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JALT
JOURNAL
教育学会

November 1995

Volume 17 • No. 2

Japan Association for Language Teaching

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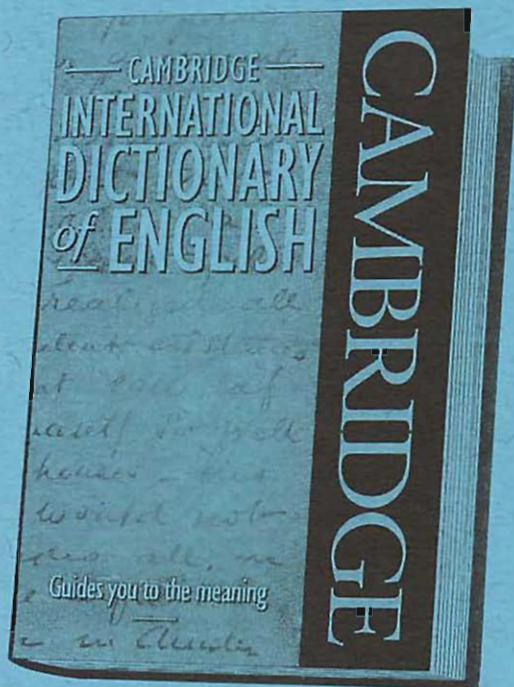
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Volume 17, No. 2
November, 1995

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In this issue

ARTICLES

The relationship between target language proficiency and the syntactic form and content of definitions produced by the subjects are the focus of a study by Machiko Achiba. Examination of the data revealed that the frequency of the definition form used varied with proficiency level. Although learners had the lexical knowledge to give definitions, the data suggest they lacked necessary knowledge of linguistic forms.

Think-aloud protocols are used in two studies in this issue, one of Japanese EFL readers and the other of JSL writers. Hideo Horibe examined university students' reading strategy use through data collected following think-aloud protocols. The data indicate that learners use a range of reading strategies, but that bottom-up strategies predominate. In the other study, written in Japanese, Takao Kinugawa videotaped two overseas graduate students at a Japanese university during writing exercises following think-aloud protocols. The data suggest that the ineffective and effective writer differed in their approach to planning and in their editing behavior while composing.

Graham Law examines three non-communicative motives for English language education in Japan. He also addresses the implications these are likely to have on current communicative reforms and gives specific suggestions for those involved in this process. A historical rationale for English language education in Japan is examined.

The neglect of translation as a language teaching tool is examined by Kiwamu Izumi, who suggests that it be used as a tool for "semanticizing" language and making input comprehensible. Potential uses of translation within communicative language education are advanced.

The use of postposing during a conversation by Japanese speakers and the introduction of new information are examined by Kazuko Matsumoto. The data lead her to propose that postposing behavior in Japanese is limited by two constraints, termed here the "one-new-entity-per-unit" constraint and the "no-more-than-three given entities per unit" constraint.

POINT-TO-POINT

A reaction from Barry O'Sullivan to the article on English language entrance exams at Japanese universities (*JALT Journal* 17[1], pp. 7-30) and a response from the authors, James Dean Brown and Sayoko Okada Yamashita, further contribute to the discussion and debate surrounding this issue.

RESEARCH FORUM

Two studies are included. The first, by **Yuichi Todaka**, examines voice quality differences in bilingual English/Japanese speakers and gives suggestions for teaching English pronunciation in Japan. The second, by **Stephen A. Templin**, discusses the use of goal-setting exercises with Japanese ESL learners to raise self-confidence.

PERSPECTIVES

Communication styles of Japanese and English speakers are discussed by **Roger Davies**, who then suggests activities for establishing a three-part conversation framework comfortable to Japanese learners.

REVIEWS

Descriptions and evaluations of four current publications appear, with Reviews from **Mark A. Liegel**, **Jaqueline D. Beebe**, **Patrick Rosenkjar**, and **William Thomas Hill**. They include analyses of books on the cultural politics of English, the language of gender, genre analysis, and learning to read.



From the Editors

The *JALT Journal* welcomes **Akito Ozaki**, **Tadashi Sakamoto** and **Satoshi Toki** to the Editorial Advisory Board as Japanese-language manuscript readers.

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Articles

Word Definition and Language Proficiency

Machiko Achiba

Tokyo Woman's Christian University

This study investigates, on the basis of a taxonomy of definitions subjects produced, the relationship between target language proficiency level and both the syntactic form and the content of these definitions. A questionnaire consisting of 11 concrete English nouns was administered to four groups of 10 subjects each: three groups of Japanese university students at low, intermediate and advanced levels of English, and a group of adult native speakers of English. The subjects defined the words in English. Examination of syntactic forms revealed that the frequency of the forms used varied according to proficiency level. However, the content of the definitions did not show significant difference at any level. The results suggest that these learners of English have the lexical knowledge to give information on the definiendum (i.e., the term to be defined), but lack sufficient linguistic knowledge about forms for effective expression, although advanced learners showed greater control. Implications of the results for English language learning are drawn.

本稿は、日本の大学生を被験者とし、語の定義能力と言語（英語）習熟度の関係を調査、分析したものである。英語の習熟度によって、被験者をそれぞれ10人ずつ三つのグループにわけ、11の具体名詞を英語で定義させるテストをした。英語の母語話者10人にも同じ語の定義をしてもらった。

得られたデータを、文法形式と内容（定義されるものの特徴）について分析し、文法形式を4つの範疇に、内容を18の範疇に分類した。結果は、以下のように要約できる。

定義の内容は、各レベル間で大差はなかった。しかし文法形式の分布は、レベルによって異なった。英語の習熟度の低いグループと中レベルのグループでは大差はなかったが、この二つのグループと習熟度の高いグループとの間には著しい差が見られた。

さらに、レベルの高いグループと母語話者の間にも差が見られた。

この結果は、これらの英語学習者が定義されるものの特徴を表わす語彙の知識はあるが、それをより効果的に表現する文法形式についての十分な知識を欠いていることを示唆している。最後に、語の定義に関する指導についても言及する。

Many studies have recently been carried out on word definition. The focus of these studies, however, has been on how words are defined by children (c.f. Litowitz, 1977; Watson, 1985; Benelli, 1988; Markowitz & Franz, 1988). Although some studies (Benelli, Arcuri & Marchesini, 1988, McGhee-Bidlack, 1991; Wehren, DeLisi & Arnold, 1981) include adults in their data, the focus is still on the development of children's ability to make definitions in their first language. Litowitz (1977) analyzed children's responses according to definitional form, classifying them into five levels. Her results showed that children use more complicated, adult-like definitional forms with increasing age. Wehren, DeLisi & Arnold (1981) focused on the content of definitions produced by children and adults. They found that with increasing age there was a shift from definitions which had functional information to definitions which were a combination of descriptive and functional information.

Except for Snow and her colleagues (Snow, 1987, 1990; Snow, Cancini, Gonzalez & Shriberg, 1989), few investigators have looked at the ability to define words in both first and second languages. Snow, et al. found that school literacy is strongly related to performance in the making of formal definitions and that students perform definitional tasks as well in the L2 as in the L1. These findings about the ability of school children to define words in the L2 throw light on how adults make definitions in the L2.

Few studies (Flowerdew 1991, 1992a, 1992b) to date have explored in detail adult definitional skills in the L2. Flowerdew's studies were based on spoken definitions drawn from science lectures by native English-speaking lecturers given to non-native English-speaking students. Flowerdew (1992b) is of interest to the present study. The focus of his study was on the forms as well as the functions that definitions fulfill in a lecture.

The present study is based on written definitions, and focuses on how adults produce definitions in a foreign language. The purpose of this study is to identify the types of definitions learners produce, and to investigate the relationship between the learners' proficiency level in the target language and the form and content of the definitions they give. Specifically, three research questions are asked:

1. What types of definitions do learners produce?
2. Does the form of definitions used by learners vary according to their target language proficiency level?

3. Does the content of definitions given by learners vary according to their target language proficiency level?

The main concern of this paper is questions 2 and 3, but question 1 is an essential ground-clearing preliminary.

Method

Subjects: There were four groups each consisting of 10 subjects: three groups of Japanese EFL students at low (Low), intermediate (Int.) and advanced (Adv.) levels of proficiency in English, and a group of native speakers (NS) of English as the comparison group. Subjects in the learner groups were students at a women's university in Japan. The average age of the learner groups was 20. The English proficiency level of the learners was measured by the CELT (*A Comprehensive English Language Test for Learners of English*). The test was administered to 104 students, and the top 10 students (CELT scores 239-268), the middle 10 students (CELT scores 196-204) and the bottom 10 students (CELT scores 123-175) were chosen to represent their levels.

The native speaker subjects were randomly chosen from students in the graduate program of a university in Japan. This group contained both females and males, with an average age of 37.

Materials: A questionnaire consisting of 15 concrete nouns was constructed in English on the basis of the vocabulary portion of the *Japanese Standard Edition of Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children—Revised* (Kodama, Shinagawa & Motegi, 1978) and the vocabulary portion of the *Gengo Hattatsu Shindan Kensa* (Kawai, 1979), a diagnostic test for language development. The English words used were the basic translational equivalents of the Japanese words. Three criteria were used in the selection of the words: (a) they were in all likelihood familiar to all students; (b) each had only one referent; and (c) they had sufficiently clear characteristics to present no obstacle to definition. Subjects were asked to write definitions for these words. Four English items whose meanings were unknown to all the learners were excluded from the investigation, leaving the following 11 concrete nouns:

watermelon	bicycle	potato	chicken	tulip
clock	kangaroo	umbrella	cow	

Procedure: The questionnaire was administered during a regularly scheduled class period. Subjects were instructed to define the above words in

English. Dictionaries were not allowed. The majority required the full hour allotted to complete the task. The questionnaire was sent out to 60 native speakers of English. Of 30 questionnaires returned, 10 were randomly chosen for analysis.

Results and Discussion

Taxonomy of Definitions

The total number of English definitional responses given by the three learner groups and the native speaker group was 440, each group producing 110. First, the responses were looked at in order to identify the forms of definitions that had been produced. They were classified into four categories as follows: (1) categorical definitions, (2) specified categorical definitions, (3) specified generic definitions, and (4) non-conventional definitions. Second, all the definitions produced were classified according to their content. Content refers to the differentiating characteristics that are the attributes of the definiendum (i.e., term to be defined). All definitions in the present corpus fit into one or more of the following five categories: (1) description, (2) function, (3) relation, (4) exemplification, and (5) association. The taxonomy was developed, drawing on the typology shown in the literature (Wehren, De Lisi & Arnold, 1981; Benelli, Arcuri & Marchesini, 1988; Flowerdew, 1992b) and was adapted to fit the present data.

I coded all the subjects' responses once, and after two weeks I coded them again. The percentage of intra-coder agreement was 95. All the examples in the following taxonomy are direct quotations from the subjects' responses.

Classification According to Form

1. Categorical definitions: Presence of superordinates only.

piano	"a musical instrument." (NS)
potato	"It is a vegetable." (Int.)

2. Specified categorical definitions: The superordinate followed by specifications of some sort. These specifications may be relative clauses (restrictive or non-restrictive), reduced relative clauses, or prepositional phrases.

bicycle	"A kind of vehicle which has two wheels and pedals." (Adv.)
kangaroo	"A marsupial unique to Australia." (NS)
piano	"A large musical instrument with many black and white keys." (Adv.)

3. Specified generic definitions: Generic terms such as "something," "a thing," or "an object" instead of the specific superordinate, followed by one or more specifications of some sort. These may be relative clauses (restrictive or non-restrictive), reduced relative clauses, or prepositional phrases.

hat	"Something people wear on their heads" (Int.)
piano	"A thing which makes sound and music to touch it." (Low)

4. Non-conventional definitions: Lack of superordinates.

watermelon	"You can eat it most in summer. It looks like a basket ball colored green and black. It is red and has many seeds inside." (Adv.)
------------	---

Classification According to Content

1. Description: Reference to the properties of objects (e.g., visual, tactile, and taste), means of operation, or geographical distribution.

watermelon	"It has green and black stripes outside but inside is red. It tastes sweet but has many seeds." (Int.)
bicycle	". . . you pedal to make it move." (Int.)
kangaroo	"You can see this animal in Australia" (Adv.)

2. Function: Reference to the functional properties of objects.

umbrella	"You use it for preventing yourself from getting wet when it rains." (Adv.)
clock	"an instrument that tells you time." (Adv.)

3. Relation: Use of an analogy or comparison.

tulip	". . . The shape of flower is like a wine glass." (Adv.)
bicycle	". . . To ride a bicycle is faster than to walk." (Low)

4. Exemplification: Use of examples.

potato	". . . When we eat it, we cook into, for example, fried-potato, boiled-potato and so on." (Low)
--------	---

5. Association: Reference to indirect associations with stimulus words, which may be culture-bound; conventional or personal comments, etc.

watermelon	". . . we used to eat it at Fourth of July picnics." (NS)
kangaroo	". . . Very interesting animal." (Low)

Form of Definitions

Conventional Syntactic Form: Definitions have a conventional syntactic form. In making a definition the following are given: the term to be defined (definiendum), the class to which the term belongs (superordinate), and the distinguishing characteristics that make the

definiendum different from other members of its class. Characteristics are often stated in a relative clause. Thus the conventional English syntactic form of a definition may be stated as follows:

An X is a Y which / that is/ has Z (characteristics)

Bierwisch & Kiefer (1969) point out that a definition may take a variety of forms, and Flowerdew (1991) demonstrates that a definition "can be subject to modification" (p. 253). However, both of them agree that the conventional form described above is the most typical form. Most researchers agree on this conventional definitional form (e.g., Litowitz, 1977; Watson, 1985; Benelli, 1988; Markowitz & Franz 1988). This form is also evident in dictionary definitions, as seen in the *cobuild English Language Dictionary*:

A watermelon is a large round fruit which has a green skin on the outside and is pink and juicy inside with a lot of black seeds. (p. 1644)

This form is represented by Category 2 (Specified categorical definitions) in the present taxonomy:

"A bicycle is a kind of vehicle which has two wheels and pedals." (Adv.)

The conventional syntactic form of a definition consists of a definiendum, a copula construction, a superordinate, and a post-modifier of some sort. However, in this study responses omitting the definiendum and the copula were treated as responses with these, since dictionary definitions often omit them. Therefore, the above example would be considered as having the conventional format even in the absence of "A bicycle is."

Categories 1 (categorical definitions) and 3 (specified generic definitions) also have the conventional definitional format, "an X is Y," though where the former does not have any characteristics, the latter does. These categories (1, 2, and 3) have superordinates. The presence of a superordinate is an essential feature of the conventional form of a definition. Although specified generic definitions have the conventional form of "an X is a Y which /that is/ has Z (characteristics)," the superordinates they include are not specific superordinates but generic superordinates such as "an object," "a thing" or "something":

hat	"It is something you wear on your head to protect from sunshine or coldness, and for fashion." (Adv.)
-----	---

Using a specific superordinate instead of a generic superordinate would produce a more informative and more precise definition.

Category 4 (non-conventional definitions) in the present taxonomy lacks superordinates and the format, "an X is Y." Instead, their definitional forms are "an X has . . .," "we (you) do . . .," or "an X is used for Y-ing," which are non-conventional definitions:

bicycle	"It has two wheels, a handlebar and saddle . . ." (Int.)
hat	"We wear it on the head." (Low)
clock	"It's used for informing you of time." (Int.)

Frequency of Definitional Forms: In order to see the relationship between the subjects' proficiency level in the target language and the types of definitional forms they produced, responses were analyzed according to four categories: specified categorical, categorical, specified generic, and non-conventional definitions. Uninterpretable answers were excluded from analysis. The first three categories are either full- or semi-conventional definitions. A response which did not include any of the above three conventional definitional forms was classified as non-conventional. Table 1 presents the percentage and number of these different definitional forms given by subjects at different proficiency levels

Table 1: Percentage and Number of Definitional Forms
Given in English by Proficiency Level

Definitional Form	Proficiency Level							
	NS		Adv.		Int.		Low	
	%	(no.)	%	(no.)	%	(no.)	%	(no.)
Specified Categorical	78.2	(86)	50.9	(56)	29.1	(32)	26.4	(29)
Categorical	15.5	(17)	26.4	(29)	35.5	(39)	36.4	(40)
Specified Generic	4.5	(5)	8.2	(9)	2.7	(3)	10.0	(11)
Non-conventional	1.8	(2)	13.6	(15)	30.0	(33)	20.9	(23)
Uninterpretable	0.0	(0)	0.9	(1)	2.7	(3)	6.4	(7)
Total	100	(110)	100	(110)	100	(110)	100	(110)

NS = Native speakers of English

Adv. = Advanced proficiency learners

Int. = Intermediate proficiency learners

Low = Low-proficiency learners

1. Specified categorical definitions vs. categorical definitions: It can be seen from Table 1 that although the subjects at different levels produced all four forms, they used each form in different proportions. The proportion of specified categorical definitions tends to increase with

proficiency level. Categorical definitions, on the other hand, show the opposite trend and are inclined to decrease with proficiency level. The main differences lie between the advanced and the intermediate levels, thus dividing the subjects into two major groups: (1) native speakers and advanced learners, and (2) intermediate and low-proficiency learners. The clear-cut difference in the proportion of definitional forms between the advanced learners on the one hand, and the intermediate and low proficiency learners on the other, shows that the advanced learners are able to make definitions in English, even though they are not as proficient as native speakers of English. This is confirmed in part by the striking findings from Snow, Cancini, Gonzalez & Shriberg (1989) that "the advanced school learners of English scored just as well on all the definitions subscores as the native monolinguals" (p. 248).

The reason why the proportion of specified categorical definitions increases and that of categorical definition decreases with proficiency level may be explained with reference to post-modification. The syntactic format for specified categorical definitions is "an X is a Y which /that is/ has Z," while that for categorical definitions is "an X is a Y." The only difference between specified categorical definitions and categorical definitions is the presence or absence of post-modification. As Table 1 shows native speakers and advanced learners, because of greater knowledge of the target language forms, produced sentences with post-modification more often than those at the lower levels, although there was a great difference in the percentage of the two types between native speakers and advanced learners.

2. Specified generic definitions: The specified generic definition, which has a generic superordinate such as "an object," "a thing," or "something," was the definition least frequently given by all the subjects except the native speakers. According to Litowitz (1977), in a child's developmental stages of making definitions, the specified generic definition is the transitional form between non-conventional definitions and specified categorical definitions: that is, a child learns a generic superordinate, "something," before learning an appropriate superordinate. Table 1 suggests that even adult native speakers will produce specified generic definitions.

