter, the book is clearly aimed at teacher training.

Listening in Language Learning is organized somewhat along the lines of a series of lectures in a teacher training course. The goal of the course seems to be to enable students (readers) to apply the criteria set down in the first five chapters to the classroom, to testing, and to overall language curriculum design.

The book's structure and logical organization are excellent. Rost moves the reader from a theoretical overview of listening comprehension in chapter 1 to brief discussions of a number of theoretical areas applicable to the teaching of listening in chapters 2, 3, and 4. The conclusions he reaches are then discussed in light of how they might be applied to the teaching of listening skills in the classroom, to testing and to overall curriculum design in chapters 6, 7, and 8. The application of these conclusions in the last three chapters is really the focal point of the entire work and to a great degree has determined the structure and contents of the previous chapters.

The conclusion Rost draws from the research and theoretical discussions suggests that language use is a matter of procedures—particular language skills, or more precisely, clusters of skills, are used to deal with social and psycholinguistic demands confronted in the communicative situation. Thus language teaching, especially the teaching of listening, is a matter of teaching skills as processes which aid in this communicative problem solving. Rather than focusing on the teaching of linguistic items (grammar product) or socio-cultural functions (notional-functional product), Rost proposes the focus be on the teaching of these procedures.

A particularly helpful aspect of the clear structuring is the frequent use of figures to give examples, and clarify or summarize points made in the main text: for example, Figure 4.5 (Listener Queries), Figure 7.6 (Classification of Listener Ability), and Figure 6.7 (Checklist for Planning) lis-

tening tasks. In addition, Rost's clear statements at the beginning of each chapter and his summaries at the end keep the reader focused and give a clear line of development throughout the book.

The theories and models for listening comprehension from a number of disciplines described in the first chapter give the reader a general orientation to the various perspectives from which listening can be examined. Rost points out to readers that despite the varying viewpoints and perspectives of these disciplines, a single theme and point of agreement can be discerned. This point of agreement regards all use of language, and listening comprehension in particular, as a process in which meaning is constructed through the collaborative efforts of the participants, rather than received in fixed form.

Chapter 2 discusses listening from auditory and linguistic perspectives. Traditionally, this is often where the teaching of listening comprehension began and ended. While accepting the need for the basic skills discussed here—recognition of phonemes, morphemes, stress and speech contours, and so forth—Rost makes it clear that the decoding of speech is only the beginning of listening. Perhaps the most important point here is that the learner needs to learn to attend to selected items in the target language (TL) rather than on only those signals used in the L1 or, as sometimes is the case, to any and all signals. Chapter 3 is a discussion of what interpretive processes are used by the listener to derive or even construct meaning from what is heard. Using linguistic and pragmatic cues and knowledge of the world, the listener tries to construct or give meaning to what has been heard. Chapter 4 discusses what the listener does with these inferential processes in conversational settings. Using conversational analysis, Rost presents "strategic listener responses"—effective and appropriate ways of listening—methods listeners use to get at meaning. Here he lists a number of strategies that listeners use (and language learners can learn to apply in the L2) to maximize understanding and overcome misunderstanding.

Chapter 5 discusses strategies of listening in situations in which the listener has little or no possibility of collaborating on the meaning of what was heard. From a teacher's perspective, checking listening strategies and comprehension can be difficult. Rost suggests organizing tasks for listeners along lines that not only provide feedback on the listener's level of comprehension, but also encourage effective listening strategies. These are strategies that correspond to listener performance in conversation.

Having provided the reader with an overview of listening comprehension in real speech situations, chapter

6 moves to consider these processes and strategies as they might be applied to the development of listening comprehension. Chapter 7 reviews the basics of all testing/assessment and then how they have been applied to the assessment of listening comprehension. Suggestions are made to better balance validity and reliability in the assessment of listening comprehension. In the final chapter (chapter 8), Rost discusses the place of listening in the language curriculum and the need to base the curriculum on principles of teaching the use of language to accomplish communicative ends, that is, teaching processes as opposed to specific language products. Rost proposes that listener-skill development be incorporated into course designs which encourage a process orientation, such as content-based syllabuses, theme-based syllabuses, and project-based syllabuses.

When Rost moves to apply his various conclusions to the curriculum and the development of listening comprehension skills in learners, he rejects all product oriented approaches. The focus on the teaching of clusters of skills, rather than on "specific skill outcomes" (p. 151), he feels will move teachers away from focusing on goals which are too narrow and limited. New teachers, especially, are tempted to apply all the insights they learned at university without regard to the way they are integrated in actual spoken language. Older teachers prepared in the days of the grammar-translation and even ALM approaches still focus on individual skills and assume these will all come together in the end. While language teaching in general has moved away from discrete point teaching and a narrow focus on the learning of specific language products, the teaching of listening, when it hasn't been dropped altogether, often remains limited to narrow linguistic concerns (such as phoneme discrimination and stress pattern identification), or response to very routine set patterns.