3. Non-conventional definitions: As the proficiency level increases, the percentage of non-conventional definitions tends to decrease. However, this type of definition was used more often by the intermediate learners than by the low-proficiency learners. Litowitz (1977) notes that even adults who can construct definitions in a mature form often utilize the functional definitional form in situations where "the Aristotelian form is not demanded"

such as when conversing with friends (p. 302). The task given in the present study, the completion of a questionnaire, was obviously not a casual one, but one in which conventional definitions might reasonably be expected and preferred. It is interesting to note that the native speakers generated only two non-conventional definitions:

clock	"It's used to tell time."
umbrella	"It's used to prevent your body from getting soaking wet on rainy days."

This suggests that even native speakers use non-conventional definitions in situations where these may not be the norm. Needless to say, a much wider sample is needed to provide statistically valid conclusions on this issue.

Content of Definitions

Types of Information: This section examines whether the content of definitions is related to the level of proficiency in the target language. By the content is meant the type of information chosen, that is to say, the differentiating characteristics that are the properties or attributes of the definiendum. Whether or not a superordinate (i.e., a class to which the term belongs) is present is not considered here, since the focus of the investigation is on the distinguishing characteristics which make the definiendum different from other members of its class. In the taxonomy developed for this study, the different kinds of information were classified into description, function, relation, exemplification, association, and any combination of these types. Two or more instances of a single type in one response were counted as one. For example, the following response was counted as one instance of functional-type (characteristics are in the brackets):

chicken	"This is a kind of bird [which is sometimes kept as a pet,] [usually used for food]" (Adv.)
---------	--

The following example was classified as a combination of function and description:

clock	"[It shows us what time it is now.] [It has three needles.]" (Int.)
-------	--

Frequency of Informational Types: Table 2 shows the raw frequencies for the different types of information given in English at the various proficiency levels. The data show that description, function, description and function, and description and association are the four major types of re-

Table 2: Distribution of Types of Information
Given in English by Proficiency Level

Types of Information	NS	Adv.	Int.	Low
Description	40	36	30	29
Function	25	23	27	33
Description & Function	15	25	14	10
Description & Association	11	8	12	12
Description, Function & Relation	-	1	-	2
Description, Function, Relation & Exemplification	-	-	1	-
Description, Function & Association	5	-	1	-
Description & Relation	1	4	5	3
Description, Relation & Association	1	1	2	1
Description & Exemplification	2	-	-	-
Description, Exemplification & Association	2	-	-	-
Function & Relation	-	-	-	1
Function & Exemplification	1	2	-	2
Function, Exemplification & Association	-	-	-	1
Function & Association	2	1	5	3
Relation	-	-	-	1
Relation & Association	-	2	1	-
Association	2	3	9	5
Uninterpretable Information	-	1	3	7
Total	107*	107*	110	110

(*Note: Three definitions given by native speakers and advanced learners had superordinates only and are not included.)

NS = Native speakers of English

Adv. = Advanced learners

Int. = Intermediate learners

Low = Low-proficiency learners

sponses at all levels. Of the four types of responses, the two most common were those occurring independently, i.e., description and function. The least frequent type employed by all the subjects, except by low-proficiency learners, was the combination of description and association.

Responses to Different Nouns. The responses to different nouns were examined in order to see if there was any major difference among subjects at different proficiency levels. Subject responses to each noun did not vary greatly by proficiency level, except to the word "umbrella." Native speakers and advanced learners gave five and four instances of the combinational type of the "description & function," respectively, while the intermediate and the low-proficiency learners produced just one instance per group of this type, out of 10 responses, the remaining nine being functional-type. The most frequently given functional type by all the subjects was for the word "hat" (native 7, advanced 9, intermediate 10, and low 8). All the subjects knew the physical appearance of the object and were able to include descriptive information in their definitions. The tendency to define this word only by function may suggest that "function constitutes the core component of subjects' conceptions of what a definition is, rather than a reflection of their knowledge of the object per se" (Wehren, De Lisi & Arnold, 1981, p. 173).

Conclusions and Implications

The results show that although the subjects at different target language proficiency levels produced the same four definitional forms, they differed in the proportion of each. However, the definitional content was not related to proficiency level. Subjects used the same types of information, and the frequency of each of those types did not vary significantly with respect to proficiency level.

These results provide evidence that learners of English have the lexical knowledge to give information on definienda but lack the syntactic forms of English to express it, though advanced learners have greater control than intermediate and low proficiency learners.

Snow (1990) suggests that "definitional skill in school-aged children is heavily influenced by the opportunity to practice giving definitions" (p. 708). With young adults acquiring this skill in a foreign language, even though they have the knowledge of what a definition is in their native language and are not doing it from scratch, there exists the same problem as in FL data in general: frequency of input.

Foreign language classroom tasks do not usually include the task of learning definitional forms. This kind of skill cannot easily be acquired

incidentally from other language tasks. The implication of this study for the classroom is that the definitional skill has to be learned and practiced in order for it to be utilized at close to native speaker proficiency. This is true especially for students at the intermediate and lower levels. It may be that failure to produce specified categorical definitions in L2 is associated with faulty definitional skills in the L1.

More research is required to determine exactly what contributes to the development of definitional skill in a foreign language among adult learners. Possibly, L1 definitional skill is a necessary but not sufficient condition for attaining L2 skill. As teachers come to understand more about what is involved in mastering definitional skill, they will be able to give greater help to their students in acquiring this skill which, although of limited application, is nevertheless necessary.

I would like to thank Dr. Rod Ellis, Professor at Temple University, for his valuable comments and suggestions.

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(Received December 12, 1994; revised June 14, 1995)

An Inquiry into Reading Comprehension Strategies through Think-aloud Protocols

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Asking comprehension questions might reveal how much readers have understood of a given text, but such a measure is hardly sufficient to determine how the readers have actually processed the text in their minds. For the purpose of obtaining direct insight into how EFL readers search for meaning and what kinds of reading comprehension strategies they possess and utilize during the act of reading, the author collected think-aloud protocols of 43 Japanese university students recorded on cassette tapes and examined the data, using the broad categories of top-down processing and bottom-up processing with accompanying sub-categories. This article reports the method of classifying the data, analyzes the characteristics of strategies used by the subjects, and investigates the relationship between strategy use and reading comprehension ability shown in the results of semester examinations. Finally, it considers the implications of this data for teaching reading to Japanese university students.

EFLの読み手が、意味をとろうとして、どのように苦闘しているか、また、どのような読解ストラテジーを有し、それを役立てているかを考察するには、理解度を問う質問をするだけでは不十分である。理解度を問う質問は、読み手が与えられたテキストをどれくらい理解したかは明らかにするであろうが、実際に読み手が心の中で、どのようにテキストを処理したかを教えてはくれない。筆者は、43名の日本人大学生の発話思考法によるプロトコルをカセット・テープに録音して収集し、トップ・ダウン処理とボトム・アップ処理という広い範疇と、その下位範疇を使ってそれらのデータを分析した。本稿は、分類の方法を報告し、被験者の使用したストラテジーの特徴を分析し、ストラテジー使用と期末試験に現われた読解能力との関係を考察する。最後に、その結果をもとに、日本人大学生への読解指導法を検討する。

Reading comprehension in a foreign language can be much more complicated than in one's native language. In the case of reading in one's native language, lower-level processes such as recognizing individual words and grasping syntactic structures are mostly automatic (Grabe, 1988; McLeod & McLaughlin, 1986), whereas reading in a

foreign language, especially when the reader is at the beginning or intermediate level, can be considered a highly complex and sometimes roundabout problem-solving activity, in which all pieces of information, from knowledge of vocabulary and grammar to knowledge of the topic, must be brought into play. Therefore, in addressing pedagogical issues related to the effect of teaching reading to EFL students, it is of vital importance to have insight into complicated mental processes.

Interactive models, which essentially regard reading as an interaction between top-down and bottom-up processes (Carrell, Devine & Eskey, 1988; Grabe, 1991), provide theoretical guidelines for teaching ESL/EFL reading. However, there is no guarantee that such models, primarily developed in psycholinguistic research, are valid for all individuals or all learner groups. Even if they have some universal validity, there remains the question of how much or to what degree students rely on either top-down or bottom-up processing. As Anderson (1991) points out, "increased attention is being given to an examination of individual learner differences during the second language acquisition process" (p. 460). In this light, teachers are expected to have a clearer perspective of what individual students are doing while engaging in reading activities. For some Japanese university students, it is highly likely that reading English is still a process of "laborious deciphering" (Rivers, 1981, p. 268), or what Newmark calls "painful cryptoanalytic decoding" (in Krashen, 1987, p. 128) as a result of repeated grammar-translation practice in high school. It is also probable that other students transfer comprehension strategies from reading in the native language to reading in a foreign language. This article probes the mental processes of Japanese EFL readers.

Think-aloud Protocols

Teachers obtain knowledge of students' reading comprehension processes by various means: in-class observations, questionnaires, interviews and specially-designed tests. However, it is usually difficult to get detailed information about why students feel frustrated, what kinds of problems they encounter, and how they solve these. One reliable way to gain insight into such mental activities is by examining think-aloud protocols, a version of introspective reports in which readers state their thoughts, ideas, questions, and behaviors while reading text. Recently, think-aloud protocols have become widely recognized as a method of researching the mental processes of language learners (Barnett, 1989; Casanave, 1988; Cohen, 1990, 1994; Cohen & Hosenfeld, 1981; Davies, 1995; O'Mally & Chamot, 1990; Oxford & Crookall, 1989), and empirical

studies using this method have been conducted to investigate comprehension strategies used by second language readers (c.f. Anderson, 1991; Block, 1986, 1992; Hosenfeld, 1977; Sarig, 1987; Matsubara, 1991).

Obviously there are certain limitations to such a data collection method. First, it is virtually impossible for readers to articulate everything that is going on in their minds. There must be a number of thoughts, ideas, and questions which occur but are left unsaid. Therefore, reports must be considered only as a part of readers' mental activity. Second, since the think-aloud task requires readers to read, think and speak simultaneously, the task may interrupt the flow of thinking, and as a result, what is reported is an accumulation of isolated thoughts and ideas.

Still, this data collection method has a remarkable advantage: it can provide a more direct view of readers' mental processes than other research methods. Because the task requires readers to respond immediately, the protocols are likely to contain fleetingly occurring strategies which are not identified in retrospective reports. Because responses are generated automatically, without self-analysis, they can reveal readers' problems and weaknesses. As long as readers engage in the task actively and willingly, think-aloud protocols can be a reliable tool for understanding their mental processes.

This article is based on think-aloud protocols by Japanese university students in a class taught by the author. The data were elicited with the aim of perceiving the reading comprehension strategies attempted, either successfully or unsuccessfully, and recognizing their strengths and weaknesses.

Design of the Study

Research questions: 1) What kinds of comprehension strategies do Japanese university students utilize when they process text written in English? 2) How can comprehension strategies used by the students be categorized? In general, comprehension strategies are divided into two categories: top-down and bottom-up strategies. What sub-categories appropriately describe and classify students' strategies? 3) What is the relationship between strategy use and reading comprehension ability? It is generally assumed that good reading is marked by the use of top-down strategies. Can this tendency be identified?

Subjects: The subjects were 43 Japanese first-year students majoring in education (28 males and 15 females) enrolled in a required English class as a part of general studies at a national university.

Materials: Two passages were chosen. One is "The Dust Bowl" from a low-intermediate ESL reader entitled *From the Beginning: A First Reader in American History* (Bailey, 1990), and the other is "Early Autumn" by Langston Hughes, a story from a textbook entitled *Short Short Stories* (Takahashi, 1990). The first passage, which belongs to the informative discourse type, describes how American farmers during the Great Depression sought to escape a prolonged drought by moving to California. This passage was selected because the subjects had intensively read essays about the Great Depression in preceding class periods. The second passage, in the literary-aesthetic discourse type, is a bittersweet story of a man and woman named Bill and Mary, who meet by chance in downtown New York one day in early autumn many years after they had parted. This passage was selected as class members had expressed interest in reading a love story in response to a questionnaire.

Both passages were determined to be written at a basic 2000 word level, but include some words outside that level. The first passage contains 442 words and has a Fry (1977) readability of seventh grade. The second passage contains 443 words and has a Fry readability of fourth grade. It was presumed from the students' daily performance with this level of reading materials that they would be able to read both of the passages with relative ease.

Procedure: During a regular class period, the subjects each sat at a language laboratory booth with a blank cassette tape in each tape recorder. Then they were given the passages with directions written in Japanese telling them to read the texts and make comments, in either English or Japanese, every time they came to the end of a sentence. (See Appendix for an English translation of the directions.) After subjects read the directions, a sample of a think-aloud task recorded by a student in a pilot study was played. It demonstrated many different kinds of reading comprehension strategies. It was explained to the students that the tape had been played not to encourage them to imitate the sample but to show what a think-aloud task would be like. All subjects appeared to understand the directions. The tape recorders were then started and subjects began the task. Tapes were not stopped until subjects had completed the task.

Results

Overview of the protocols: The subjects approach to the task varied widely. First, the use of time differed. Some subjects frequently took a long pause after reading a sentence, which indicates that they were ponder-

ing something but were not able to articulate it, while other students tried to read through the text quickly, suddenly stopping at a certain point to make comments on several different portions of the text. The average time spent in completing the task was approximately 25 minutes. The fastest subject spent 10 minutes, the slowest spent 45. Also, some subjects were quite relaxed and responsive, but others responded diffidently if not reluctantly. Furthermore, some were emotionally involved in the content, while others were not.

Categorization of strategies: Recent studies based on observations of second language readers have offered a number of taxonomies for analyzing reading comprehension strategies. Hosenfeld, Arnold, Kirchofer, Laciura & Wilson (1981) list 20 effective reading strategies found in self-reports of American high school students in reading English and French. Sarig (in Cohen, 1990) reports approximately 130 different strategies used by a group of 10 high school students in reading L1 Hebrew and L2 English, and classifies them into four strategy types: supporting, paraphrasing, establishing coherence in text, and supervising strategy use. Adapting the framework of these four basic types, Anderson (1991) lists 47 strategies, including test-taking strategies, used for classifying the data obtained from the think-aloud protocols of 28 Spanish-speaking university-level ESL students. For analyzing the think-aloud protocols of six ESL and three L1 English university-level students enrolled in remedial reading courses, Block (1986) uses a list of 10 general comprehension strategies and five local linguistic ones. The general comprehension strategies are: anticipating content, recognizing text structure, integrating information, questioning information in the text, interpreting the text, using background knowledge and associations, commenting on behavior or process, monitoring comprehension, correcting behavior, and reacting to the text. The local linguistic strategies are: paraphrasing, rereading, raising questions about the meaning of a clause or sentence, raising questions about the meaning of a word, and solving vocabulary problem. Integrating various research findings, Grabe (1993) provides a list of 60 potential reading strategies under six basic types: strategies for improved comprehension, strategies for main idea comprehension, consciousness-raising strategies, monitoring strategies, strategies for repairing miscomprehension, and transfer of strategies to other readings or tasks.

How subjects' responses should be categorized is a difficult question. While a large number of categories are necessary to describe responses precisely, the perspective may be lost if the responses are

classified into too many detailed categories. In this study, Block's categorization system (1986) was used as a starting point. The protocols of 10 students chosen at random were carefully examined according to these 15 strategies. Following this, modifications and simplifications were made so that the taxonomy would reflect the characteristics of the strategy use of our subjects and reflect the focus of this study. After this procedure, the following list was drawn. (Examples from this study, most of which are translations from Japanese, are given in quotations.)

Top-down Strategies

- A: Anticipate content: The reader predicts what will occur in succeeding portions of the text. "I don't think the farmers' hope will be realized." "Probably Mary will regret this."
- B: Question content: The reader raises questions as to various aspects of the content such as the veracity of information or the reason for certain behavior by the characters. "Is it true that there was no rainfall at all in the year?" "Why did Mary understand what Bill was going to say?"
- C: Use general or background knowledge: The reader refers to general or background knowledge to clarify, confirm or interpret the content. "I know a lot of people suffered at the time of the Great Depression." "Fifth Avenue . . . it is [in] a central part of New York."
- D: React to the text: The reader reacts emotionally to the text. "What a pity! Small children had to walk such a long way!" "I'm awfully sorry for Mary."
- E: Interpret the text: the reader makes an inference about the author's intention or characters' behaviors or feelings, or tries to explain the reasons behind what is explicitly stated. "They were all called Okies. This means people in California weren't interested in where they were from." "It seems that falling leaves symbolize Mary's feelings."
- F: Integrate information: The reader relates new information to previously stated information. "Oh, this connects with that." This sometimes leads to the modification or confirmation of questions or hypotheses formed while reading a previous portion of the text. "Now I understand what the Dust Bowl is."

Bottom-up Strategies

- G. Translate: The reader translates a clause or a sentence into Japanese to aid or confirm understanding. Where the translation was done cor-

rectly, it was classified as G+, and where it was done incorrectly, G-.

- H. Paraphrase: The reader paraphrases a clause, a sentence, or a certain chunk of information to aid or confirm understanding, or to clarify the idea. Most paraphrases were made in Japanese, but there were some in English. Where the paraphrase can be considered accurate, it was classified as H+, and where inaccurate, H-.
- I. Use grammatical knowledge: The reader uses grammatical knowledge in an attempt to understand and tries to identify the grammatical function of a word or phrase ("Is this *blow* a verb or a noun?"), to grasp the syntactic structure of a sentence ("What is the subject of this sentence?" or "This *that* is used as a relative pronoun."), or to examine the anaphoric relation of a pronoun ("This *they* means the farmers above."). Where the grammatical analysis is correct or appropriate, it is classified as I+, and where it is incorrect or inappropriate, or the reader is simply wondering ("Is this *falling* a gerund or a participle?"), as I-.
- J. Question the meaning of a word: The reader wonders about the meaning of an unknown or unfamiliar word and in some cases tries to make a guess, using the context, knowledge of word formations or other word solving behavior. If the guess was reasonably accurate ("I don't know the word *impulsively*, but it seems to be similar to *suddenly*."), it was classified as J+, and if it is a bad guess, or when the reader was simply asking ("What does this word mean?"), J-.

After this list of categories was established, all the protocols were examined in detail and were coded accordingly. Basically, one response after reading one sentence was regarded as the use of one strategy. When a long response contained several different kinds of strategies, each one was counted as the use of one strategy. The overall results are shown in Table 1.

Discussion

Frequency of each strategy: First, attention should be drawn to the question of what kinds of strategies were frequently used and what kinds were rarely used. Table 2 displays total and average strategy use by subjects.

A noticeable general tendency was that bottom-up strategies were used much more frequently than top-down strategies. This clearly shows that for most of the subjects lower-level processes were far from automatic and that they were struggling to decode linguistic clues.

Table 1: Overall Results

Student Exam		Top-down Strategies						Bottom-up Strategies							
No.	score	A	B	C	D	E	F	G+	G-	H+	H-	I+	I-	J+	J-
1.	96	0	3	3	0	5	4	5	0	16	0	2	2	2	5
2.	94	0	0	0	1	1	3	4	1	6	0	0	2	1	0
3.	91	4	9	3	10	5	0	0	0	2	0	3	4	2	7
4.	90	0	0	0	0	0	0	39	3	10	0	0	0	0	0
5.	90	0	2	0	0	0	0	37	2	3	3	0	1	0	1
6.	87	0	7	2	4	5	5	8	4	0	1	1	2	2	5
7.	86	0	1	0	1	2	0	8	2	9	2	1	0	0	1
8.	84	0	3	2	5	7	9	4	1	7	0	0	1	1	1
9.	84	1	6	0	5	7	5	1	0	3	0	0	1	1	1
10.	84	2	8	6	11	8	3	13	2	8	0	1	1	3	7
11.	84	0	4	3	2	1	3	15	3	10	1	3	2	2	3
12.	83	1	12	5	9	9	6	3	0	1	0	2	0	0	0
13.	83	1	2	0	10	5	4	2	0	3	0	1	3	0	4
14.	83	0	2	1	2	4	1	34	10	8	3	3	1	1	3
15.	82	0	5	1	0	3	3	1	0	2	0	1	5	1	4
16.	82	0	3	0	6	2	5	8	2	1	0	2	3	3	4
17.	82	0	4	7	8	5	6	4	1	7	1	0	1	2	6
18.	81	0	1	0	2	0	0	2	0	1	0	1	1	0	9
19.	81	0	1	0	5	0	0	3	1	3	0	1	1	0	5
20.	80	0	0	0	2	0	1	3	1	5	1	0	0	0	5
21.	79	2	5	1	4	4	2	12	2	11	2	2	1	2	5
22.	79	0	3	0	9	2	3	3	0	0	0	0	4	3	12
23.	79	0	0	0	8	1	3	10	3	7	1	2	5	3	6
24.	79	0	0	0	1	1	1	32	3	9	2	0	1	1	1
25.	78	0	0	1	5	2	4	1	1	0	0	0	1	2	5
26.	77	0	1	0	1	0	0	29	3	3	0	0	1	0	6
27.	76	0	4	0	1	0	1	7	2	2	0	1	1	1	3
28.	75	0	5	0	7	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	3	1	6
29.	74	0	7	0	4	3	2	12	3	2	0	0	0	0	6
30.	74	1	6	0	9	8	3	3	1	10	2	0	0	0	2
31.	73	0	0	0	1	1	1	20	4	3	1	3	1	3	8
32.	73	0	5	7	13	8	8	6	2	13	2	1	5	4	9
33.	72	0	0	0	2	1	3	22	3	5	2	2	3	3	11
34.	72	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	2	0	3	0	0	0	1
35.	72	1	2	1	2	0	3	26	4	0	0	3	1	2	6
36.	70	0	1	0	0	3	6	4	2	7	4	0	0	1	5
37.	66	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	2	0	0	5	0	9
38.	66	0	0	1	0	0	0	14	7	2	1	0	0	0	1
39.	62	0	0	0	4	1	2	3	1	2	1	0	2	1	14
40.	61	1	0	2	1	0	0	4	2	3	1	0	6	3	21
41.	60	0	0	0	0	2	0	6	4	2	12	0	10	0	0
42.	55	0	0	0	2	1	1	6	4	3	2	0	0	0	8
43.	55	0	0	1	1	8	7	17	6	8	4	0	3	0	7

Note: The exam score is the average of two semester examinations.

Top-Down Strategies: A = Anticipate content; B = question content; C = Use background knowledge; D = Reach to text; E = Interpret text; F = Integrate information

Bottom Up Strategies (+ = Effective; - = Ineffective): G = Translate; H = Paraphrase; I = Use grammatical knowledge; J = Question meaning of a word

Table 2: Total and Average Use of Each Strategy

	Total use	Average
1. G (Translate)	543 (G+ = 447, G- = 96)	12.6
2. J (Question meaning of a word)	274 (J+ = 51, J- = 223)	6.4
3. H (Paraphrase)	253 (H+ = 200, H- = 53)	5.9
4. D (React to text)	158	3.7
5. I (Use grammatical knowledge)	121 (I+ = 37, I- = 84)	2.8
6. E (Interpret text)	117	2.7
7. B (Question content)	112	2.6
8. F (Integrate information)	110	2.6
9. C (Use background knowledge)	47	1.1
10. A (Anticipate content)	14	0.3

It is not surprising that by far the most frequently used strategy was translation when we consider that grammar-translation is still the most widely used teaching method in Japanese public schools. The data indicate that the students tend to depend on their L1 to comprehend or help comprehend text written in English. This strategy was used by all the subjects, with one exception, but how it was used varied widely. Three basic patterns can be identified. One group occasionally made use of translation to confirm the meaning of some part of the passages. The second group of students used it constantly, but utilized other strategies as well. The third group either translated from the beginning, whether successful or unsuccessful, or began to read with attention to different aspects but came to concentrate only on translation. The idea that reading a foreign language means translating seems to be deeply rooted in many of the subjects.

Assuming that grammar-translation practice in high school greatly influences the way students process English text, we may wonder why the grammatical knowledge strategy was less frequently used than translation. Most students used this strategy a few times, though none of them used it to the point of paying exclusive attention to the grammatical function of each word or to the syntactic structure of each sentence. This may only mean that most students attempted to comprehend the text without much concern for grammatical forms. In a sense, such a manner of processing text can be considered "natural," because, as Rivers states, "perception of spoken or written message is primarily dependent on apprehension of semantic meaning ... with recourse to knowledge of syntax only when the meaning is not clear" (1981, p. 267). One may argue that articulating grammatical rules is a special

metalinguistic ability and that there must be students who actually made frequent use of their grammatical knowledge but could not describe what they were doing. However, such an argument poses the very complicated question of "How is conscious knowledge of grammar different from implicit knowledge of grammar?", which lies outside the scope of this article. Judging from the fact that the number of I- is more than twice that of I+, it can safely be said that few subjects were able to make full use of their grammatical knowledge for comprehension, regardless of the grammatical knowledge they possessed.

How can the data on the use of top-down strategies be interpreted? Apparently we can't say that most students processed the text efficiently in the top-down processing mode, but it should be noted that top-down strategies were employed to a considerable degree. The fact that such strategies as reacting to the text, interpreting the text, questioning content, and integrating information were used fairly consistently suggests that many students actively approached the text. This finding may support the hypothesis of the "universality" of the reading process represented in Goodman's often-quoted assertion that "the reading process will be much the same for all languages" (1973, p. 27; in Devine 1988, p. 261). Since there is little doubt that the subjects are literate in their L1 and it is unlikely that many of them received systematic training in high-level reading skills in previous English courses, it is reasonable to assume that their first language skills were transferred to the foreign language context.

However, it should be noted that the strategy of using background knowledge was used far less frequently than other top-down strategies. Contrary to my expectation that the background knowledge of the Great Depression given in preceding lessons would provide background aid, only a few students related to the text with this knowledge. Though recent research in schema theory emphasizes the importance of background knowledge in reading comprehension (Carrell & Eisterhold, 1983; Coady, 1979; Rumelhart, 1984; Spiro, 1980), our data suggest that it is not easy for most students to utilize it. Carrell (1983) reports a study which shows that intermediate and even advanced ESL readers tend to be linguistically bound to text and do not make the necessary connections between the text and the appropriate information. It may not be surprising that our subjects did not actively use background knowledge.

Relationship between strategy use and reading comprehension ability: Table 1 lists the students in a descending scale according to average score on two reading comprehension examinations given at the end of

each semester. The following discussion is developed on the assumption that the results of these examinations reflect their reading comprehension abilities.

It is not difficult to identify some clear relationships between strategy use and reading comprehension ability. One is that as the score goes down so does the frequency of top-down strategies. In order to obtain the numerical data, all the subjects were divided into three groups according to rank by scores. The total number of top-down and bottom-up strategies used by each group was counted, and the average strategy use was calculated. Table 3 shows the results.

Table 3: Total and Average Use
of Top-Down and Bottom-Up Strategy Types by Group

	Group size	Range of scores	Top-down strategies	Avg. Bottom-up strategies	Avg.
High-scoring group	(14)	96 - 83	255	18.2	27.6
Middle-scoring group	(14)	82 - 75	155	11.1	23.7
Low-scoring group	(15)	74 - 55	148	9.9	31.5

These figures show that students ranked in the high-scoring group employed top-down strategies much more frequently than others, and that middle-scoring students used them slightly more often than low-scorers, whereas the use of bottom-up strategies follows no such pattern. There are a few exceptions like students #4 and #5 in the high-scoring group, who used virtually no top-down strategies, and Student #31 in the low-scoring group, who made consistent use of top-down strategies. However, the frequent users of top-down strategies are concentrated in the high-scoring group, while the lowest seven barely used top-down strategies: their average was only 5 times.

Table 4 shows the percentage use of top-down and bottom-up strategies in each group. These figures also reveal that the use of top-down strategies is related to reading comprehension ability.

In addition, it seems worthwhile to examine closely one of the bottom-up strategies: the strategy of raising questions about the meaning of a word. Since "reading difficulties are often traceable to deficits at the level of word recognition" (Adams, 1980, p. 14), it is important to see how the subjects struggled at this level. The relationship is clear. As the exam score goes down, the more frequently use of this strategy is observed. This indicates that low-scoring students were struggling more at the level of word-by-word decoding. It should be noted that the fre-

Table 4: Percentage Use of
Top-Down and Bottom-Up Strategy Types by Group

	Top-down	/	Bottom-up
High-scoring group	39.7	/	60.3
Middle-scoring group	31.8	/	68.2
Low-scoring group	23.9	/	76.1

Table 5: Total Number and Average of Strategy 'J' Use by Group

Groups by exam scores	'J'		'J+'		'J-'	
	No.	Avg.	No.	Avg.	No.	Avg.
High-scoring	53	3.8	15	1.1	38	2.7
Middle-scoring	96	6.9	19	1.4	77	5.5
Low-scoring	125	8.3	17	1.1	108	7.2

quency of J+ was low in all groups. Though the importance of the ability to guess the meaning of unknown words is often emphasized in EFL pedagogy, the data suggest that it is a difficult skill. Despite the high frequency of attempts, students in the low-scoring group rarely succeeded, supporting the view that "time spent on close decoding is, more often than not, reading time misspent" (Devine, 1988, p. 264).

Conclusions and Implications for Pedagogy

The findings in this study can be summarized as follows: 1) The approach to the text varied from individual to individual, but the students as a whole used a wide range of top-down and bottom-up comprehension strategies; 2) The majority used bottom-up strategies more frequently than top-down strategies, largely with recourse to translation, and 3) There is a clear relationship between reading comprehension examination scores and strategy use: the higher the scores, the more frequent the use of top-down strategies. Students in the low-scoring group have a strong tendency to be concerned with decoding words.

Our first conclusion is that many students possess strategic resources not only in the bottom-up processing mode but also in the top-down processing mode. This is encouraging for teachers, because it implies the potential for improvement from training in higher-level strategies.

Though the immediate effect of direct strategy instruction remains questionable (Barnett, 1988a; Duffy, 1993), teachers are certainly responsible for encouraging students to learn how to process text more efficiently in the top-down mode. Teachers can do this through various activities, such as predicting content from headings, utilizing information in pictures, maps and charts, analyzing the basic structure of text, and skimming for specific information. Considering the infrequent use of background knowledge as a strategy here, it may be necessary to help students call up their knowledge. Several organized methods and approaches have been elaborated for this purpose, among which are "Extending Concepts through Language Activities," "Directed Reading-Thinking Activity," and the "Experience-Text-Relationship Method" (c.f. Barnitz, 1985, pp. 20-22). For students who rely exclusively on bottom-up strategies, special attention is necessary so that they will view reading from a new angle and take a more global approach. Certainly this is not easy, but it is possible if teachers make use of techniques such as nonsense texts or texts including anomalous words and sentences (Carrell, 1988).

From the second finding, we can conclude that the nature of reading problems is largely linguistic, and that students need to develop a stronger foundation of basic linguistic skills. However, great care must be taken in applying this finding to pedagogical directives. If teachers focus attention on specific aspects of language, such as lexicon and syntax, with aim of developing basic linguistic skills and place undue emphasis on vocabulary exercises and grammar drills isolated from meaning, the lesson may reinforce a word-by-word processing style and discourage the integration of skills in the interactive reading process. It should be kept in mind that over-reliance on translation and other lower-level strategies is probably a result of repeated practice of these strategies required in previous English courses. To address this problem, teachers can utilize rapid word or phrase recognition exercises and exercises for reading in meaningful word groups (Eskey & Grabe, 1988). These exercises help both solidify students' linguistic foundation and reduce reliance on translation.

Similarly, we have to consider carefully the pedagogical implications of the third finding. Although this supports the view that good reading is marked by use of top-down strategies, it does not mean that instruction should always be focused on the development of top-down strategies. It is important to note that over-reliance on top-down strategies sometimes leads to wild guesses about a text's content. If teachers blindly emphasize the utilization of background knowledge in a begin-

ning-level class, students may simply begin to view decoding tasks as laborious and so avoid them, thereby developing not a "knowledge-based" but a "knowledge-biased" (Carrell, 1988, p. 108) comprehension style. "For second language readers, especially," as Eskey and Grabe maintains, "both top-down and bottom-up skills and strategies must be developed, and developed *conjointly* [italics added], since both contribute directly to the successful comprehension of text" (1988, p. 227). Thus, it is important for teachers to take a balanced approach in consideration of each student's abilities.

Finally, I would like to stress the benefits of think-aloud protocols as a means for getting to know students. According to Block (1986), think-alouds can be an important tool for learners to recognize their own comprehension problems. It is hoped that this was the case with our students as well, but here I would like to emphasize that it was a fruitful experience for me to listen with concentration to students for a sustained length of time. I became far more sensitized to the various comprehension problems they faced and gained insights into the problems and weaknesses of individual students and the kind of help that can be effective for them. Furthermore, I was able to share the sudden moments of "click of comprehension" many students experienced after going through some frustration. In short, I recognized anew the value of classroom-based research.

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(Received October 20, 1994, revised April 3, 1995)

Appendix

The following is an English translation of the directions. Directions were written in Japanese to ensure that there would be no misunderstanding.

Let's Think Aloud

As this is not a test for evaluation but just a kind of experiment to find out your problems, strengths and weaknesses for more effective instruction in our reading class, please relax and do it.

When you read text in English, the process is far from simple. Consciously or unconsciously, various things are going on in your mind. When you come to an unknown word, you may guess the meaning from the word formation or the context. When you don't understand a sentence, you may have to read it again or analyze the grammatical structure of the sentence. Even if you don't understand a certain portion of the text for sure, you can pass some judgement on what it is about, using your common sense or background knowledge. When you can't make sense of the author's intention, you may sometimes just go ahead and gradually come to understand as you go on. Also, you may agree or disagree with the opinion of the author, or you may be surprised at or angry about the content. In ordinary comprehension tests, only the result—what or how much you have understood—is measured, but in this experiment, the process—how you attempt to understand—is focused upon.

Read "The Dust Bowl" and "Early Autumn" and each time you read a sentence, state immediately whatever occurs in your mind as straightforwardly as possible, as if you were just talking to yourself. Your statement can be anything about the text such as a question regarding the content, vocabulary, grammar, your own feeling or opinion, or your knowledge about the content, etc. You don't have to explain or analyze your thoughts. When you don't have anything special to say, a brief comment such as "OK" or "I understand" is all right, but remember it is important to try to respond as actively, straightforwardly and automatically as possible. You may respond either in English or in Japanese.

大学院留学生はどのように文章を書き上げているか：効率的書き手と非効率的書き手の文章産出過程の特徴

衣川隆生

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この論文では、効率的書き手と非効率的書き手の文章産出過程の特徴を把握するため、両者がどのようにしてプランを生成しているか、どのようにして言語表現を考え出しているかが分析される。分析の結果、効率的な書き手は知識としてすでに文章の全体的なプランを持っている可能性があること、表現を考えるとときにも、プランを生成するときにも、常に前後の文脈にあっているかどうかを確認していることが示唆された。また、非効率的な書き手はプランを生成するとき主に「何を書くか」しか考えておらず「どのように書くか」を検討していないことが示唆された。さらに、これらの結果から、効率的書き手と非効率的書き手の差は、プランニングや読み返しという行動の種類や量だけで把握できるものではなく、行動の目的やプランの内容といった質的な分析を行うことによって初めて理解できるものであることが示唆される。

How Overseas Graduate Students Compose in Japanese: A Study of Two Writers

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Zamel (1983) claims the difference in effective and ineffective writers lies in the nature of planning, whereas Raimes (1985) indicates that ineffective writers do not have many planning behaviours and do not pay much attention to mistakes. A cause for these findings might be attributed to the quantitative nature of their research. As Krapels (1990) suggests, processes of text generation differ from writer to writer, and even within one writer, according to the nature and context of the task. The purpose of this study is to describe in detail the composing processes of effective and ineffective second language writers of Japanese in order to arrive at a deeper understanding of what is actually happening in JSL writer's mind while they compose. Two graduate students studying at a Japanese university, one considered to be an effective

writer and the other to be an ineffective writer by a group of JSL teachers, were examined for the following; 1) How did the writers generate plans and which strategies did they use during planning; and 2) How did they actually compose and which strategies did they use in composing. Following think-aloud protocols, the students were asked to think aloud while planning and writing. This process was video recorded for examination. The behaviours of both writers were classified into three categories: 1) planning processes; 2) writing processes, and 3) editing processes. These three categories of behaviours were then examined in the light of 1) how each writer generated a plan before they started writing, 2) how each writer wrote the first paragraph, and 3) how each writer continued to generate a plan while writing. The results showed the following characteristics: 1) the ineffective writer only thought about "what to write" and did not consider "how to write" in generating a plan; 2) the ineffective writer's main concern while writing was to write down the expressions that came to her mind and editing behaviours were hardly observed; 3) it is suspected that the effective writer had a global plan concerning the overall structure of the text, i.e., how to start and finish the text before beginning to write; 4) the effective writer took the context into consideration when generating plans and determining appropriate expressions, and 5) writing and editing behaviours were alternately used in the effective writer. Finally, the author suggests that future research into JSL writing should: 1) examine the quality of writer's plans as well as the quantity of planning behaviours; 2) consider the purpose of rereading as well as the quantity of rereading behaviours, and 3) clarify what kind of knowledge writers have concerning the plans of the text.