Nonetheless, from my own teaching experiences and reading, Rost's complete rejection of taxonomies and the teaching of micro-skills or discrete points goes a bit too far. There are great advantages to the teaching of discrete points, learning ritualized/routinized speech, and developing micro-skills. Rost's point is well taken —that applied linguists have begun to challenge (rightly so) the notion that the learner will be able to put these skills back together. While no teacher should assume such a thing, it does not mean that a teacher cannot or should not develop the individual skills in students and then work with students to combine these skills into more dynamic clusters of skills as we see them applied in natural speaking/listening situations. Preparing students for a task by looking at a variety

of subskills needed to complete the task and then putting the subskills back together simply makes the student conscious of the dynamics of the listening situation. Richards' 1985 taxonomy discusses this approach of examining the sub-skills of listening in some detail and then bringing them back together. Teaching micro-skills first and then bringing them back into a dynamic cluster is a means of ensuring that input remains comprehensible. The teaching of sub-skills can also serve a psychological purpose, overcoming feelings of inadequacy and developing self-confidence in the L2 listener when listening to native speakers (Dunkel, 1991, p. 441).

In my opinion, the learning of ritualized speech is a closely related issue. While ritualized patterns by no means constitute the whole of conversation, nor are they always entirely predictable, they do provide in their basic patterns models which aid the language student immensely in the process of inferring meaning. In addition, for my students anyway, learning the sub-skills and ritualized patterns does a great deal to build their confidence by providing them with successful listening experiences. Input is comprehensible at this predictable level and they feel confident to move on to try less predictable listening tasks. They are simply more willing to take further risks.

Rost's utter rejection of taxonomies of listening is particularly surprising in light of the focus on skills and processes in his own approach. The danger that teachers will misapply taxonomies by focusing solely on the micro-skills, not regarding them as parts of more dynamic clusters of skills, or as implying an order of learning is easily remedied by books such as this one. On the other hand, taxonomies are essential tools. The very terms Rost uses, "clusters of skills" and "macro-level skills," assumes that these could be broken down into smaller parts. He even calls them sub-skills (p. 151). The detailed taxonomies should, of course, be questioned and tested, but in turn can be used to question, measure, test, and build skill-clusters and other such global criteria.

Despite my differences of opinion on these points, Rost's warnings against being too narrowly focused on the sub-skills are legitimate. He is correct to move the reader away from focusing only on discrete skills and towards a melding of these sub-skills into dynamic wholes.

While the bibliography is quite good, it is not as complete as one would hope. This, of course, is partly due to the focus and scope of the discussion. Like any book that takes a particular approach, both the corroborating and the conflicting literature is limited to that which is related directly to the discussion at hand. However, given the potentially con-

troversial nature of some statements and aspects of the approach, they demand more complete notation to give the reader the opportunity to examine the specific claims more closely. In any case, and particularly as it seems this book is primarily aimed at future teachers, a more complete bibliography would enable readers to follow up on, compare, and examine in more detail the issues and arguments discussed. In addition, a bibliography at the end of each chapter related to the topic at hand would be a great aid to readers who want to examine either specific points in more detail or supporting research for the various arguments.

This book is a reasonably thorough introduction for language teachers to the area of teaching listening from a communicative point of view. But I would stress that it should be regarded as primarily an introduction to the field. It neither covers all approaches and areas of research and theory, nor does it discuss them in sufficient detail for a thorough understanding of each point or to give complete confidence in the conclusions. Even readers familiar with the research and theory will want to follow up on some of the discussion, as the presentation of some of the points is sometimes a bit cursory. In addition, as the discussion of some theoretical points is rather dense and sometimes controversial, readers will want to consult other books and recent articles.

Listening in Language Learning is not as practically oriented as Ur's (1984) or Underwood's (1989) books on teaching listening skills, but it is very well-suited to providing TESL students and teachers with guidelines to help them evaluate textbooks and listening comprehension assessment instruments, including teacher-written tests. It provides the reader with a theoretically based, communicative approach to teaching listening comprehension and integrates that into the whole language curriculum. Another strength is that it provides much needed guidance to teachers who wish to integrate listening more actively into their curriculum using a communicative approach and yet not fall back into old habits of teaching discrete points.

Reviewed by Martin U. Bauer, Kyushu Tokai University, Kumamoto

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JAPAN'S "INTERNATIONAL YOUTH": THE EMERGENCE OF A NEW CLASS OF SCHOOLCHILDREN. Roger Goodman. Clarendon: Oxford University Press, 1993. 283 pp.

In *Japan's "International Youth,"* Roger Goodman uses his study of returnee school children to explore such critical issues in Japanese education as the influences of social class on school success, the role of interest-groups in setting agendas for schools, cultural influences on educational values, and the notion of "equality" in education for minorities in Japan.

In his study of *kikokushijo* (Japanese returnee schoolchildren), Goodman re-evaluates the prevailing view that they are discriminated against in Japan. He makes it clear that this view comes not from the experiences of the children but from the fears of their parents, who joined together to lobby the Japanese government for assistance in reintegrating their children into mainstream society. The parents adapted the precepts of *Nihonjinron* theories of Japaneseness—the uniqueness of Japanese cultural traits of unity, social homogeneity, and historical continuity, as well as the rigors of the school system itself—to argue that children who accompany their working parents overseas face undue obstacles upon their return.

Other influential members of Japan's white-collar professional class—educators, psychologists, journalists—soon supported the *kikokushijos'* parents and published numerous "scientific" reports documenting the problems facing the schoolchildren. The government eventually responded with programs addressing the "special needs" of *kikokushijo:* "reception schools" with special classes, extra funds, smaller classes to ease the transition back to Japan, and simplified university entry procedures. Goodman also notes the minimum hiring quotas set by some companies for *kikokushijo.*

Goodman suggests that in fact, there never was a *kikokushijo* problem. Rather, they are now a new elite, enjoying privileged access to educational opportunities, and subsequently to positions of power in Japanese business and government. Evidence supporting this thesis ranges from Ministry of Education statistics showing above-average university admission rates among returnee students, to Goodman's own anthropological fieldwork in a private reception school in Tsukuba. The privileged status of returnees underscores the anxiety of other students who have to face examination hells. It also demonstrates the advantages of the class this group comes from, as the fortunes of the *kikokushijo* rise and those of victims of true discrimination in Japan—the Koreans, Ainu, burakumin,

and Okinawans—continue to remain significantly below average.

By situating the experience of the *kikokushijo* in a larger comparative and historical perspective, Goodman demonstrates that, even though privileged, they are not masters of their own fate. The variety of their separate experiences has been lost as they have become, instead, a symbol in the recurring Japanese debate over the problem of how to cope with the external world, with internationalization, with *kokusaika:*

> Those who perceive the *kikokushijo* as in need of "rejapanization" also support the general status quo in Japan and so-called "traditional" concepts of groupism, consensus, and homogeneity. Those who support the idea of *kikokushijo* as agents of change see them as valuable assets in emphasizing concepts of individualism, creativity, and heterogeneity in Japanese society. (p. 223)

Goodman's book brings together the best of anthropology, history, and sociology in an interdisciplinary analysis of Japan's educational system. For foreign teachers in Japan, it offers a critical review of the literature on Japanese society with a thoughtful presentation of the ways culture, class, and politics influence the educational system. It is a valuable book for those interested in Japan, Japanese students, and the Japanese school system.

Reviewed by Thomas Hardy, Tamagawa University

A Handbook for Teaching English at Japanese Colleges and Universities. Paul Wadden, Ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993. 254 pp.

Teaching in Japan brings its own problems. Teaching at the college or university level in Japan adds others. *A Handbook for Teaching English at Japanese Colleges and Universities* sets out to prepare the neophyte teacher for the realities of the Japanese college, while providing information that may be of use to those already in Japan. The audience for this text, therefore, can be divided into three groups: teachers totally unfamiliar with teaching in Japan at any level (i.e., those living outside of Japan), teachers currently in Japan interested in obtaining either part- or full-time college or university positions, and those currently employed at a college or university seeking confirmation for their observations.

For the experienced teacher at a college or university in Japan, there is little that is new or surprising. They should be advised that the articles in Part II (The Courses) and Part III (The Classroom) may not provide a lot of new information. The basic information about how to organize a writing class, teach listening, or evaluate students has been more thoroughly covered elsewhere. Of more interest to experienced teachers are the articles in Part IV (The Workplace) and Part I (The Setting).

Part IV provides an accurate picture of university and college teaching that makes it, in many ways, the logical place to begin. The overview of English teaching, and the advice offered by the three articles, is competent and complete. In chapter 14, "Politics and Human Relations in the Japanese University," Wordell accurately portrays personal relationships and the expectations foreigners encounter while teaching in Japan. This article should be read by anyone even contemplating a career in Japan. The advice may seem obvious. Suggestions for staying informed, learning to deal with the inevitable red-tape, holding feelings in check, cultivating personal relationships, and developing cross-cultural understanding have been made before, but they bear repeating.

In the following article, "The Chrysanthemum Maze: Your Japanese Colleagues," Kelly and Adachi provide advice for understanding and coping with the group structure the foreign teacher is thrust into. The hypothetical situation of the foreign teacher "Ben" discussed in the article provides insights that could help prevent similar cultural misunderstandings. The final article, "The Hidden Role of the University," by Kelly, takes an anthropological look at the universities' role in promoting

Japanese "group oriented" society, and makes suggestions for adjusting expectations that may help any teacher succeed at Japanese schools.