1980年代から、第二言語学習者の文章研究は、「書いたもの」だけでなく、「書く行為そのもの」、つまり文章産出過程にも焦点を当てるようになってきた。このような研究が行われるようになった背景には、文章がうまく書ける書き手（以下、効率的書き手）は、文章産出過程も効率的であり、文章がうまく書けない書き手（以下、非効率的書き手）は、文章を書く過程に何らかの問題点があるという考え方がある。

Zamel (1983) は効率的な書き手と非効率的な書き手の文章産出過程を観察し、両者の間にはプランニングと修正という行動に関して次のような差があると指摘している。第一に、非効率的書き手がしっかりとしたプランをたてるのに対して、効率的書き手が立てるプランは文章の方向性を定めるためのものであって、どのように表現するかはあまり考えていない。第二に、非効率的な書き手が文法、語彙などの問題に捕らわれ、読み返しも修正もその部分に限定されるのに対して、効率的な書き手は一文の読み返しから時には全文の読み返しを行なって内容を確認している。

これに対して Raimes (1985) は Zamel (1983) の結果とは異なる次のような非効率的書き手の文章産出過程の特徴を示している。第一に、非効率的な書き手の文章産出過程では、プランニングであると判断される行動は少ない。第二に、非効率的書き手は間違いにはあまり注意を払わず、そのため読み返しも修正も少ない。

このように、先行研究では、プランニング、読み返し、修正に関して一致した見解が得られていない。では、なぜ、このような結果の差が生じたのであろうか。その原因の一つとして、効率的な書き手と非効率的な書き手の文章産出過程の特徴を、プランニングや読み返しという行動の量で一般化しようとしたことがあるのではないだろうか。このような量的な分析は客観的な資料を収集し、仮説を検証することを目的とした方法論である。しかし、書き手によって文章産出過程は異なり、さらに個人の中でも、文脈や課題によって異なった文章産出過程が用いられる (Krapels, 1990)。したがって、現段階では、量的分析によって早急な一般化を求めるよりも、まず、ある書き手の文章産出過程で起こっている現象や行動を細かく記述し、その特徴を理解することが第一だと考えられる。

そこで、本研究では、効率的書き手と非効率的書き手、それぞれ1名の文章産出過程を事例としてとりあげ、以下の課題を検討することにする。

- 1) 効率的書き手と非効率的書き手はどのようにしてプランを生成しているか。そこで用いられる方略に差があるか。
- 2) 効率的書き手と非効率的書き手はどのようにして文章を書き上げているか。そこで用いられる方略に差があるか。

用語の定義

本研究では文章産出過程を次のように考える。

- 1) 文章産出過程は一種の問題解決の過程であり、それは「構想の過程」、「文章化の過程」、「見直しの過程」という三つの下位過程から構成される。
- 2) 三つの下位過程にはそれぞれに達成すべき目標が存在する。構想の過程には「プランを考え出す」という目標がある。文章化の過程には「プランを言語表現化する」という目標がある。見直しの過程には「書いた表現を整え磨く」という目標がある。本研究では、これらの目標を文章産出過程における下位目標と呼ぶ。
- 3) 三つの下位過程は、それぞれの目標を達成するための行動（の組み合わせ）によって構成される。これらの行動には「プランを立てる」などの認知的な行動もあるし、「アウトラインを書く」などの外から観察できる物理的な行動もある。

4) 下位目標に到達するために、どのような行動を選択するかは書き手によって異なる。本稿では、この行動の選択の仕方を書き手の文章産出方略と呼ぶ。

研究方法

研究協力者

名古屋大学大学院文学研究科に在籍する大学院留学生6名に協力を得た。協力してもらった留学生は、レポートや論文を日本語で書く必要があり、日本語の文章産出に対するニーズも高い。したがって、文章産出過程で起こっている現象や行動を細かく記述し、その特徴を理解するための対象としては妥当であると考えられる。

資料収集方法

まず、協力者に6つの話題の中から課題とする話題を選んでもらった。これは、話題に関する知識がないために文章が書けないという事態をさけるためである。次に、課題文(資料参照)を提示し、それを読んでもらった。その内容が理解できたことを確認してから、原稿用紙に手書きで文章を書きはじめてもらった(注1)。

文章産出過程で、何を考え、何をしているかを推定するための資料は、発話思考法(注2)とビデオ録画によって収集した。文章は協力者が終了の合図を出すまで書いてもらった。

さらに、文章を書いた一週間後に、発話の不明瞭な部分や、協力者がとった行動の目的が不明な部分など内省報告が必要な場合はフォローアップインタビューを行った。

文章産出過程分析の方法

文章産出過程における行動を推定するために、得られた資料を、以下の手順で分析した。

- 1) 発話思考法によって得られた音声資料を文字化した。
- 2) あるまとまった行動を行なっていると推定される単位で文字化資料を分割し、それぞれに行動範疇名をつけた(注3)。行動範疇名をつける際には、Raimes (1985) と安西・内田 (1981) が分析に用いた範疇を参考にした。分析の結果、協力者が文章産出過程で行っている行動は、計画、明確化、検索、問いかけ、リハーサル、書きおろし、繰り返し、読み返し、翻訳、評価、修正、推敲、保留、要約、沈黙の15種類の行動範疇とその他に分類された。行動範疇の分類基準に関しては衣川 (1993) を参照されたい。
- 3) 最後に、それぞれの行動単位が、どの下位目標を達成するために行われ

表 1 : 採点結果一覧

協力者	協力者 A 得点 (SD)	協力者 B 得点 (SD)	t (23, 23)
総合評価 [18]	8.65 (1.82)	14.04 (3.01)	t=12.02**
a. 内容 [12]	6.61 (1.70)	9.39 (1.88)	t=7.22**
b. 構成 [12]	7.74 (1.76)	10.00 (1.83)	t=5.84**
c. 読みやすさ [12]	7.04 (1.33)	9.70 (1.79)	t=7.36**
d. 目的達成度 [12]	8.52 (1.75)	10.48 (1.59)	t=5.24**
e. 語彙 [12]	6.65 (1.27)	9.39 (1.78)	t=7.70**
f. 文法 [12]	6.65 (1.67)	9.13 (1.78)	t=6.78**
g. 文体 [12]	7.17 (1.72)	9.61 (1.85)	t=6.31**
h. 正書法・表記 [12]	7.61 (1.53)	9.87 (1.87)	t=6.02**

* [] は配点を示す

** P<0.01

ているかを分析し、その結果をもとに協力者の文章産出過程を「構想の過程」、「文章化の過程」、「見直しの過程」(注 4) に分割した。

効率的書き手と非効率的書き手の決定

協力者が書いた文章を評価する採点者として、現職の日本語教師 25 名に採点を依頼し、23 名から採点結果を回収した。表 1 に 6 人の協力者のうち文章の評価が最も高かった協力者と最も低かった協力者の採点結果を示す。全ての評価項目において、2 人の採点結果の間には有意差が見られる。そこで、本研究では A を非効率的書き手、B を効率的書き手と考え、採点結果の差が生

表 2 : 協力者の背景情報

協力者	協力者 A	協力者 B
性別	女性	女性
母語	タイ語	中国語
在日期间	2 年 6 カ月	1 年 9 カ月
日本語学習歴	5 年 6 カ月	5 年 9 カ月
L1 による作文能力の自己評価	あまり良くない	普通
日本語による作文能力の自己評価	良くない	良い
L1 での文章産出状況	あまり書かない	あまり書かない
日本語での文章産出状況	あまり書かない	よく書く

表 3 : 協力者が書いた文章に関する情報

協力者	協力者 A	協力者 B
日時	1993.5.14	1993.5.26
課題	単身赴任	外来語
所要時間	83 分 35 秒	65 分 25 秒
文数	18 文	15 文
字数	472 字	704 字
段落数	6 段落	4 段落

表 4 : 第一文を書き始める前の発話プロトコル (A)

行動範疇	発話プロトコル
課題文の読み返し	経済的に負担が多い
問いかけ	給料は余分にもらわないのか。 なぜ、転職しなければならないのですか
話題の計画	会社のために命令される人は、犠牲みたい。その へんは、ちょっと不公平な感じがあるんですね

じた原因を文章産出過程の側面から分析することにする。表 2 に協力者 2 人の背景情報を、表 3 には文章の量的な指数を示す。

結果

ここでは、A と B の文章産出過程を主に次の三つの観点から分析し、その特徴を把握する。

- 1) 第一文を書き始めるまえにどのようにしてプランを生成しているか。
- 2) 第一段落を書きあげるとい目標をどのようにして達成しているか (注 5)。
- 3) 文章を書いている途中でどのようにしてプランを生成しているか。

A の文章産出過程

第一文を書き始める前

A は第一文を書き始める前に、20 分の時間を使ってプランを生成している。この間の発話から一部を抜粋して表 4 (注 6) に示す。

まず、A は課題文の「単身赴任は経済的に負担が多い」という部分をもう一度読み返し、その内容から感じた二つの疑問点を自分自身に問いかけている。そして、その問いかけをきっかけとして「単身赴任をする人は会社の犠

性だ。不公平だ」という話題を計画している。この後、Aは課題文の読み返し→問いかけ→話題の計画、という行動の組み合わせを繰り返し、次の3つの話題を考え出している。

- ・ 単身赴任は家族関係に悪い影響を与える。
- ・ 単身赴任は子どもの教育にも悪い影響を与える。
- ・ 会社も単身赴任をさせるなら、何かやるべきだ。

以上の例は、次のようなAの構想の過程の特徴を示している。

1) 課題文の読み返し→問いかけ→話題の計画という行動の組み合わせが中心である。

2) Aは時間をかけて「どんな話題を書くか」は考えているが、「文章をどう構成するか」や「書き出しをどう書くか」はほとんど検討していない。

第一段落を書く過程

Aが書いた第一段落は以下の文で構成されている。

現在「単身赴任」の問題についてはよく聞いたらしいである。私は

表5：第一段落を書く過程の発話プロトコル (A)

行動範疇	発話プロトコル
リハーサル	最近、現在
書き下ろし	現在、単身
方略の明確化	新聞に出しますから、漢字の問題も考えないといけないですね、漢字を、よく、使った、良い、漢字たくさん使った方が、いいんですね、
書き下ろし	単身赴任
.....
書き下ろし	よく聞いた
リハーサル	らしいで、で、らしいである
問いかけ	必要な、らしい、らしいだけでいいですか
書き下ろし	聞いた、らしいである
.....
書き下ろし	言わせて、いただき、いただきたい、
問いかけ	何体を書いたらいいんですか、今、普通体を書いてるんですけど、丁寧文で、書いた方がいいんじゃないですか
書き下ろし	と、思います、と、思う、ね、思う、

外国人だが、この問題についてちょっと意見を言わせていただきたいと思う。

Aはこの段落を書くために10分の時間を使っている。この間の発話から一部を抜粋して表5に示す。

Aはまず「最近、現在」と表現をリハーサルしている(注7)。このリハーサルを行うことによって、Aはどちらの表現のほうが適切か、またその表現が文法的に正しいかなどを評価していると考えられる。

そして「現在」と書き下ろしたところで、もう一度課題文を読み返し「新聞投書だから漢字をたくさん使った方がいい」と表現上の基準を決定している。

さらにリハーサルを繰り返しながら「現在『単身赴任』の問題についてはよく聞いた」まで書いた時点で、どのような文末表現にするかを自問自答している。まず「らしいである」とリハーサルを行ったが、その表現に自信が持てず「らしいだけでいいかな」と自分自身に問いかけている。しかしこの問いかけに対する答えは見つけれられず、結局「聞いたらしいである」とリハーサルしたままの表現を書き下ろしている。

再び「この問題についてちょっと意見を言わせていただきたい」まで書いた時点で、今度は文体についての自問自答を行っている。これは新聞投書がどのような文体で書かれているかについての知識がないために起こった問いかけである。この問いに対してははっきりした回答は出せず、そのまま「思う」という表現を書き下ろしている。

この例から、次のようなAの文章産出過程の特徴が示唆される。

- 1) リハーサル→(問いかけ)(注8)→書き下ろし、という行動の組み合わせが中心的である。
- 2) 文章を書き始める前に、「漢字をたくさん使うか」、「普通体で書くか丁寧体で書くか」などの表現上の基準が明確になっていない。
- 3) 自分自身の問いかけに対して、自信を持った答えが出せないまま、書き進めている。
- 4) 書き下ろすことが中心的な目標となっており、文章を整え磨くための見直しの過程はほとんど生起していない。

文章を書いている途中で生起する構想の過程

表6は、第二段落を書き始める前に観察された構想の過程である。

Aは第一段落を書き終えた時点で、再度課題文を読み返し、その内容から「外国人」という書き手の立場を明確にしている。そのうえで「日本社会と自

表 6 : 文章化途中での構想過程の発話プロトコル (A)

行動範疇	発話プロトコル
話題の計画	ん、外国人の立場だから、日本の社会、日本の社会の問題を書けば、もし、自分の国の社会と比較したら、いいかもしれないね、
問いかけ	どうしよう、
読み返し	現在、単身赴任の問題については、よく、聞いたらしいである、
話題の計画	じゃ、私の知っている日本人は、単身赴任、あの、てん、転勤を出されて、だから、もう、家族がこういう問題が、ある、あの、書いたらいいかな、

分の国の社会を比較したらいいかもしれない」と話題を計画している。しかし、自分の国では単身赴任という事例がほとんどないため、「どうしよう」と自分自身に問いかけている。そして、その答えを探す過程で「比較する」というプランを捨て「一つの家族を例に取り、単身赴任すればどのような問題が起こるかを書く」というプランを生成している。

この例は、一つの段落を書き終えた時点で、次の段落で何を書くかを計画するというAの構想の過程の特徴を示すものである。

Bの文章産出過程

第一文を書き始める前

Bは「始めてください」という指示が調査者から出された後、10秒沈黙してから第一文を書き始めている。この間プランを生成するための行動は観察されなかった。

第一段落を書く過程

Bが書いた第一段落は以下の文で構成されている。

今、日本では外来語がよく使われていてその程度は氾濫だという人もいるし、外来語の使用を制限しなければならないという主張も出てきた。しかし、外来語でしか表現できない言葉はやはり外来語を使ったほうがいいと私は思う。

Bはこの段落を書くために6分の時間を使っている。この間の発話から一

表7：第一段落を書く過程の発話プロトコル (B)

行動範疇	発話プロトコル
書き下ろし	…氾濫されていると言える
読み返し	今、日本では、外来語が、よく使われている、
修正	外来語が、よく使われていて [「いる」→「いて」]
読み返し	使われていて、その程度は、氾濫されている、氾 濫
リハーサル	だと言える、
修正	だと [「されていると言える」削除]
読み返し	外来語が、よく使われて、その程度は、氾濫だ、
書き下ろし	という、人もいる
.....
リハーサル	外来語、
繰り返す	しかし、
読み返し	今日本では外来語がよく使われていて(略)出てき た、
書き下ろし	外来語、

部を抜粋して表7に示す。

まずBは「今、日本では外来語がよく使われている。その程度は氾濫されていると言えるほど」まで一気に書き下ろし、すぐにその文を読み返している。そして「使われている」を「使われていて」に修正し、もう一度修正した部分を読み返している。さらに「氾濫されている」という部分では、「氾濫だといえる」という別の表現をリハーサルしてから、その表現に入れ替え、その部分も再度読み返している。

また、「しかし、外来語」という表現を考える時には、まず「外来語」という表現をリハーサルし、その前の部分を読み返してから「外来語」と書き下ろしている。ここで見られる繰り返すや読み返し(注9)は、リハーサルした表現が前後の文脈にあっているかどうかを確認するために行われているのだと考えられる。

以上の例は、次のようなBの文章産出過程の特徴を示すものである。

- 1) 最初に自分が表現したい内容を一気に書き下ろし、それを読み返しながら徐々に良い表現に変えている。この特徴からBの文章産出過程では、文章化の過程と見直しの過程が交互に現れていることがわかる。この場合、Bは、書き下ろし→読み返し→(評価)→修正という行動の組み合わせを使用する。
- 2) 新しい表現を考える際には、リハーサル→読み返し、または繰り返す→書き下ろし、という行動の組み合わせを使用する。

表 8 : 文章化途中での構想過程の発話プロトコル (B)

行動範疇	発話プロトコル
問いかけ	それから、それから、それから
要約	動詞とか、自然とか、自然、自然、と、それから、 乱れ [メモ] それから、ニュアンス [メモ]
問いかけ	それから、
読み返し	さっき言ったように (略) うまく表現できると思 う、
書き下ろし	以上のように、ように、

3) リハーサルした表現や書き下ろした表現が前後の文脈に合っているかどうかを確認しながら文章産出を進めている。

文章を書いている途中で生起する構想の過程

表 8 は、第四段落を書き始める前に観察された「構想の過程」である。

B はまず「それから [何を書くか] (注 10)」と自分自身に問いかけ、その答えを見つけるために、第二段落と第三段落の内容を要約している。第二段落の内容は「言語変化は自然なことである」というものであり、第三段落は「外来語が日本語を乱すことはなく、かえって日本語で表せない概念などをうまく表現できる」という内容である。そして、自分が計画した話題を全て書いたということを確認してから、再度前の段落を読み返し、結論を書き始めている。

この例は、常に次に書く内容が前の文脈と合っているかを確認しながら書き進めるという B の構想の過程の特徴を示すものである。

議論

プランについて

Raines (1985) は、非効率の書き手の文章産出過程の特徴として、プランを生成するための行動が非常に少ないということを指摘している。しかし、本研究の結果では、非効率の書き手のほうが文章を書きはじめる前に時間をかけてプランを生成している。

この結果の差をプランの質という観点から考えてみたい。Scardamalia & Bereiter (1987) は、効率的な書き手は「内容」と「修辞」という二つの目標を常に検討しつつ文章のプランを考えると述べている。つまり、効率的な書き手は「何を書くか」を考えたと上で、「どのように書くか」も考え文章の目標を作る。ここでいう「内容」とは「どんな話題を書くか」を指し、「修辞」と

は「どのような文章構造を使って書くか」、「書き出しやしめくくりはどのような表現を使うか」などの文章構造や文章表現の側面を指す。これに対して、Aは時間をかけて内容は考えているが、「どのように書くか」という目標を設定していない。つまり、Aが非効率的書き手だと評価された原因の一つとして「修辭的目標」を設定しなかったことがあると考えられる。また、この可能性は、書き手の構想の過程の特徴を分析するときには、どのようなプランを立てたかを見なければならぬということを示唆するものであろう。