The articles in Part I (The Setting) provide informative, accurate advice for teaching in Japan. Chenoweth and Pearson clear up more than one misconception about teaching in Japan in "Launching a Career at a Japanese University." The salary is adequate, but not "incredibly lucrative" (p. 3), the work load is not always "light" (p. 4). As the authors state, "Reasons for coming here are numerous, but teachers with those other than financial gain are the most likely to be happy" (p. 4). The authors follow these warnings with advice that should help teachers move into the university system, first at the part-time, then at the full-time level.

In chapter 2, "Making a Career of University Teaching in Japan," Evanoff clarifies the difference between part-time and full-time positions, the responsibilities of both, and advice for furthering a career in Japan. However, the best advice he gives should be viewed as advice for a rewarding life, not just a satisfying teaching experience: "The key to a rewarding teaching career is to be a creative and active participant in one's environment" (p. 24).

The middle sections of this handbook, Part II (The Courses) and Part III (The Classroom), provide a quick review of an EFL methods course with a focus on Japan. All the articles are informative, but limited. Those seeking an in-depth analysis of specific course types would do well to search elsewhere. The five chapters in Part II give guidelines and examples for teaching courses in English conversation, listening, reading, writing, and literature with specific advice for the new teacher. However, the methodological overview presented in the articles is shallow. Anyone teaching a similar course, or preparing to teach one, should seek more informative sources.

Of more use are the articles in Part III. Advice for harnessing classroom energy and working with, rather than against, the natural tendencies of Japanese students from Anderson, chapter 9, could benefit most teachers. Chapter 10, revised by the authors Wadden and McGovern from articles that originally appeared in *The Language Teacher* and *English Language Teaching Journal*, discusses how to wake sleeping students, but more importantly how to prevent unacceptable behavior from occurring. The aptly titled "Homework: How to Get Students to Do it," by Robb, reprinted from *The Language Teacher*, is worth reading by any teacher who has felt the frustration of late or undone homework. Various methods for evaluation are presented in chapter 12. In chapter 13, Day introduces teacher self-evaluation and suggests ways to institute this useful

process. As with Part II, the articles here provide only an introduction to these crucial aspects of teaching.

The final section, Part V (Resources), lists alphabetically addresses and phone numbers of colleges and universities by region, as well as professional organizations for teachers. However, the school lists should be used carefully. The administration may not welcome unsolicited calls; many colleges and universities do not have English departments; some places prefer to hire part-time instructors; and others rely solely on personal referrals. The cautious would-be college or university teacher would do well to find out about any school they are interested in before seeking a job. In addition, information provided should be checked. One listed school changed its name in early 1992, and other changes may also have occurred. Finally, universities and colleges with main campuses in other countries are not listed, but they employ a number of teachers for EFL programs.

In all, *A Handbook for Teaching* compares favorably with similar texts. The closest to it in scope is the recently published *Teach English in Japan* (Wordell & Gorsuch, 1992) which covers a wide range of teaching situations, from children through adult corporate classes, but does not go into depth regarding teaching at the college/university level. The perennially popular *Jobs in Japan* (Wharton, 1988), now in its third edition, provides more information about living in Japan but focuses on would-be English teachers and jobs at private language schools. Another source of information is *The Job Hunter's Guide to Japan* (Brockman, 1990). These three books provide information that could be helpful in starting a satisfying life and job in Japan. However, they do not go into such detail regarding college and university teaching positions.

Overall, this pick-and-choose handbook provides information that may be of use to any teacher. Fanselow says in the Foreword, "The authors of this Handbook . . . do not claim that what they say represents 'the' truth but rather 'a' truth as they currently perceive it" (p. xi). If this is kept in mind, the neophyte or the experienced teacher can find information, observations and opinions that clarify teaching at the college or university level in Japan.

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KODANSHA'S COMPACT KANJI GUIDE: A NEW CHARACTER DICTIONARY FOR STUDENTS AND PROFESSIONALS.

Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1991.

In the last decade, there has been a rapid growth in research on how dictionaries are used and can be made more useful, especially for the learner of English (Burton & Burton, 1988; Cowie, 1987; Hartmann, 1983, 1984; Ilson, 1987; James, 1989). In contrast, there has been little investigation into reference tools such as kanji dictionaries intended for the non-native learner. This review examines a text aimed at English-speaking students of Japanese kanji, *Kodansha's Compact Kanji Guide*, with the overall goal of trying to be more explicit about which design features make a good kanji dictionary.