では、プランをほとんど立てていないBの場合はどうなのであろうか。プランは必要ないのであろうか。

安西・内田(1981)は小学2～6年生の文章産出過程を分析した結果、高学年の子どもは、起承結という文章構造や書き出しやしめくくりはどのような表現を使って書けばいいかという全体的なプランはすでに持っていることを指摘している。この指摘は、高学年になれば、すでに持っている全体的なプランにもとづいて文章産出を進め、文や段落の内容を考えるとときに局所的なプランニングを行えばいいということの意味する。

安西・内田(1981)の指摘をBに当てはめてみればどうなるであろうか。Bは日本語で文章を書く機会が多い。この機会の豊富さからBは文章構造や書き出しやしめくくりはどのような書き方をすればいいかという全体的なプランを身につけたのではないだろうか。文章産出後の内省報告でも、Bは「説得するという目的の作文でした。そのような作文だから、外来語をどんどん使ってもかまわないというような理由とか、いいわけなどのものをたくさん書かなければならないと思っていました」と述べている。この報告は、Bが説得文を書く際に、どう進めていけばいいかという全体的なプランを持っていたことを示すものである。つまり、Bはプランを生成しなかったのではなく、すでにプランを持っていたのだと考えられる。

文脈と文章の関係について

AとBはともに段落の切れ目切れ目で次に何を書くかを計画している。しかしそこで用いられる方略は異なる。Aは主に「次に何を書くか」だけを考えているが、Bは「今までに何を書いたか」を考慮した上で「さらに何を書くか」を考えているのである。

また、文章化の過程でも同じような方略の差が観察された。第一に、Aは次に書こうとしている表現をリハーサルし、その表現が形式的に適切であると判断できればすぐにそれを書き下ろしている。これに対してBはリハーサルを行った後で、読み返しや繰り返しを行い、リハーサルした表現が前後の文脈にあっているかどうかを確認している。第二に、Aの文章産出過程では

文章を書き終わるまで見直しの過程がほとんど生じなかったのに対して、Bは表現を書き下ろすたびに、それを読み返し、徐々に良い表現に変えている。これらの方略の差も文章の評価に影響を与える要因として働いたと考えられる。

今後の課題

ここまでの考察から以下の可能性が示唆された。

- 1) 効率的な書き手はすでに全体的なプランを持っている可能性がある。
- 2) 効率的な書き手は言語表現を考える際にも、プランを生成する際にも、常に前後の文脈にあっているかどうかを確認している。
- 3) 非効率的な書き手はプランを生成するときに「何を書くか」しか考えておらず「どのように書くか」を検討していない。

Zamel (1983)、Raines (1995) では、プランニング、読み返し、修正に関して一致した見解が得られていなかった。これは、書き手の文章産出過程の特徴を、プランニングや読み返しという行動の量で一般化しようとしたことにあるのだろう。本研究では書き手の文章産出過程で起こっている行動を質的に分析することによって上記の可能性を得ることができた。この結果から、効率的書き手と非効率的書き手の文章産出過程の差は、量的な分析だけで把握できるものではなく、行動の目的やプランの内容といった質的な分析を行うことによってはじめて理解できるものであるということが示唆される。したがって、今後、文章産出過程の特徴を把握していくためには、実際どのようなプランを立てたのか、何のために読み返ししているのか、さらに文章を書く前に知識としてどのようなプランを持っているかを把握しなければならないだろう。

さらに、本研究で明らかにできなかった以下の4点も検討する必要がある。

- 1) 非効率的な書き手はなぜ修辭的な目標を設定できないのか。
- 2) 非効率的な書き手はなぜプランや表現が前後の文脈に合っているかどうかを確認できないのか。
- 3) 日本語運用能力の差と日本語に関する知識の差がどのように文章産出過程に影響を与えるか。
- 4) 課題の差がどのように文章産出過程に影響を与えるか。

上記の課題を検討することによって、文章がうまく書けない書き手にどのような指導をすればいいのか、そして、どのような課題を与えて文章を書かせるべきかの枠組みが得られるであろう。今後も、本研究のような事例研究を積み重ね、上記の課題を検討を続けていきたい。

衣川隆生は、現在、名古屋大学大学院文学研究科で、主に文章産出過程と作文指導法を研究している。また、日本福祉大学において、学部留学生に対して主に論文作成の指導を行っている。

注

1) 言葉や漢字がわからないために書けないという事態をさけるため、辞書の使用と調査者に対する最低限の質問は許可した。また、訂正箇所と訂正方法を把握するため、消しゴムは使用せず二重線で消すように指示した。

2) 発話思考法とは、問題解決の過程を明らかにする手法として一般的に用いられている手法であり、文章を書く過程で頭に浮かんだことや考えていることをどんどん口に出してもらいそれを記録する方法である。また、発話思考法を行う際には、協力者が自分の母語を使用することも許可した。

3) 本来なら行動範疇の分類も複数の判定者で行うべきであるが、今回は筆者一人で書き手の行動範疇の分類を行い、分類基準を設定することを第一の目標とした。但し、分類が主観的、恣意的になるのを最小限に押さえるため、言語形式から行動を推定することにした。

4) 「構想の過程」の抽出には「1) 行動群の一つ以上の『計画』という行動範疇が現れること、2) 『プラン』を生成しようとしている行動であると判断できること」という2つの基準を、「文章化の過程」の推定には「1) 行動群の一つ以上の『書き下ろし』という行動範疇が現れること、2) 『言語表現化』しようとしている行動であると判断できること」という2つの基準を、「見直しの過程」の推定には「1) 行動群の一つ以上の『修正』または『推敲』という行動範疇が現れること、または2) 行動群の一つ以上の『読み返し』または『評価』という行動範疇が現れること、そして3) 『文章を整え磨く』ための行動であると判断できること」という3つの基準を用いた。

5) 分析の結果、第一段落を書く過程とそれ以外の段落を書く過程で、文章産出過程の特徴に差は見られなかった。そこで、本稿では第一段落だけを分析の対象とすることにした。

6) 表内の発話例は、読みやすくするため埋め草的な要素や繰り返しは削除した。

7) 「リハーサル」は「1) まだ文字化していない表現を言語化し、2) その正確性や適切性を試してみること」と定義した。

8) () は生起する場合と生起しない場合がある任意要素を示す。

9) 「繰り返し」は「書いたものを繰り返すこと」と定義した。「繰り返し」と「読み返し」の差は「文字を目で追いつながりながら書いたものを音声化している」ものを「読み返し」、「文字を見ないで、書いたものを繰り返している」ものを「繰り返し」と考えた。

10) [] は筆者による注釈を示す。

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資料 1 (課題文)

課題文 (単身赴任-Aが選択した課題)

現在家族持ちで転勤をする人のうちの32.5%の人が単身赴任をしています。単身赴任者を年齢別で見ると、40歳代が54.5%と半数以上をしめています。

単身赴任は、経済的に負担が多いだけでなく、家族関係が悪くなったり、子どもの成長にも悪い影響を与えるので、やめるべきだという人もいます。反対に、子供の教育のためには、学校をかわるよりも同じところで勉強したほうがいいので、家族全部で引越すより単身赴任のほうがいいという人もいます。

あなたは「単身赴任制度はやめるべきだ」と主張する人に賛成する外国人の立場から、単身赴任に賛成している人を説得するような新聞投書を書いてください。

課題文 (外来語-Bが選択した課題)

日本では数多くの外来語が使われています。特に雑誌などではどんどん新しい外来語が使用されています。その書き方も外国語の発音にできるだけ近いものを使おうという考えのひと、できるだけ日本語にある発音を使おうという考えの人がいます。

日本人の中には「日本語に言葉があるのに、わざわざ外来語を使う必要はない」「外来語の使いすぎは日本語の乱れの原因だ」という人もいます。反対に「外来語には外来語でしか表せない特有のニュアンスがある」「時代に合わせて日本語が変わるのはしかたがない」と言う人もいます。

あなたは「外来語はどんどん使ってもかまわない」と主張する外国人の立場から、それに反対している人を説得するような新聞投書を書いてください。

資料 2 (作成文章)

Aの作成文章

現在「単身赴任」の問題についてはよく聞いたらしいである。私は外国人だが、この問題についてちょっと意見を言わせていただきたいと思います。

家族だったら、皆そろっていた方がいいと思う。主人一人で転勤したら、いろいろな問題が起こるようになる。例えば、経済的に負担が多くなる。交通費、食事代、電話代

などもちろん多くなる。

経済負担の他に、夫婦の関係も影響を与える。うわぎしてしまった夫の件もあるそうである。まだうわぎしていないが、うわぎしたい夫もたくさんいるようである。夫婦の関係が悪くなったら、家族全体を与えるようにする。

その上、子供の成長にも悪い影響を与える。お父さんとお母さんがそろっていた子供の方が安心して精神的に成長するそうである。

以上のような問題があるから、私は「単身赴任制度」に反対する。会社は家族持ちの人に転勤の命令を出せば、その人と家族のために何かしてくれるべきだと思う。その人が会社の人だから何でも命令してもいいと考えは自己中心の考え方だと思う。人間だから、その人の気持ちに気をつけないといけない。人間はただ仕事ばかりじゃなくて家族のことも大切にすべきだ。

だから、日本の会社の社長の皆様、「単身赴任制度をやめてほしい」。

Bの作成文章

今、日本では外来語がたくさん使われていてその程度は氾濫だという人もいるし、外来語の使用を制限しなければならないという主張も出てきた。しかし、外来語でしか表現できない言葉はやはり外来語を使ったほうが良いと私は思う。

時代が変わるにしたがって、言葉も変るといのはごく自然なことである。もし意思伝達に必要な適当なら、外来語をどんどん作ったり使ったりしてもかまわないと思う。新しい外来語ができたばかりのとき、それを聞いたり読んだりする人には抵抗感があるかもしれないが、知らないうちに、その言葉がだんだん身について、自分自身も使うようになるというようなことがよくある。また、できたばかりの外来語には抵抗感というより、新鮮みを持っている人が多い。だから、外来語の普及はそんなに難しくないし、時間が立つとともに、だんだん理解されたり、使用されたりすると思う。このような言葉に関する変化は自然なことなので、われわれ人間は何らかの手段によってその変化を止める必要はない。また、その変化を止めることもいけない。

「外来語の使い過ぎは日本語の乱れの原因だ」という人がいる。私はそう思わない。というのは、外来語は殆ど名詞として使われていて、日本語の主な枠組みとしての動詞、形容詞、助詞、などはやはり日本語そのものである。だから外来語は日本語の文法構造には何らかの影響は全くないので、日本語を乱すはずはない。先言ったように、外来語は名詞として使われているので、日本語で表せない概念とか事物の名称は外来語によってうまく表現できると思う。

以上のように、外来語によって自分の意思がもっと適当に伝達できることが多いし、外来語が日本語を乱す心配はいらないので、われわれ人間は、このような言語の自然的な変化に従ったほうが良いではないか。

Ideologies¹ of English Language Education in Japan

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If English has not always been taught in Japan as a language of international communication, then why and how has it been taught? This paper discusses three non-communicative purposes which have motivated state-sponsored English education in modern Japan, together with their ideological underpinnings. They are: 1) English as a classical language; 2) English as an inverted image of Japanese; and 3) English as a set of arbitrary rules. It is argued that these motives are now archaic but still largely continue to determine methods of study. Finally, specific suggestions are offered concerning the implications of these ideological traditions for current efforts toward communicative reform.

これまで、日本において、英語は、つねに国際コミュニケーションのための言語として教えられてきたわけではないとすると、なぜ、どのようにして教えられてきたのだろうか。本稿は、近代日本において、公教育における英語教育の動機づけとなった三つのコミュニカティブではない目的と、そのイデオロギー的基盤を論じる。これらの目的とは、古典としての英語、日本語の逆イメージとしての英語、恣意的規則の集合としての英語、である。これらの目的はすでに時代遅れとなっているにもかかわらず、いまだに学習法の決定に大きく影響している。最後に、これらのイデオロギー上の伝統が、英語教育をコミュニケーションを重視するものに変えようとする人たちにとって、どのような意味を持つかについて、具体的な考えが示される。

Most readers of the *JALT Journal* would probably agree readily to the proposition that English as a foreign language should be taught primarily for the purpose of communication, though they would perhaps find it harder to agree on what precisely that means. What, then, does it mean to teach language for non-communicative purposes? At first glance, "for non-communicative purposes" might seem simply another way of saying "for no purpose whatever," but when particular cases and contexts are considered, it becomes apparent that there are indeed other valid reasons for teaching foreign languages apart from that of communication. This paper is particularly concerned with

the public purposes and aims associated with a national education system, rather than the personal motives and objectives of individual learners and teachers, a distinction developed by Holliday (1994a, pp. 69-91 & 1994b). If English has not always been taught in Japan as a language of international communication, then what has it been taught as? Three alternative motives put forward here are: English as a classical language; English as an inverted image of Japanese; and English as a set of arbitrary rules. After a necessarily brief description of the ideological traditions indicated by these headings, the paper offers a number of specific suggestions concerning their implications for current efforts toward communicative reform in Japanese schools.

Three non-communicative motives

English as a classical language

Two separate but related ideas are intended here by the term 'classical': first that English has been seen in Japan not so much as a neutral vehicle of international communication, but rather as a repository of especially valuable forms and meanings, in the same way that, in Renaissance Europe, Latin and ancient Greek were seen as superior codes to the vulgar tongues of contemporary culture, such as English or French; and second, and as a consequence, that English has tended to be perceived as a channel of one-way communication, that is, for the reception of Western ideas but not for the transmission of Japanese ideas to the outside world.

This approach probably originated with the shock of Japan's abrupt encounter in the middle of the nineteenth century, after a long period of isolation, with the economic and technological superiority of Western industrialist/imperialist states. Romantic nationalism, often articulated as a ruthlessly competitive Social Darwinism, was then the prevailing European ideology, and this provided a remarkably appropriate vehicle for Japan's own urgent desires to 'catch up' (Weiner, 1994, pp. 7-37). It should be recalled that a serious proposal was put forward at the time of the Meiji Restoration that, in order to speed up the pace of modernization, Japanese be abandoned and English adopted as the national language (Miller 1982, pp. 107-9). Not surprisingly this suggestion was not taken up, but it did reflect the primary purpose behind the gradual setting up of systems for English-language education in Japan—the construction of a route for direct access to the knowledge and skills of the world's then dominant industrial nations, Great Britain and the United States.

The most obvious evidence remaining within Japanese English-language education of the concept of English as a classical language is the

prevalence of *yakudoku* (translation reading) as a method of classroom instruction. Though often mistakenly rendered as 'grammar translation', recalling the dominant method of foreign language teaching in the grammar schools of nineteenth-century Europe with its focus on the isolated sentence, *yakudoku* more accurately reflects an earlier European scholastic tradition of classical hermeneutics, and in fact derives from methods of decoding ancient Chinese texts developed in Japan many centuries ago. In its most explicit version it is a three-stage operation, involving first a word-by-word translation of the target sentence, then a reordering of the words thus derived, and finally a recoding into Japanese syntax (Hino 1988, pp. 48-50). It reflects the classical assumptions in that it focuses more on understanding the valued contents of the translated text than on mastering the codes of the language itself, and in that it is concerned predominantly with the one-way transmission of ideas from the foreign language. *Yakudoku* undoubtedly constitutes a rigorous mental discipline that can be argued to have an educational value comparable to that associated with the study of Classics in post-Renaissance Europe. However, there is little doubt that it introduces marked distortions and inefficiencies (and not only in reading) if language learning is viewed in communicative terms.

English as an inverted image of Japanese

By this are intended two things: first, that modern Japanese ideology has often seen the world in dualistic terms in which English-language culture serves as its own negative image; and secondly and consequently, that much of the effort apparently dedicated to the teaching of a second language, English, may more accurately be seen as training in the use of the students' first language, Japanese. This may help to explain the greater educational weight that is often given in Japan to foreign-language study over native-language study, sometimes at the level of the curriculum itself and usually at the level of competitive examinations. Given that there is no convincing evidence of any intrinsic relationship between foreign-language skills and general academic ability, this imbalance may in part reflect the classical value assigned to English. However, it also suggests the possibility that in Japan teaching a foreign language may often function as an indirect, displaced method of teaching the mother tongue itself.

Even today Japanese ideology often retains the concept (which can again be traced back to German Romanticism) that a people's language is the embodiment of the spirit of the race or nation. In the 1930s the term *kotodama* (literally, language-soul) was used to appropriate this idea for

the purposes of ultranationalist propaganda (Miller, 1982, pp. 91-101). The term conventionally used within the educational curriculum and elsewhere for the native-language of Japan, *kokugo* (national language), can sometimes still carry an echo of this usage; *nihongo* (Japanese language) is something, perhaps something different, that outsiders learn. Viewed from the inside, the diversity of other languages and cultures is often simply collapsed into the uniformity of what is not-us, outside, strange—*mukô* or 'over there'. The world becomes a binary choice of us and them. The USA can stand for that which is not Japan. Non-European cultures and languages can be largely erased from popular consciousness—the term *gaikokujin* (foreigner) is frequently only used to refer to Westerners. According to this mythology, the Japanese and English languages can stand as opposites, as self and other. Thus, the study of English often can function not so much as a window on to a world elsewhere, but as a mirror reflecting back the Japanese self-image (Pinnington, 1986, pp. 3-12).

The practice of *yakudoku* in many ways reproduces this reflexive process. Its effect is to turn the foreign-language text precisely inside out; the focus of attention is only initially on the codes of the foreign language; most of the productive energy of the method is directed towards the recoded Japanese version. At the end of the translation class, students are left with a text in their native language to contemplate and review. Preparation for the translation exam will often come down to memorization of this recoded version; the original alien code will have been largely displaced from view; the effective educational content may be largely limited to training in the student's native language.

English as a set of arbitrary rules

By this is intended not Saussure's general concept of the arbitrary nature of the sign (Culler, 1976, pp. 19-23), but the way in which, within the education system, linguistic forms can be isolated from their semantic functions and assigned to be learnt as discrete items of knowledge. Such English-language knowledge in fact has come to have a special significance within the Japanese educational hierarchy, which can be explained at least in part by the ideological values of obedience and merit.

Unquestioning loyalty and obedience to authority were key qualities inculcated by the school system which developed under the Meiji Constitution following the Imperial Rescript on Education of 1890 (Gluck, 1985, pp. 147-56), and a residue of its Confucian ideology remains today. Even after the promulgation of the new education system after the war, the priority given by the Ministry of Education to the cultivation of 'public' values such as cooperation and diligence over 'private' values

such as self-expression or self-fulfillment, means that obedience has remained central during a period in which its value has increasingly been questioned or undermined in Western education.