The Good Points

The *Kodansha* has an attractive layout. The printing is crisp and clear, and there is sufficient white space left on each page to give an open feeling that seems to invite browsing. The work is confined to the 1,945 most commonly used characters (the *jouyou* kanji), and this is a considerable paring away from the 5,446 kanji headwords of the dated but standard kanji dictionary in the field, Nelson's *The Modern Reader's Japanese-English Character Dictionary* (1974). The *Kodansha's* reduction of kanji seems to be effective, however, and users will seldom search for a kanji and not (eventually) find it. One very nice feature of the dictionary is that with each kanji headword there is a stroke-order (*kakijun*) chart, a blessing for learners and a feature that ought to appear in all kanji dictionaries. After each headword, the simple form of the word is given in its *on* reading (its Chinese pronunciation), followed by "frequently appearing" *on* reading compounds. Then the *kun* reading (the native Japanese pronunciation) and *kun* reading compounds are listed. For example, after the character for "person," we first get the *on* reading *jin/nin* followed by 79 *on* reading compounds, and only then the *kun* reading *hito* plus 17 *kun* reading compounds. Verbs and other parts of speech are given separately after the noun uses of characters.

The front matter of the dictionary contains a brief but sensible introduction to Chinese characters and a "User's Manual." At the back, there are three useful indexes for looking up kanji: (a) a 15-page "Radical Index" listing all of the characters associated with each radical; (b) a 40-page listing of kanji by *on* and *kun* readings; and (c) an eight-page list of kanji by the number of strokes. Inside the back cover is a radical chart.

The Bad Points

There are several problems with the way the editors have chosen to

present information in the *Kodansha*. Some of these are merely irritating, but some are serious weaknesses in the dictionary's design. Let's begin with a minor point.

Using *Gojuuon-jun*. Many users will be unhappy with the fact that the main *on/kun* index is organized not by the alphabetic order of Western writing systems but according to the *gojuuon-jun* order of traditional Japanese syllabaries (i.e., *a, i, u, e, o, ka, ki, ku, ke, ko*, and so on). Using the less-known *gojuuon-jun* rather than the familiar alphabetic order will slow most users down. Anything that hinders ready access to information is a bad design feature.

Using the Indexes. Probably the greatest problem students have using *any* kanji dictionary is the difficulty of working out which element in a complex character is going to be the one the character is actually classified under. A learner can spend hours trying to track down a single "misclassified" character. Thus it is a relief to see some cross-referencing of kanji to different potential radicals in the *Kodansha's* Radical Index. For instance, the character for "same/similar," *onaji/dou*, is listed both under the enclosure *dougamae*, "upside-down box" (which is where the *Nelson* places it) and under *kuchi*, "mouth" (which is the traditional classifying radical). Such cross-referencing is an excellent design feature, but the *Kodansha* does only a fraction of what ought to be done. Every possible element which a student might take to be the character's radical should be listed in the index.

Separating *on* and *kun* readings. Actually the problem of searching through lists for a kanji is much more difficult. After the *Kodansha* gives the sets of *on* reading compounds and *kun* reading compounds, it gives a third set. This group is made up of "some 2,000 kanji compounds of immediate use to the business person studying Japanese" (p. ix). Sometimes these "business" compounds do have something to do with business concerns, as in *jin'isouba*, "artificial price," or *jin'inseiri*, "personnel cut." But often the compound is simply an ordinary word stuck in the business list; for example, one wonders what it is about *kakikae*, "rewriting," *kishu*, "beginning of a period," and so on that makes them of special use to entrepreneurs. Perhaps it would be overmuch to denounce *Kodansha's* editors for crassly pandering to a special market by devising a fake category of "business vocabulary." Nevertheless, the editors are certainly guilty of introducing an unwanted and unnecessary complication (a third set of compounds) into the reader's already too-difficult task of finding a compound.

***Gojuuon-jun* Again.** There is yet more to digging out compounds in the *Kodansha*. Users of the *Nelson* are accustomed to finding the compounds

arranged by stroke order, moving from the characters with the fewest strokes to the most complex. The *Kodansha*, in contrast, arranges compounds based on the *a, i, u, e, o* order of the *gojuuon-jun*. This means that users who do not know the pronunciation of the compound before they look in the dictionary may well have to read every single kanji compound in three separate lists trying to find out where the *Kodansha* has "hidden" the one they are looking for. This use of *gojuuon-jun* is extremely irritating but is still not the work's worst design feature.

Multiplying Radicals. Traditional taxonomies placed Chinese characters under one of 214 radicals, and I have already noted the difficulty of determining just which element of a complex character is actually the radical. The *Nelson* simplified the classification system by combining look-alike radicals. For example, it unites all the characters traditionally listed under the radical for *nichi/hi*, "day/sun" with those from the look-alike radical *iwaku/hirabi*, "flat sun." This is beneficial since users don't have to search through two separate lists to see where a particular kanji is located. The *Kodansha*, on the other hand, inexplicably decides to complicate matters by actually increasing the number of separate radicals used to classify characters. For instance, the characters under the radical *nichi/hi*, "sun," start on page 436, but then start again on page 444 (for characters in which the radical appears on the left), and then continue on from page 450 with characters classified under the identical-looking "flat sun" radical. There is of course no way that a learner can know ahead of time under which of these three separate sections a particular kanji is going to be buried. And of course there is no principle that a learner can use to predict when the *Kodansha* has chosen to subdivide a radical's compound and when not. For all intents and purposes, the classification system is random.