Over the same period the desire to 'catch up' has helped to encourage a rigorously meritocratic and egalitarian sense within the education system, which is echoed in the uniformity of both the centralized school curriculum itself and the broader educational experience of Japanese children. True obedience shows itself best when the behavior required could have no other motive; and prior advantages in education due to wealth or background can apparently be circumvented if what is to be taught and tested represents a closed system of new information. These two ideological factors—obedience and egalitarianism—together have tended to encourage the teaching of English in Japanese schools as a complex set of formalistic rules divorced from their operational value within a communicative context. This is most visible in testing procedures.

The conventional nature of tests of English used both by selective institutions (principally universities and private high schools) in accepting new entrants, and within schools to measure achievement, gives the clearest evidence of this emphasis. What is generally termed *jûken eigo* (examination English) has often been characterized by the principle that the less generative a rule is, the more likely it is to appear on the test sheet. *Jûken eigo* exhibits a strong preference for lists of language items over discursive texts, for peripheral over core forms, and for linguistic knowledge over linguistic performance. *Jûken benkyô* (preparing for such examinations) tends to become the paradigm of all foreign language study. Even when the examinations themselves begin gradually to encourage more communicative skills, the habit of mind among students preparing for examinations is so strong that there is a considerable lag before study habits change. Law (1994, pp. 96-101) makes this point in more detail with reference to the case of university entrance examinations in English.

The non-communicative motives as archaic

The three non-communicative purposes in English-language education in Japan outlined above are not intended to be seen as worthless or pointless. They have clearly matched deeply-felt needs in Japanese society and have helped to direct and justify an enormous expenditure of money and time and energy into foreign-language education. As such, their effect has been positive in large part. Perhaps the worst that we can say about them is that, as ideology, they are characterized by a

significant degree of myth and self-contradiction. But then it would be disingenuous to pretend that the concept of 'English as a language of international communication' is itself entirely free of ideology. At the extreme, it can harbor memories of empire or dreams of hegemony, providing a thin disguise for the idea of 'English as the language of the world' (Phillipson, 1992, pp. 17-37).

However, the most telling argument against the three 'non-communicative' purposes is that the ideology that underlies them is now archaic, that it no longer addresses real social relations within Japan, or Japan's external relations with other states and cultures. The three ideologies have their origins in different historical moments: the notion of 'English as a classical language' derives from the early Meiji era; 'English as an inverted image of Japanese' corresponds most closely to the period of pre-war nationalism; and 'English as a set of arbitrary rules' best fits the reconstruction of the post-war years. But ideology does not fit neatly into discrete periods; it is often prefigured; it often leaves residues. Yet it is apparent that the non-communicative purposes outlined here no longer meet a felt need or provide an effective motivation among the generation of students that we now teach.

In the first case, the concept of English as a classical language, it is now beyond question that, by any economic or technological criteria, Japan passed the stage of 'catching up'. In addition, any cultural arguments for the superiority of the American or British way now look much less convincing than they might have a generation or two ago. From either perspective, the image of English as a repository of superior values is distinctly tarnished.

In the second case, the concept of English as a negative image of Japanese, the underlying dualistic view of the world on which this rests also looks increasingly irrelevant to Japan's real position in the international community. Even if we find former President Bush's heralding of a 'new world order' premature, geo-political realities have clearly shifted significantly in recent years. If the concept of *kokusaika* (internationalization) recently in vogue in Japan still remains vaguely defined, it does seem as though Japan has now at last begun the urgent task of re-establishing its self-identity in a more positive relationship to Asia.

In the third case, English as a set of arbitrary rules, the use of English test scores as a gauge of obedience and merit, far from encouraging cooperation and equality, now looks distinctly unfair and divisive. As increasing numbers of Japanese families have the opportunity to live abroad and experience foreign languages as communicative resources, their offspring are clearly likely to inherit an enormous advantage in the

race for educational advancement. In addition, paying for the privilege of access to prestigious private and preparatory schools has for some time seemed to offer a better prospect for examination success than mere diligence. The recognition of the injustice of these arrangements will have an increasingly negative impact on the Japanese education system unless changes are made.

All three of the non-communicative purposes have by now lost much or all of their power to motivate. Yet they leave behind them a legacy—a set of teaching priorities and procedures which over time have become stiff and inflexible, and which now create considerable resistance to the introduction of new purposes and methods. This in itself has significant implications for the communicative reforms which are currently being encouraged by the Ministry of Education and attempted by many progressive teachers. For these reforms to be efficient and effective, they must address the specific issues of English-language ideology in Japan, and not ground themselves in theories imported from other cultural situations or in naive idealism.

Suggestions towards communicative reform

The ministry's new policy on foreign language education is formally contained in the new School Course Guidelines (*gakushū shidō yōryō*) for Foreign Languages promulgated in 1989, and introduced in junior and senior high schools in academic years 1992 and 1994 respectively. They make the fostering of communication skills and international understanding the fundamental aims of foreign language education; second, they define the specific objectives and contents of all the different stages and courses primarily in terms of linguistic behavior (forms of discourse or language activity) and only secondarily in terms of linguistic knowledge (lists of structures, words, etc.); third, at the high school level they introduce three new courses in Aural/Oral Communication (broadly focusing on informal conversation, listening comprehension, and formal speaking respectively), elective but with the directive that at least one should be taken by all students. (The Guidelines for English Language themselves are available in Ministry of Education [1989], and in an English version in an appendix to Ministry of Education [1994, pp. 98-115], while the new Aural/Oral Communication courses, in particular, are described and criticized in detail in Goold, Madeley & Carter [1993a, 1993b, 1994]).²

While welcoming the broad intent of these reforms we must note briefly a number of unresolved issues. First, within the Guidelines for Foreign Languages, the specific descriptions of the course contents for

particular years and subjects often seem to use concepts and terminology drawn from communicative theory in a mechanical and formalistic way, with little regard for the likely range of real communicative needs among Japanese school children. For example, the frequently employed term *genko katsudō* (language activities) almost always refers to the use of one of the 'four skills' in isolation, rather than to integrated or interactive uses of language. Second, despite an emphasis on pronunciation skills at junior high level and the specific directive concerning the Aural/Oral Communication courses at senior high level, the 1989 Guidelines have little power to require schools to give more weight to aural/oral skills. Given the intense pressure from competitive entrance examinations with their very different priorities, such reforms might easily prove merely cosmetic. Finally, it must be remembered that revisions in the Guidelines, welcome or otherwise, are only the beginning of a process where, even in a centralized education system like that in Japan, the real work of methodological reform remains in the hands of the schools and teachers themselves. In this regard, five proposals are now offered, in outline rather than in detail, which derive directly or indirectly from the foregoing discussion and which might assist in the transition towards a more communicative basis for English-language teaching and learning within the Japanese national education system.

A) On communication and grammar. Much of the thinking generated in Western ELT circles under the rubric of the 'Communicative Approach' is written in reaction to the previous dominant methodology, that is audio-lingualism or other forms of structuralism. The situation in Japan, however, is very different. Despite the efforts of, among others, Harold E. Palmer (see Yamamoto, 1978) it is clear that oral methods have never really taken a strong foothold here; as a method *yakudoku* lacks the structural focus of grammar translation; and *jūken eigo* is less about the core generative structures of the language, than about idioms and irregularities. In consequence, if current reforms wish to increase accuracy and fluency in spoken English, they will probably have to lend a much more sympathetic ear to the claims of structuralist methodology than is evident in contemporary American and European theory. Even the introduction of the oral sequence traditional in audio-lingual methods, of repetition and transformation drills followed by guided and free practice, might in some cases still represent a progressive step. Ellis (1991) arrives at a similar conclusion from a rather different standpoint.

B) On communication and conversation. In the present situation, it would be a mistake to interpret the concept of communication in a

narrow sense to mean merely oral exchange. Reading and writing are no less communicative acts than conversation (Hones & Law, 1989, pp. 6-8). In Japan, given the nature of the *yakudoku* tradition, the development and dissemination of alternative communicative reading methodologies is a vital step in the process of reform (Hino, 1988, pp. 52-3). A significant improvement in reading speed would certainly also assist more generally towards increasing students' momentum in processing and producing meaningful language sequences. This would seem to be a prerequisite for a breakthrough into effective spoken communication.

C) *On communication and games.* There is also a danger within the 'Communicative Approach,' perhaps due to the reaction to the behavioristic and mechanistic aspects of structural and audio-lingual approaches, of reducing the concept of communication to 'fun and games'. Learning can be fun but it will often be arduous. Games can be communicative but they are often highly formalistic. The existing traditions of foreign-language teaching in Japan have often seen themselves as a key element of a broader cultural study, and that is something that communicative reformers should be anxious to retain. There is a danger of a trivialization of the contents of language teaching occurring in the guise of methodological innovation. Language teaching in the public school curriculum ought to be able to justify itself in broader educational terms than mere utility.

D) *On cultural content.* However, it would be wise to reduce the emphasis in text books and other teaching materials on English as a reflection or repository of British and American cultural values, and instead put more weight on less culture-specific topics such as natural or social science or on the international role of the language in business, diplomacy, scholarship, sport, and the arts. The idea that effective learning of English must be accompanied by an understanding of Anglo-American culture can also be seen as a construct of Romantic mythology. In this regard it would be helpful if the range of English native speakers welcomed in Japanese schools could be broadened to include a more generous representation of those from outside England and the United States, and in particular native speakers of English from Asian nations such as Singapore or India.

E) *On the roles of Japanese and foreign teachers.* It may be necessary to rethink and rework the existing division of labor between native and non-native teachers of English within the educational system. As Hones & Law (1989, p.8) argue, that operating at present often seems to reinforce the conventional division in Japanese between *eigo* (English lan-

guage) and *eikaiwa* (English conversation) which only makes sense within the old ideological order, where English can only be fully understood via its alter ego Japanese. This has implications both for team-teaching operations in the school system like the JET scheme and oral English components in the college curriculum. Unless and until we see greater numbers of native-speaker teachers involved in teaching reading skills, for example, and of non-native speaker teachers seeing it as a primary duty to teach oral skills, it will be difficult to convince students that all are engaged in the same enterprise, and that communication skills are not marginal aspects of language learning.

Conclusions

Holliday's general discussion (1994a, pp. 160-78) of the challenges of creating communicative language teaching methodology appropriate to national education systems has a direct application to the situation in Japan. Current attempts to introduce communicative purposes and methods into school and university English classes seem likely to achieve a much higher degree of success if they start from an understanding of the nature of the ideology that underlies many of the practices that have become habitual in English-language education in Japan. At the same time, this will involve a recognition that communicative approaches are not in themselves value-free, but require an ideological underpinning that is genuinely internationalist and that must at least in part be consciously constructed.

An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Tokyo JALT Regional Conference, 20 February 1994, at Bunkyo Women's College, under the title "English for Culture-Specific Purposes." I am grateful to many participants for their valuable comments and suggestions.

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Notes

1. The term "ideology" is intended throughout more in the weak, neutral sense of a form of thought common to a particular society or social group, than in the strong sense of an explicit political philosophy or the pejorative senses of false consciousness or fanatical theory. On these distinctions, see Williams,

1983, pp. 153-7, and Gluck, 1985, pp. 6-9.

2. It should be noted that the in-depth analysis of the new Guidelines for Senior High School English in Goold, Madeley & Carter (1993a, 1993b, 1994) is to some extent confused by the failure to distinguish, in both citation and discussion, between the Guidelines themselves and the detailed commentary on them by the panel of educational experts commissioned by the Ministry included with the Guidelines.

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(Received October 1, 1994; revised April 14, 1995)

Translation-aided Approach in Second Language Acquisition

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This paper points out the impracticality of direct methods as a way of making language input comprehensible, and recommends using translation instead. Krashen's idea of comprehensible input (1981) has been considerably prominent in the field of second language acquisition (SLA) theory (Ellis, 1985). The importance of comprehensibility of input, however, should have required us to discuss more carefully how to make input comprehensible. Translation as a way of making input comprehensible seems to have so far been neglected, because of prevailing negative attitudes toward the traditional grammar-translation method. Based on Palmer's argument (1917) that translation is a very important tool for "semanticizing" language, this paper explores new ways of applying translation to SLA classrooms.

本稿は、言語材料を「理解できるインプット」とするためには直接法は非実用的であることを指摘し、翻訳を使うことを薦める。クラシェンによる「理解できるインプット」(Krashen 1981)という概念は、第二言語習得理論の分野ではかなりの影響をもってきた(Ellis 1985)。しかし、インプットが理解できることは重要だとは考えられたが、インプットをどのようにして理解できるものにするかは注意深く論じられたことはなかった。これまで、翻訳によってインプットを理解できるものにする方法は、無視されてきたように思える。これは、伝統的な文法訳読法に対するわれわれの否定的な態度のせいだろう。翻訳は言語を「意味あるものにする」ための大切な道具だというパーマーの見解(Palmer 1917)をもとに、本稿では、第二言語習得を目的とする授業に翻訳を応用する新しい方法を模索する。

In the field of second language acquisition (SLA), translation has long been criticized as "uncommunicative," "boring," "pointless," "difficult," "irrelevant," and the like" (Maley, 1989). Reacting to the long dominance of the grammar-translation method, communicative language teaching, one of the major reforms in language teaching this century, has been based on monolingual teaching methodology (Howatt, 1984). Krashen's Input Hypothesis (1985) seems to have made a decisive im-

pact on the importance of direct comprehensible input justifying the relevance of methods such as the Audio-lingual Method, the Direct Method, or Total Physical Response (Krashen, 1987). While others (Sharwood-Smith, 1981; Stevick, 1980; Bialystok, 1982; and Tarone, 1983) take a position against the strict limitations Krashen gives to the role of grammar-learning in SLA (Ellis, 1985), translation alone seems to have been blacklisted in the communicative language movement (Duff, 1989).

Though "translation theory," summarized and developed by Newmark (1988), has rich implications from a purely linguistic viewpoint, it mainly focuses on translation as a professional craft, not as a teaching method for SLA. Malakoff and Hakuta (1991) present an interesting study about the translation ability of bilingual children and open up new possibilities for the study of translation in terms of psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic perspectives. This may give valuable insights into SLA, but again translation is not regarded as a direct contributor in the process of acquisition.

Has the role of translation really ended in SLA? Several people have tried to explain the positive aspects of translation as a teaching method. Recently, Duff (1989) and Sheen (1993) emphasized that translation can contribute to enhancing the accuracy and clarity of students' understanding. Hammerly (1994) reviewed the controversy over the effectiveness of monolingual versus bilingual education, and concluded that bilingual education is more relevant in SLA classrooms. Much earlier, Sweet (1899) and Palmer (1917) explained the necessity of using translation as a way of making input comprehensible.

Taking these discussions as a point of reference, this paper intends to contribute to a reappraisal of the use of translation in communicative language teaching. First, it points out the problem direct methods have in making input comprehensible, and refers to Palmer's argument (1917) in detail to reconsider the value of using translation for that purpose. After analyzing why translation as a way of making input comprehensible has been avoided, it provides some practical suggestions for the use of translation in communicative language teaching.

A Problem of Direct Methods—Impracticality

In spite of the trends which emphasize direct input, these methods have not necessarily formed a mainstream in English education in Japan (Hino, 1988). Some of the factors for this are: the lack of teachers with native-like speaking ability, too much emphasis on reading ability due to the exam-oriented curriculum, and large class sizes. Beyond all such

external problems, however, these methods seem to have even more serious internal problems.

The common ground all the direct methods (i.e. methods emphasizing the importance of direct input) share in trying to make input comprehensible is that they use extra-linguistic contexts to help the learners catch the meaning: in the Direct Method, objects, diagrams, charts, gestures and pantomimes are used (Krashen, 1988, p. 10); the Audio-lingual Method uses dialogue situations and drama (Rivers, 1964, p. 42); Total Physical Response uses body movements and pictures (Asher, Kusudo, and de la Torre, 1983), and the Silent Way uses objects, situations, and some visual aids (Gattegno, 1983). Integrating all the ideas scattered in these methods, the Natural Approach (Krashen, 1988) presents many kinds of activities which try to give context without using the students' first language (L1). Though Krashen's attempts to make input comprehensible may be helpful in themselves, they have inherent limitations. Carefully looked at, most activities presented deal only with the learners' daily life situations, the context all are most familiar with. This means that if teachers depend only on given contexts to make input comprehensible, they cannot go beyond daily life topics. How can teachers effectively give the meanings of abstract concepts using only extra-linguistic contexts? Can teachers give the meaning of such vocabulary as *truth* or *property*, only through the presentation of contexts, without danger of misinterpretation by learners or too much effort required from teachers? In the section titled "Teaching Vocabulary" (pp. 155-157), Krashen (1988) addresses this concern:

It may be argued that a Natural Approach to vocabulary acquisition is impractical, in that classroom time is limited and that only a small range of topics can be discussed. (p.156)

However, he only mentions the superiority of the Natural Approach in terms of memory retention, leaving the problem of impracticality itself as it is. Asher et al. (1983) also address the question unsatisfactorily. As an example of teaching nonphysical vocabulary and nonphysical structural features, they present a command such as "Marie, pick up the picture of the ugly old man and put it next to the picture of the government building," suggesting that "in a step by step progression through hundreds of picture sets, the student is fine-tuned for phonologic, morphologic, and syntactic features in a target language" (p. 70). This suggestion should cast doubts because pictures obviously cannot illustrate certain human ideas without ambiguity, however elaborated and sophisticated they may be.

Palmer's Theory of How to "Semanticize"

Palmer (1917) suggests there are four different modes of conveying the meaning of a given unit in foreign language teaching. To quote,

- (A) By material association, i.e. associating the unit with that which is designated by it.
- (B) By translation, i.e. associating the unit with the equivalent native unit.
- (C) By definition, i.e. associating the unit with its definition or paraphrase.
- (D) By context, i.e. giving examples of its use. (p. 49)

It seems that modern approaches to comprehensible input have excluded (B), translation, for no clear reason. Palmer (1917), on the other hand, carefully criticizes the simple assumption that (A), (C), and (D) are better for making input comprehensible.

First, comparing material association and translation, he attributes the advantage of this form of association to the fact that it is accompanied by "spatialization." Spatialization is a law of mnemonic psychology, which states that if two or more new terms are learnt in different places they will tend not to be confused in memory work (Palmer, 1917, p. 54). For example, when objects or pictures are used, the eyes of the students successively go to different ones in different places, and this strengthens the association of the objects and the language. However, when the two concepts are completely dissociated or when a concept is particularly striking, Palmer (1917) writes there will be very little difference between (A) and (B): "London = Londres (mode B) may be more direct than London = [the place to which I am pointing on this map] (modification of mode A)" (p.55). Even though we assume that generally (A) is more direct than (B), (A) is limited to concrete objects, objective qualities and actions. So in other cases we must choose from among (B), (C), and (D).

As for the use of definition (mode C), Palmer (1917) states that definitions come from our long educative process; the concept of such words as *subjective* or *integrate* can only be developed gradually. We cannot afford to force learners to repeat the process they have already gone through to teach such words. Technical terms in science and mathematics also are understood in a complicated context, sometimes over a long period of time (Palmer, 1917, p. 56). Why study them anew when they are clearly understood with native equivalents?

Finally, giving examples (mode D) may be valuable as an exercise for successful guessing, but is always in danger of causing misunder-

standings. To illustrate this, Palmer (1917) gives an example.

Suppose the teacher gave *Je prends le livre; je le prends; prenez le livre; je prends un livre quand je veux lire; je prends le train quand je veux voyager*, etc., to teach the meaning of *prendre*. The student may think to himself, *Prendre* means take, and might say, *Prenez cette lettre a la poste, or Mon pere m'a pris a Londres*. (Palmer, 1917, p. 64)

After considering these points, Palmer (1917) suggests:

When the foreign language word to be demonstrated is known to be for all practical purposes the equivalent of a native word, translation is a better mode than definition; when the word to be demonstrated is known to be a doubtful equivalent or when the value of the equivalence is unknown, it is more prudent to confirm the translation by definition or by context; when the word to be demonstrated is known to have no equivalent whatever in the native language, then we must have recourse to definition or to context. (p. 58)

Thus in Palmer's argument, definition and context should play the secondary role in giving meanings; they should only complement translation.

Reasons for the Unpopularity of Translation for Semanticizing

With these clear advantages in terms of efficiency and accuracy in the use of translation, why have association, definition, and context (modes A, C, and D) been exclusively advocated in communicative language teaching methodologies? First, there has been confusion in the discussion of how to make input comprehensible and how to increase the amount of input. As these modes use the L2 to teach meaning, their use can comparatively increase the amount of input, though they are problematic as a tool for making input comprehensible. Krashen (1987) reviews several traditional and modern methods, including the grammar-translation method, in terms of comprehensibility of input. He says that grammar-translation provides only "scraps of input" (p. 128), and that in this method "the model sentences are usually understandable, but the focus is entirely on form, and not meaning" (p. 128). Here "scraps of input" refers to the small quantity of input, not the quality or comprehensibility.

The process of making input comprehensible in grammar-translation certainly takes time and decreases the amount of input. As Newmark (1988) says, however, translation is "a craft consisting in the attempt to replace a written message and/or statement in one language by the same message and/or statement in another language" (p. 7); it is so devoted to keeping the original meaning that at least the quality of input

it gives cannot so easily be denied. Krashen's confusion of the argument about quality and quantity of input in this section of his book (Krashen, 1987, pp. 126-146) seems to be an example of an overreaction to the negative aspects of grammar-translation.

The Quiz Structure of a Lesson

Another reason why the other three modes have been dominant may be that they suit the typical classroom teaching structure: all require students to think and guess to find the answer. This quiz structure engages students in some activity and keeps the teachers in the position of leading and guiding. In the case of translation, if learners are given the equivalent translation to semanticize the word, they don't have to think or guess—in other words, the translation is the answer. Not surprisingly teachers want to avoid the time-consuming, potentially dead-end elements of conjecture or speculation in order to keep a lesson as a lesson. Shavelson and Stern (1981) suggest that teachers tend to focus on classroom activities rather than needs analysis, task design, or evaluation, because they are faced first and foremost with deciding how to entertain and engage students. Barnes (1976) also says that most teachers use the question-answer routine as a way of controlling learners' attention.

This quiz structure can also be seen in textbooks which first present the L2, and then translations or explanations in the L1. The assumption is that learners first will decipher the meaning from the unknown texts. So-called composition (*sakubun*) textbooks present the L1 first and then give the L2, but again learners are expected to construct sentences with unknown lexical items. Thus in the conventional use of translation, a quiz-like task is set between the L2 and its L1 translation. This quiz structure is, however, very different from the natural acquisition process children go through; in this process, we use whatever means we can to give the meaning of the target language to the child directly.

Recent studies about "motherese" point out that mothers use a number of adjustments, such as simplifications and redundancy, in order to make input comprehensible (Ellis, 1985). Besides, when a child knows beforehand through the help of contexts the meaning of what is about to be said (i.e. when input is already comprehensible), mothers simply say the language to them immediately: they never ask them "what am I going to say now?" and wait for the answer. In both cases, mothers try to eliminate the gap between language and meaning. Thus in children's natural acquisition process, language and meaning come in simultaneously, or meaning comes first and language follows immediately. On

the other hand, translation in the grammar-translation method always follows input. Who can give a translation before the presentation of a target sentence when the translation is considered the answer? Likewise, in English "composition," who can immediately give the target sentence when the sentence itself is considered the answer?

Using translation not as an answer but as a helper, we can take in both the target language and the translation, or meaning, at the same time; or translation first, and target language after. Examples of both are presented in the activity of watching movies. Obari (1995) and Iwasaki (1995) recommend watching English movies with L1 subtitles, either listening to the L2 and looking at the subtitles simultaneously, or after watching with the subtitles and understanding the scenes, watching without the subtitles. Watching with subtitles is based on the idea that our L1 is so familiar that written letters, at least when as rather short sentences, can be considered as pictures to convey meaning. Looking at the written letters "I love you" transfers the meaning they carry to native speakers of English at a glance, in the same way a picture of an orange is easily recognized as an orange. Halliday (1985) states that language is at the same time a part of reality, an account of reality, and an image of reality.

Written language exists; it is like the machine itself, the stone and the surface of the water, the male and female persons in the environment. (Halliday, 1985, p. 99)

Thus written, not oral, translation can be considered a visual medium expressing a wide range of concepts. In classrooms, which are so remote from the real world and so difficult to establish realistic contexts in, the native language can be an extremely convenient visual aid for making input comprehensible. In order to keep the quiz structure, translation can be used not as a means of getting input but one of strengthening input.

Bad Habits / Negative Interference

Foreign language teachers tend to think that using the learners' L1 leads to the habit of always associating a foreign word with its native equivalent (Palmer, 1917, p. 62). There is also concern that the L1 interferes with L2 learning (Ellis, 1985, p. 19)

How might the habit of associating an L2 word with its L1 equivalent work negatively in SLA? The main problem is time efficiency; replacing a language with another to understand what it means takes time. Clearly, if learners continue to attach L1 equivalents to L2 words they will be extremely inefficient language-users; they cannot afford to carry a com-

plete set of two languages juxtaposed in real communication. However, in learning through translation this is not necessarily the case. Translation gradually falls off as we meet the same word repeatedly in different texts. The explanation for this can be seen in Stevick's argument (1982, pp. 45-49) that our memory of a word consists of a stack of images. When learners first meet a new L2 word and are given a L1 equivalent, the L1 translation becomes part of the new image in their brains, along with the context in which the L2 word occurred. The neurochemical record, according to Stevick (1982), remains available for a while, but fades as time passes. When they meet the same word in a different context, the word brings with it something of the image taken in before. Then again, following the same process, a new image is stored which includes the second occurrence together with that context. The important concept here is that the L1 equivalent works as part of the image of the word, and may fade with the passing of time. This means that the bad habit of associating the L1 with the L2 can be interrupted by enriching the image through encounters with the word in many different contexts, thereby eventually stopping reference to the L1. The L1 is necessary only as long as it helps to narrow down the range of images learners can project to the new words.

It may still be argued that when the L2 and its L1 equivalent are not exactly the same in meaning, misunderstandings might become fossilized (interference). However, Krashen (1981) claims that negative language transfer should not be seen as mistakes, but as falling back on the L1 because the target L2 has not been fully acquired. Ellis (1985) summarises the recent reappraisal of the role that the L1 plays and points out that it "can serve as one of the inputs into the process of hypothesis generation" (p. 37).

Newmark (1988) states that every translation involves some loss of meaning, and that basically the loss is on the continuum between overtranslation, with increased detail, and undertranslation, with increased generalization (p.7). Interestingly, the same continuum is found in theories of children's L1 acquisition of word meaning. Ingram (1989) summarizes "the semantic feature hypothesis" and the "functional core concept theory" are two important theories of a child's development of word meaning (pp. 398-401), and points out that according to these theories, a child starts to develop word meaning by either overextension or underextension. If L1 learners start with these, why not allow L2 learners to use overtranslation or undertranslation as a starting point?

On the other hand, at the earliest stage in direct methods a hypothesis made only with the help of extra-linguistic context can be rough

and ambiguous. Such uncertainty in understanding may lead students to frequently return to their L1, asking their peers or teachers for the meaning. Thus while direct methods are intended to expose students only to L2, the outcome can be contrary to this expectation.

The crucial point here is not to avoid using L1, but, after the use of initial stage translation, to raise the quantity and quality of input which can be implemented by giving different examples or reading materials or exercises. Ellis (1985) claims "if SLA is viewed as a developmental process, . . . , then the L1 can be viewed as a contributing factor to this development, which in the course of time, as the learner's proficiency grows, will be less powerful" (p. 40).

Implications for Classroom Teaching

If we want to apply the Input Hypothesis (Krashen, 1985) to classroom teaching, we need the efficiency and comprehensiveness translation to help make input comprehensible. However, this does not imply a return to grammar-translation. In the grammar-translation method, grammar was used as a guide to translation, activating students' analytic skills. In the new frame of thinking, translation is a means to give meanings. Namely, students are not expected to undertake the process of translation, but to examine and understand the product of translation.

As for the empirical research on this use of translation, Sheen (1993) mentions Seibert (1930), Cohen & Aphek (1980), Tucker, Lambert & Rigaut (1969) as showing the superiority of the use of translation equivalents to an inductive approach in vocabulary learning. What other things can we do with this concept of translation, especially for communicative teaching classrooms?

Simultaneous Input—Language and Meaning Given Simultaneously: One possible exercise of this type is reading L1 subtitles while watching a movie and listening to the L2. This is advantageous in that the pictures and the story can give meaningful contexts, complementing what subtitles give, and it can also be impressive and fun (Iwasaki, 1995; Obari, 1995; Takahashi, 1995). We may, however, have to face limitations in application, such as: 1) the language in movies is limited (in terms of difficulty, style, grammar points, etc.), so teachers may find it difficult to control teaching points; 2) inflexibility in the curriculum, or lack of the audiovisual equipment; and 3) the mix of three sets of information (pictures, L2 speech, and the subtitles) may be overwhelming to some learners. Though this exercise itself is not free from problems in classroom

use, the idea of listening to the L2 while reading the L1 can be applied to any stage of classroom teaching.

For example, Blair's "integrated approach" (1982), which combines techniques from Curran, Lozanov, Gattegno, Terrell, Asher, and others, gives translation in some "preparatory" exercises before using those techniques in the class (pp. 233-239). In one exercise, students are given the bilingual script as well as a cassette recording in the target language. After the preparatory stage of semanticizing, techniques such as mnemonic priming, adding progressively more details, or having background music in the presentation of the language are used to engage students and enhance learning. This use is one realization of the idea of translation as a starting point, not as a goal.

Listening to the target language while looking at a written translation is thus effective as a preparatory procedure which can later be followed by activities intended to make the input part of the learners' permanent knowledge. In this way, the quiz structure is maintained not by having students translate, but by giving activities which use language whose meaning has already been reasonably ascertain through translation.

Delayed Input—Language Given after Meaning: When sentences are longer and more complicated, it is more difficult to take in both the target language and its translation at the same time. In this case, learners can read the translation and understand what is going to be said before they approach the target language text. With movies, learners can first watch with L1 subtitles, and then later without L1 subtitles and either with or without L2 subtitles.

The idea of delayed input can also be seen in the teaching procedure of Suggestopedia (Lozanov, 1982):

The translation of the lesson in the mother tongue is given to the students at the beginning of the lesson to look through cursorily, and is then taken away. In this way the instruction is modeled on what is natural for adults—to have a translation of the text in the foreign language. (p. 159)

This description seems to show that Suggestopedia considers the role of giving translation to be lowering the "affective filter" (Krashen, 1988, pp. 37-39) or strengthening "suggestion," by appealing to the learners' old habits. Though this is not made explicit by its description, it is clear that translation is used as the main way of giving the meaning of the text. Why should students look at the text only cursorily? This seems to be another example of minimizing the role of translation for no clear reason. In this procedure translation should be referred to again and

again until the meaning has been grasped by the learners. Without worrying too much about how to make input comprehensible, we can concentrate on how to help the learners take in the target language.

Finally, one essential problem with this approach is that it requires teachers to be sufficiently bilingual. Also, it assumes the learners in a class to be L1 homogeneous. Junior and senior high school teachers and classrooms in Japan basically meet this condition, so this approach could be incorporated in the Oral Communication Course instituted in 1994 following implementation of the new Ministry of Education, Science and Technology guidelines.

Then, what about other teaching situations? Hammerly (1994), in his presentation of the "Multilingual Model," suggests the possibility of developing a program which deals with even more than two languages in a classroom, urging that multilingual teaching materials with each student's native language be organized using computer hardware and software and the help of authors and consultants (p. 269). I believe that if materials are designed which are user-friendly to teachers, at least they will find it possible to take advantage of this.

Conclusion

Primarily because of the excessive negative-reaction to the traditional grammar-translation method, translation has been underestimated in modern teaching approaches. However, if language teachers adopt an alternative view of translation, one totally different from the conventional view, they can make the most of the potential it has as a semanticizer. Translation can be a starting point in the teaching process. Modern approaches have widened the possibility of helping students to learn language through playing with it. A wise use of translation combined with these approaches can complement what has been crucially lacking. Because there are many kinds of translation (Newmark, 1988), one of our imminent tasks will be to specify what kind of translation is appropriate to best meet specific teaching purposes. Empirical studies about the effectiveness of this new use of translation in classrooms will also be needed.

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(Received September 19, 1994; revised February 7, 1995)

Fragmentation in Conversational Japanese: A Case Study

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This paper is a quantitative analysis of the postposing phenomenon in Japanese casual conversation focusing on the relationship between information status and fragmentational patterning of postposed elements in the discourse. The transcription of a 45-minute conversation was segmented into intonation units (IUs), which are defined as "a sequence of words combined under a single, coherent intonation contour" (Chafe, 1987, p. 22). Each of the IUs containing instances of postposing was then coded for several categories. Analysis revealed that speakers frequently postposed intransitive subject NPs/pronouns, adverbial clauses, and given information. It was also found that given information tended to constitute the final part of an IU, whereas new information was always placed in an independent IU. As an explanation for the observed coherent fragmentational behavior of postposed new information, a cognitive constraint on new information quantity per IU is proposed.

本稿は、日本語のくだけた会話における倒置を、情報の性質と談話の中で倒置された要素の分節パターンに焦点をあてて、量的に分析する。45分間の会話が文字化され、イントネーション・ユニット (IU) に分けられた。IUは「単一の一貫したイントネーション曲線によってまとめられた複数の語のつながり」(Chafe, 1987, p.22)と定義される。次に、倒置を含むIUをいくつかのカテゴリーに分けた。その結果、しばしば倒置されるのは、自動詞の主語となる名詞句、あるいは代名詞、副詞節、そして既知情報であった。また、倒置された既知情報は一つのIUの後半部分となる傾向があるのに対し、同じように倒置された新情報はつねに独立したIUとなることがわかった。倒置された新情報が独立したIUを構成することの説明として、一つのIUにふくむことのできる新情報の量に認知的制約があるという考え方が提唱される。

Spontaneous spoken discourse naturally segments itself into "intonation units (IUs)" (Chafe, 1987, 1993, 1994). The IU is defined as a sequence of words, or a stretch of speech uttered under a single coherent intonation contour, usually demarcated by an initial pause (Chafe, 1987; Du Bois, Schuetze-Coburn, Paolino & Cumming, 1992). That is, spontaneous spoken discourse has the property of being produced in a series of spurts. These spurts of language, or the coherent

chunks into which speakers fragment talk, have been considered the basic units of information flow (cf. "tone groups" or "information units" in Halliday, 1985; "intonation groups" in Cruttenden, 1986). For Chafe (1980), the IUs are "linguistic expressions of focuses of consciousness, . . . whose properties apparently belong to our built-in information-processing capabilities" (p. 48). Concerning the structure of the IU, recent cross-linguistic research has shown that while the majority of IUs in spoken English take the form of a complete single clause (Chafe, 1987; 1993; 1994), Japanese IUs tend to be non-clausal, or phrasal, and thereby shorter and more fragmentary than English IUs (Clancy, 1980; Iwasaki, 1993; Matsumoto, 1995b; Maynard, 1989).

Japanese spoken discourse exhibits constructions which apparently violate the verb-final requirement (cf. Hoji, 1985; Kuno, 1973, 1978; Matsumoto, 1995a; Saito, 1985; Shibatani, 1990; Takami, 1994), i.e., so-called "postposing"¹ constructions in which an element or elements appear after the verb, as shown in (1):²

1. nihon de KANgaerarenai ne sonna koto
 Japan in impossible FP such thing
 "(Is) impossible in Japan, such a thing."

In accounting for such instances of postposing in spoken Japanese, Shibatani (1990, p. 259) claims that the verb, or verb plus final particle has a sentence-final falling intonation, whereas the post-verbal element has a low, flat intonation contour, and that, therefore, the postposed element is best considered as an afterthought appended to the end of a complete sentence. Thus the existence of this type of construction, he argues, does not violate the verb-final requirement of the Japanese language. Hinds (1976, p. 116), on the other hand, observes that the verb plus final particle is uttered, not with a sentence-final falling intonation, but with a continuing, flat intonation pattern. These contradictory observations lead us to speculate that there in fact exist two types of postposing constructions which are marked by different intonation patterns falling on the verbal element. They also suggest that intonation is an important consideration in studying the Japanese postposing phenomenon.

One recent qualitative study on postposing (Ono and Suzuki, 1992) took such intonation patterns into account is, distinguishing four types of postposing constructions based on their intonational characteristics and discourse functions. Other studies investigated the discourse functions of Japanese postposing qualitatively but with no reference to such differences in intonational features (e.g., Hinds, 1982; Maynard, 1989; Shibamoto, 1985; Simon, 1989). However, no detailed quantitative analysis

has been available to date of the postposing phenomenon in Japanese conversation, especially in relation to intonation patterns, units of discourse production, and the given/new informational distinction.