Portability. Users will often be very frustrated when, after jumping over all the hurdles the editors have put in the way, it turns out that the compound that they are interested in is not even recorded in the dictionary. The Publisher's Note in the *Kodansha* says that the work strives, above all else, to be "portable and handy" (p. ix). In this, it has succeeded too well. Picking fifty-odd kanji from three memos that appeared in my mailbox at school, I could find only 70% in the *Kodansha* (compared with nearly 95% in the *Nelson*). Lexicographer Sydney Landau has said that some works are "so slight in coverage as to be practically fraudulent for bearing the word *dictionary*" (1984, p. 19). I think a similar size-threshold exists for a kanji dictionary. People look up kanji compounds which they do not know. If they can't find the compound they are

looking for a third of the time, they will begin to wonder if it was worth opening the work up in the first place, no matter how "portable and handy" it may be.

Conclusion

In the field of kanji dictionaries, the *Kodansha* is a step backwards. It "corrects" useful improvements which the *Nelson* had introduced into the market. It is a user-*un*friendly work. Despite an attractive physical appearance, the information contained in the dictionary is made very difficult to access and, in any case, its very compactness counts against it. Kanji dictionaries should be designed with the readers' ease of use in mind, and in this light the *Kodansha* does not look very appealing.

Reviewed by Bruce W. Horton, Kanda University of International Studies

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THE KENKYUSHA DICTIONARIES: 50 Years of Shortchanging the Japanese.

Fifty years ago, "Made in Japan" meant cheap or shoddy. But nowadays, as everyone who has acquired a Japanese automobile, computer, or television knows, it means high quality. Goods manufactured in Japan have practically taken over the world market in many areas. But one would have thought that in a cultural area such as English dictionaries, the Japanese would never be able to beat the Americans and the British. Recently I received a gift copy of *Kenkyusha's Lighthouse English-Japanese Dictionary* (1990). I am so impressed by the new and innovative features it has brought to English lexicography that I am beginning to think that, a few years from now, the most popular English dictionaries sold in New York and London might carry the label "Made in Japan." Initially, of course, the label would have to be hidden in the woodwork to prevent people collapsing in the streets from shock.

Design and production features are the first things to strike one about the *Lighthouse Dictionary*. I have seen only Bibles produced with such care and beauty in the Western world. The special features of the dictionary's content are also noteworthy. In a little over 1,700 pages in the "mass-market" or "rack" size, the *Lighthouse* packs about 50,000 "vocabulary entries" in the North American sense of the term. Judging by the English alone, it treats these entries much better than does any of the North American mass-market paperbacks that have up to 75,000 entries in around 1,000 pages.

The headwords are graded for frequency of occurrence in the language using a star system; the number of asterisks given to an entry shows its relative frequency. Thus, words like *a, able, about, above,* and *abroad* get a four-star rating and are printed in larger than regular type. Words like *absent, accept, account,* and *achieve* are marked with three stars and printed in the same size of type as the four-star words. Words like *ability, able, absence,* and *absolute* carry two stars. *Abandon, aboard, abolish, abrupt, absolutely,* and *absorb* get one star each. Words of lesser frequency (*aback, abacus, abandon, abandoned, abandonment, abase, abasement,* etc.) are left unmarked.

In regard to treatment of pronunciations, definitions, idioms and phrases, grammar and syntax, usage notes, and so forth, the *Lighthouse* can easily match the best of the genre such as the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* and the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*. But alas, this is where our praise of this Kenkyusha dictionary must stop.

Illustrative material is the most important part of a dictionary's content, more important even than the definitions. It is the only part of the dictionary that reflects the language as actually used in daily life. Since it carries the pulse of the language, illustrative material may be said to give a dictionary life. The more idiomatic a dictionary's illustrative phrases and sentences, the better its character and quality. In this respect, unfortunately, Kenkyusha lexicography leaves much to be desired.

As you browse through the dictionary, every now and then, at the rate of two or three per page, you hit sentences that sound unnatural if not un-English or ungrammatical. Take, for example, "I have [feel] an *affinity for [to]* dogs." Any English-speaking child would say "I like [love] dogs." The sentence would have meant something if it were a cat talking or if some learned Dr. Fido had said after a couple of drinks: "Suddenly I have [feel] an affinity for [to] cats." On another page, the *Lighthouse* says, "Bring it up to 1 liter with the *addition* of water." But our child, whether playing with her chemistry set or pretending to be a lab technician, would say, "Bring it up to 1 liter by adding water," or something more colloquial. Again, the *Lighthouse* says, "*After* he has run so long, he must be thirsty." An English-speaking child would say, "After running so long, he must be thirsty," or something simpler. By now, our child would have put down the book at page 28 and run to the kitchen to quench her thirst for good English. Sorry if I sound satirical.

If the child's mother happens to pick up the book, she would spot sentences like "My mother *assented* [agreed?] that it was a fine day, but would not *consent* to go for a walk [Is this English?]," "We were walking two hundred meters *in advance* [ahead of the others?]," "Please go *in advance* [ahead?]," "Mary *aided* [helped?] Helen *to* dress," "Henry *aims at being* [becoming? aims to be?] a great scholar."

My own reference database is a conglomerate of texts ranging from the Elizabethan Age (King James Bible, Shakespeare, etc.) to last year's entire output of a daily newspaper. But my favourite is a collection of hundreds of American periodicals (including a few British and Canadian ones) published in 1989 and 1990. This alone can generate about 10 million citations. When I check this part of the database for the phrase *in advance*, I find 440 occurrences. A check of the first 44 tells me *in advance* is used only in reference to time, in the sense "ahead of time," not in reference to space, in the sense "in front." The latter usage has become obsolete. To verify this, I check another portion of the database containing nineteenth-century authors. Yes, writers such as Nathaniel

Hawthorne, Herman Melville, and Walt Whitman have used *in advance* meaning "in front," as in the latter's *Leaves of Grass*: "Where the monks walk in advance, bearing the cross on high."

Kenkyusha might plead that the new *Lighthouse* has been blessed by two international scholars, one of them a great American linguist and the other a lexicographer from University College, London. But I wonder. If you judge a product by what it is rather than who may have "consulted" on it (as Dwight Bolinger says) or "worked" on it (Robert Ilson), I think the second edition of the *Kenkyusha* is only slightly better than the first. One working lexicographer equipped with state-of-the-art tools of the trade would have been better than two academics, however distinguished they might be.

What I have said above is true not only of the *Lighthouse English-Japanese Dictionary*, but also the larger *Kenkyusha*, namely, the good old *New Dictionary of English Collocations* by Senkichiro Katsumata, first published 50 years ago. At the 1991 biennial meeting of the Dictionary Society of North America, a professor of the University of Pennsylvania regaled the audience for half an hour with readings from the *Kenkyusha Dictionary of English Collocations*; it is so full of funny English. Open the book anywhere at random. Take the first sentence on page eight, for example: "They accorded against Germany." Now, is that any way to use the word *accord*? Or take a sentence from the middle of the dictionary, on page 740: "make a living by the sweat of one's brain instead of the sweat of one's brow." A strange way to be innovative with an idiomatic usage.

Towards the end of the book, on page 1496, I read: "As a youth he studied law at the University of Prusbury, but not practiced his profession." Forget about the university which may be a figment of the imagination for all we care, but the grammar of the sentence is also quite unreal. The second part should have read ". . . but did not practice his profession." Here are more examples of bad English that someone else has culled from Katsumata's dictionary: "[To] make an answer to a question; the cat approaches to the tiger; the baboons busted the fastenings of their cages; mother, may I go in the films; don't play the mischief with the cards I have arranged; they acted their wanton pranks with undoubted licentiousness; to take out one's modest reflection from a newspaper package" (Benson, 1989). *Kenkyusha's New Dictionary of English Collocations*, which was compiled in an age when "made in Japan" meant cheap and shoddy, is shot through with grammatical and idiomatic errors of the above kind.

On the organizational side, how-

ever, Professor Katsumata's dictionary is among the best. It is even better in this respect than *The BBI Combinatory Dictionary of English* edited by distinguished Western lexicographers (Benson, Benson, & Ilson, 1986). Katsumata's entries are based on a ninefold distinction corresponding to the nine parts of speech, which is more appropriate for a language dictionary than the highly academic grammatical and philosophical distinctions on which the BBI entries are based, distinctions that are of dubious value to a dictionary user. Unfortunately, however, good organization is all there is to the Kenkyusha collocational dictionary.

The dictionary starts off with the entry *abacus*. But a more useful opening entry for collocational purposes is *aback*. Besides its use as in "I was taken aback," there are many other structures that a user of English, whether native or foreigner, would do well to learn. The Katsumata dictionary ends with the entry *zoom* and records *zoom down (up)* as the only collocation worth including. But how about the following: *zoom ahead, zoom by, down, in on, toward (something)*, and "The interest rate has *zoomed* from 5 to 25 percent in one month." There are also modifier uses as in *zoom feature, function, lens, mode, range, telescope*, and the interjection as in "Zoom! She was an instant celebrity."

The weaknesses of both the BBI and the Katsumata dictionary spring from their not having had the benefit of a corpus of well-edited English texts from which to draw their illustrative material. However, whereas the BBI is as good as any other dictionary published in the English-speaking world in regard to errors and omissions, the Kenkyusha dictionary is simply abysmal. Western experts in lexicography, such as the BBI editors, may be able to get by with examples conjured up by the so-called native speaker whom the BBI editors invoke in several places in their book (pp. vii, ix, xvii). Kenkyusha has tried to do the same in compiling the *Lighthouse* dictionary. But the native speaker is not quite omniscient. As the BBI itself says, "Even the native speaker may need at times to refer to a list of CA collocations. Many may not know which verbs collocate with such nouns as the following . . ." (p. xxv).

Let us now get back to *aback* to see how, instead of the native speaker, a good database could help a lexicographer gather illustrative material that reflects current idiomatic English. When I make a global search of my databases and draw up a concordance of *aback* for quick study on the video display, I get a total of about 450 citations, from medieval times when the word meant "backward" to last year's daily newspaper. Of the 450 citations, about 170 illustrate "taken aback *by* something." Next comes the

absolute construction of *taken aback*, as in "She was taken aback," with about 100 citations. Next in frequency is *taken aback* followed by a *when*-clause, with 70 citations. About 25 occur as a phrase that some grammarians call a circumstantial adjunct, as in "Taken aback, I stared at him." Next in frequency is the usage in the active voice, as in "The reaction of the people took the government aback," with about 20 citations. "Taken aback *at* something" and "taken aback *at how* something happened" come next, with 15 citations. The infinitive construction "taken aback *to*" is next, also with 15 citations, "taken aback" followed by a *that*-clause has five citations, and that is about it. The rest are a sprinkling of "taken aback *after*," "taken aback *in*," and so forth, which I would discard as unusual constructions. The most common modifiers of *taken aback* are *a bit, a little, quite, so, slightly, completely, momentarily,* and *visibly*, in that order.

This gives me a good picture of the usages of *aback* and their relative frequencies. What I have got may be the complete inventory of *aback* in modern English. Such examples will help the dictionary user avoid hypothetical structures like "Next time, please don't take me aback." When a complete inventory of usages is given for a dictionary entry such as *taken aback*, an abstract or synonymous definition such as "startled" seems almost superfluous. But abstract definitions are about all that you get in the average English dictionary, especially those published in the West. The BBI, however, has given importance to language as it is actually used.

A newly conceived alternative to abstract definitions is an academic lecture (or "teacher talk") like the following from *Collins COBUILD English Language Dictionary* (Sinclair, 1987). Here is what COBUILD has to say about *taken aback:* "If you are taken aback, you are so surprised or shocked that you have to pause for a moment and cannot think or do anything: e.g., *I was momentarily taken aback . . . Jenny was taken aback by some of the portraits.*" I wonder how much help this is to learners trying to use (or "encode") *aback* in sentences of their own (for a discussion of the weaknesses of traditional lexicography in this regard, see Paikeday, 1992).

I believe that a state-of-the-art dictionary should be on a CD-ROM disk containing a database of well-edited English illustrating every grammatical structure and collocational and idiomatic phrase. It should be accessed using a concordance function (for a dictionary accessible by concordance, see Paikeday, 1990). Pronunciations shouldn't have to be deciphered using IPA or another abstract system of diacritical marks; they should be au-

dible. Abstract definitions should be reduced to a minimum or replaced with generic words, such as "startled" for *taken aback*. The illustrative material would form an ecosystem or linguistic environment from which the dictionary user could learn the language like a Japanese child picking it up in an English-speaking country.

The Kenkyusha dictionary of collocations is a well-intentioned work, but it has only compounded the problem of learning English in a non-English-speaking environment by its plethora of artificially generated sentences that are out of touch with reality. Even 50 years ago, this dictionary must have seemed a bit "spaced-out." Now it is clearly a backward-looking dictionary.

In an English-speaking country, a lexicographer of English has the advantage of being in touch with the language as it is used in daily life. But having a database of current English at one's fingertips is an extremely useful aid to lexicographers, regardless of where they live. Objective evidence combined with the expertise to judge between the real and the artificial is better than inspiration based on claims of native-speakership.

The other side of the coin is that English lexicographers in English-speaking countries can spot errors of idiom and grammar more easily than those in a non-English-speaking environment; hence all that laughter at the 1991 convention of the Dictionary Society of North America. That is why I think no publisher in an English-speaking country would have put out a dictionary like the *Kenkyusha Dictionary of Collocations* in the first place, let alone foisted it (even if unknowingly) on an unsuspecting public for over 50 years.

Reviewed by Thomas M. Paikeday, Lexicographer of American and Canadian English Dictionaries.

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JALT JOURNAL　第15巻　第2号

平成5年10月25日　印刷
平成5年11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
TEL (03) 3802－7121
FAX (03) 3802－7122
印刷所　株式会社　厚　進　社
〒530　大阪市北区天満2丁目13－3
TEL (06) 351－8795