This study is concerned with the following research questions: (a) how frequently does postposing occur in Japanese casual conversation? (b) which grammatical categories and constituents are most frequently postposed? and (c) what relationships exist between the speakers' discourse fragmentation into IUs, information status, information quantity, and postposing? What are the speakers' strategies for postposing given/new information in terms of discourse fragmentation?

The Study

Subjects: Two female Japanese UCLA graduate students in their mid-20s, S and Y, speakers of Tokyo Japanese, provided the data for this study. The audio-recorded data was from a 55-minute casual face-to-face conversational interaction between them at a hamburger shop in Los Angeles. A total of 45 minutes of the conversation consisting of four episodes was used as the data for this study. The topics of the four episodes were: Episode 1 = roommates, Episode 2 = the Halloween shooting of a Japanese boy, Episode 3 = danger in the U.S., and Episode 4 = riot in Los Angeles.³

Data Transcription: The data were transcribed using the transcription conventions selected from Atkinson and Heritage (1984), Andersen (1991), and Du Bois et al. (1992), paying careful attention to intonation and pausing. The transcription was segmented into what Chafe (1987) calls "intonation units (IUs)." Each IU was put on a separate line and sequentially numbered in the transcript for coding purposes. An IU is a sequence of words combined under a single, coherent intonation contour, usually preceded by a pause. Among Chafe's (1980, p. 14) three criteria (i.e., intonational, hesitational, and syntactic) for identifying IUs, I used the intonational criterion as the single most reliable indicator of an IU boundary in this study (cf. Cruttenden, 1986; Du Bois et al. 1992; Pierrehumbert & Beckman, 1988). This means that neither the presence of a pause nor the syntactic structure of a clause was counted as a necessary criteria for determining the boundary of an IU in conversational Japanese. In this study six intonation contours were distinguished as markers of an IU boundary: (a) final or falling, (b) continuing (with the final syllable stressed), (c) continuing (with the final syllable unstressed), (d) rising, (e) rise and fall, and (f) rise-fall-rise.⁴

Data Analysis: The IUs in each episode were coded for the following categories: (a) presence or absence of postposed elements, (b) grammatical category (e.g., subjects, objects, adverbials) of postposed elements, (c) constituent type (e.g., NPs, PPs) of postposed elements, (d) information status, i.e., whether the postposed element refers to given or new information, and (e) fragmentational status, i.e., whether the postposed element constitutes an independent IU or the final part of an IU.

Definitions of Given and New Information: In coding the information status of each concept, I used the following operational definitions of given, accessible, and new information⁵ (cf. Chafe, 1987; Du Bois, 1987): (a) given: a referent which was mentioned within 30 IUs previously in the discourse,⁶ or a referent which is given from the conversational context itself (e.g., the conversational co-participants), (b) accessible: a referent which was mentioned more than 30 IUs previously, or a referent which was previously unmentioned but is part of a previously-evoked schema,⁷ or a referent which is identifiable by prior knowledge already shared by the participants, and (c) new: a referent which is neither (a) nor (b), i.e., a referent which was introduced into the discourse as a previously-unmentioned, totally new concept. In what follows, I will use the binary distinctions of New and Given (= Non-New), where the categories "given" and "accessible" are subsumed under the category Given.

Results and Discussion

Intonation Units and Postposing: The transcription of the 45-minute conversation yielded a total of 1,526 IUs⁸ of which 84 (5.50%) included instances of postposing. Table 1 shows the number of IUs and postposed elements produced by each participant in each episode.⁹ Both of the participants, S and Y, exhibited the highest rate of postposing in Episode 1 (S = 9.38%; Y = 4.42%; note also Total = 7.32% and the average number of postposings/min = 2.90), in which the greatest number of IUs were produced (N = 437; 39.7 IUs/min). The fact that the highest rate of postposing correlated with the "denseness" of the conversation suggests that the speakers' use of postposing constructions may be related to aspects of active conversational turn-taking by the participants. The rate of postposing that occurred in the "narrative" portions of the conversation and the rate of postposing that occurred in the "genuine" conversational interaction (Table 2) seem to indicate that postposing is more positively related to active conversational turn-taking between co-participants.

Table 1: Number of IUs and Postposed Elements by Episode and Participant

	Episode 1 (11 min.)		Episode 2 (11 min.)		Episode 3 (13 ymin.)		Episode 4 (10 myin.)		Total (45y min.)	
Number of IUs	S:	256 (58.6%)	S:	95 (28.8%)	S:	103 (23.9%)	S:	193 (58.8%)	S:	647 (42.4%)
	Y:	181 (41.4%)	Y:	235 (71.2%)	Y:	328 (76.1%)	Y:	135 (41.2%)	Y:	879 (57.6%)
	Total	437		330		431		328		1,526
Average no. of IUs/min.		39.7		30.0		33.2		32.8		33.9
Number of postposing	S:	24 (9.38%)	S:	3 (3.16%)	S:	9 (8.74%)	S:	11 (5.70%)	S:	47 (7.26%)
	Y:	8 (4.42%)	Y:	10 (4.26%)	Y:	14 (4.27%)	Y:	5 (3.70%)	Y:	37 (4.21%)
		32 (7.32%)		13 (3.94%)		23 (5.34%)		16 (4.88%)		84 (5.50%)
Average no. of postposing/min.		2.90		1.18		1.77		1.60		1.87

Table 2: Number of IUs and Postposed Elements in Conversations and Narratives

	IUs	Postposing	
Conversation	1,125	70	6.2%
Narrative	401	14	3.5%
Total	1,526	84	5.5%

Distribution of Postposed Elements: Distribution of postposed elements (N = 84) by grammatical category (a) was adverbials (N = 46 = 54.8%), subjects (N = 27 = 32.1%), objects (N = 8 = 9.5%), and others (N = 3 = 3.6%)¹⁰; (b) of postposed NPs (N = 37), pronouns (N = 12 = 32.5%) and bare nouns (N = 11 = 29.7%) were most frequently postposed; (c) of the postposed adverbials (N = 46), non-referring adverbs (N = 12 = 26.1%), subordinate clauses (N = 12 = 26.1%), and postpositional phrases (PPs) (N = 10 = 21.7%) were most frequently postposed, and (d) distribution of grammatical roles for the postposed non-topic NPs (N = 35) was intransitive subjects (= S roles) (N = 23 = 65.7%), transitive objects (= O roles) (N = 8 = 22.9%), and transitive subjects (= A roles) (N = 4 = 11.4%).

Information Status of Postposed Elements: The results indicated: (a) of the postposed elements with referential functions (N = 72), 55 (76.4%) are Given and 17 (23.6%) are New; (b) the postposed elements are mostly Given information across the four grammatical categories, and (c) the percentage of givenness is higher in postposed objects (87.5%) and subjects (85.2%) than in adverbials (67.6%). In sum, the data reveal a marked tendency to postpose Given information.

Fragmentational Patterning of Postposed Elements: The results showed: (a) subjects (N = 27) tend to be tacked onto the final part of an IU (N = 18 = 66.7%), whereas referring adverbials (N = 34) tend to be independent IUs (N = 22 = 64.7%), and (b) 52.4% (N = 44) of all the postposed elements (N = 84) constitute the final part of an IU, whereas 47.6% (N = 40) of them constitute an independent IU. The data do not exhibit a skewed distribution of postposing toward either of the fragmentational patternings.

Relationship between Information Status and Fragmentational Patterning: Concerning the interactions between the postposed elements' in-

Table 3: Number of Postposed Elements by Information Status and Fragmentational Patterning

	Independent IUs	Final Part of IUs	Total
Subjects-Given	5 (21.7%)	18 (78.3%)	23 (100%)
Subjects-New	4 (100%)	0 (0%)	4 (100%)
Objects-Given	3 (42.9%)	4 (57.1%)	7 (100%)
Objects-New	1 (100%)	0 (0%)	1 (100%)
Adverbials-Given	11 (47.8%)	12 (52.2%)	23 (100%)
Adverbials-New	11 (100%)	0 (0%)	11 (100%)
Others-Given	0 (0%)	2 (100%)	2 (100%)
Others-New	1 (100%)	0 (0%)	1 (100%)
Total-Given	19 (34.5%)	36 (65.5%)	55 (100%)
Total-New	17 (100%)	0 (0%)	17 (100%)
Total	36 (50.0%)	36 (50.0%)	72 (100%)

formation status and fragmentational patterning, the data reveal that Given information ($N = 55$) tended to constitute the final part of an IU ($N = 36 = 65.5\%$), whereas New information ($N = 17$) was placed in an independent IU 100% of the time (Table 3). That is, the speakers tended to postpose Given information by appending it to the end of an IU, whereas they introduced New information exclusively in a separate, independent IU.

Coherent Fragmentational Patterning of Postposed New Information:

Further examination of the relation between the postposed element and the "original" IU from which it has been postposed, in terms of the information status of concepts or entities contained in each, showed that the postposed New information follows a coherent pattern: New information was postposed exclusively out of an IU containing New (and Non-New, in most cases) information, and, to repeat the finding given above, it was introduced exclusively in an independent IU, instead of being appended to the end of an IU out of which it has been postposed.

Schematically, this means that the postposed New information has exhibited only the information-flow pattern (2a) below¹¹ (where N = New; N = Postposed New; G = Given (given or accessible), the number of which is not limited to just one; dots indicate the existence of previous (i.e. not new) information that may be contained in the unit):

2.	a.	IU-1	..	N ..	b.	IU-1	..	N ..	N
		IU-2		N					
	c.	IU-1	G		d.	IU-1		G	N
		IU-2	N						

Example 3 shows the postposed new information in *italics*:

3.	a.	Y:	nanka koo					
			well this					
	++		jidoosha-o	+	butsuchekatta	no	yo	ne?
			car -ACC		hit-PAST	NML	FP	FP
			<i>ryuugakusei</i>		<i>-ga</i>			
			foreign student		-NOM			
	+		<i>dareka</i>		<i>-ni</i>			
			someone		-DAT			

"A foreign student hit (his/her) car against someone's car."

	b.	Y:	ano					
			well					
	+		ralph's		ni			
			Ralph's		to			
	++		yoru	juu:jihan	gurai	ka	na?	
			night	ten-thirty	about	Q	FP	
			ni	itta	no	ne?	@	
			at	go-PAST	NML	FP		
	+		<i>helen</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>issbont</i>			
			Helen	with	together			
			<i>kuruma</i>	<i>notte</i>	@			
			car		drive-and			

"(I) went to (the) Ralph's at about ten-thirty at night with Helen by car"

Non-coherent Fragmentational Patterning of Postposed Non-New Information: Postposed Given (= Non-New) information, on the other hand, did not behave in the same consistent way. The data exhibited all of the four patterns (4a)-(4d) (where G = Given; *G* = Postposed Given; N = New):

4.	a.	IU-1	..	N ..	b.	IU-1	..	N ..	G
		IU-2		G					
	c.	IU-1		G	d.	IU-1		G	G
		IU-2		G					

The distribution of the postposed Given information (N = 55), in Table 4, shows that 80% of the postposed Given concepts were postposed out

of an IU containing New information (in addition to given and/or accessible information, in many cases), and appended to the end of it (4b: Type = 45.5%), or placed in the next independent IU (4a: Type = 34.5%).

Table 4: Number of Postposed 'Given' Information Items
by Information-flow Type

(4a) Type	19	34.5%
(4b) Type	25	45.5%
(4c) Type	4	7.3%
(4d) Type	7	12.7%
Total	55	100%

Examples 5a and 5b, where the postposed Given elements are in *italics*, belong to the information-flow types (4a) and (4b), respectively:

5. a. Y: sonna kemutakatta? =
that smoky-PAST
"Was (it) that smoky?"
S: = un kemutakatta yo.
yeah smoky-PAST FP
"Yeah, (it) was smoky."
soide
and
++ ano: chotto kikoeru te yuu wake yo.
well a bit hear QT say NML FP
"(She) says (she) can hear a litte bit."
++ [*raiotto*].
riot
"the riot."
Y: [IYA::] Da::!
hateful
"Oh, I hate it!"
b. Y: moo ikkai
more once
"once again"
+ BA:n te oto -ga shite,
bang QT sound -NOM make-and
"(it) went bang."
JUUsei na no yo sore -ga:, =
gunshot be FP FP it -NOM
"was a gunshot, it.
S: = EE::!
"oh no!"

One New Entity per Unit Constraint: One cognitive explanation for the observed coherent fragmentational patterning is that new information is postposed by "force" out of an IU which could otherwise have contained two new concepts within it, such that it will be compatible with what I call "one-new-entity-per-unit" constraint, which allows only one new entity or concept in each IU (cf. Chafe, 1987; Du Bois, 1987; Givón, 1984). My hypothesis is as follows: at the end of the initial pause which precedes the speaker's utterance of a new IU, under ideal conditions, all the information to be expressed in the upcoming IU will have become active in the speaker's mind (Chafe, 1987). Usually only one new concept is activated for the speaker at this point, but once in a great while more than one new concept will become activated. In such a case, when two pieces of new information become activated, only one of the new concepts is allowed to be expressed in the upcoming IU by the "one-new-entity-per-unit" constraint at work on the basic units of discourse production, and hence, the other new concept is forced to be placed, i.e., postposed, in the next IU.¹² This is how and why new information exhibits a coherent pattern in the Japanese postposing phenomenon: new concepts are postposed exclusively in a separate IU from an IU which itself contains a new concept. It is, however, the speaker's choice which of the new concepts to place in the upcoming IU and which to postpose. Presumably, the speaker places information which is more directly relevant to the topic of the ongoing and upcoming discourse in the period of vocalization immediately following the initial pause (cf. Givón's [1983, p. 20] psychological principle: "Attend first to the most urgent task."). In effect, this has the function of foregrounding the new concept, which the speaker has selected to place in the upcoming IU, while backgrounding the other new concept which has been postposed. Postposing of non-new information, on the other hand, regardless of its fragmentational behavior, that is, whether it involves a separate IU or just the final part of it, will not affect the "one-new-entity-per-unit" constraint.

No previous research has addressed the maximum amount of non-new information within a basic unit of discourse production. The present study has shown that each of the IUs involving postposing contained no more than three non-new concepts (including the postposed elements), with many of the units containing one or two. It is certainly reasonable to assume then that the fragmentational behavior of postposed given concepts is also restricted by a constraint, just as that of new concepts, as I have argued above, is constrained by the "one-new-entity-per-unit" constraint. I will tentatively call this behavior the "no-more-than-three given entities per unit" constraint.¹³

Conclusion

The results of this investigation of the relationships between postposing, discourse fragmentation into IUs, and information status in Japanese conversational discourse have shown that the participants postposed 5.5% of the total IUs they collaboratively produced, postposed intransitive subject NPs/pronouns and adverbial clauses most frequently, and showed a marked tendency to postpose given, rather than new, information. Most interestingly and importantly, it was also found that when the speakers postpose given information, they tend to append it to the end of an IU out of which it has been postposed, whereas new information is postposed by placing it in an independent IU. That is, the speaker's postposing strategy in Japanese conversational interaction seems to be the following: 1) Postpose given/accessible information, which is already active either focally or peripherally for the speaker, and the speaker considers to be active for the hearer as well (Chafe, 1987), by appending it to the end of an IU; 2) Postpose new information, which is neither focally nor peripherally activated, in a separate new independent IU so that it will be more salient for the hearer who will process that newly-introduced concept.

The constraint on postposing, or the speakers' postposing strategy in terms of discourse fragmentation and information status which this study has uncovered has important implications. First of all, this strategy suggests that intonation contours have a function of distinguishing given and new information in Japanese spoken discourse. This appears to be in accord with Halliday's (1967) claim that one of the functions of intonation is to mark off which information the speaker is treating as new and which as given (Brown & Yule, 1983). Second, it provides evidence that the speakers do not fragment discourse randomly, but sort discourse fragmentation into IUs. More specifically, the consistent placement of new information in an independent IU seems to reflect, or can be considered the result of, the speakers' interactionally-determined choice to facilitate the information flow in the discourse. It presumably reflects the speaker's choice to make new information, although backgrounded (Takami, 1994), more salient to the hearer who is processing it.

Finally, it should be noted that while this research may be a significant step in analyzing the fragmentation and postposing phenomena in conversational Japanese, the suggestions I have tentatively made above are on the basis of a single transcribed conversation. That is, women speakers, Tokyo dialect, young Japanese, and graduate students abroad all may be variables which might have affected this study in subtle ways. Given the

limitation of a single conversation, more research should naturally follow for an elaborated, deeper investigation of the phenomena.

I would like to thank Roger Andersen, Shoichi Iwasaki, and Tim Stowell at UCLA for valuable suggestions and helpful discussions on this topic.

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Notes

1. The term "postposing" is used in this paper simply to refer to the placement of elements in a postverbal position. The use of the term does not imply movement of constituents from a canonical preverbal position. It is used as a neutral term indicating the postverbal, as opposed to preverbal, placement of elements.
2. This is one of the examples which were actually observed in this study. Transcription conventions are as follows (cf. Andersen, 1991; Atkinson & Heritage, 1984; Du Bois et al. 1992):

=	inter-speaker latching
WOrd	upper case indicates loud talk (stressed or emphasized)
[]	overlapping or simultaneous talk
wo:d	sound prolongation or stretching

intonation contours marking the end of each IU

,	continuing intonation (final syllable stressed)
no symbol	continuing intonation (final syllable unstressed)
.	falling, or final intonation
?	rising intonation

+	very short pause (0.1-0.2 seconds)
++	medium length pause (0.3-0.6 seconds)
+++	long pause (0.7 seconds up)
@	listener backchannels (affirmative response)

Abbreviations are: NOM = nominative, ACC = accusative, DAT = dative, FP = final particle, QT = quotative marker, NEG = negative, NML = nominalizer, Q = question marker.

3. Brief interactions which occurred at the beginning of the conversation and between the episodes were not used as data. They were concerned with ordering and the food being eaten.

4. IUs which are marked with stressed final syllables are often found in young females' speech. The rise-fall pitch contour functions to seek agreement or to impose the speaker's opinion on the hearer, whereas the rise-fall-rise pitch contour shows the speaker's doubt or dissatisfaction.
5. It is assumed in Chafe's (1987) discourse production model that the speaker's utterance of an IU functions to activate all the concepts it contains for the hearer, while deactivating others, and to bring about changes in the activation states of information in the hearer's mind. Thus, "given" concepts are those that were "already active" for the speaker prior to uttering an IU, and which the speaker assumed to be active in the mind of the hearer as well. "Accessible" or "previously semi-active" concepts are those that the speaker, before the uttering of an IU, transferred from the semi-active to the active state. "New" or "previously inactive" concepts are those that the speaker, before uttering an IU, transferred from the inactive to the active state.
6. Du Bois (1987) uses 20 IUs for this measure in his analysis of the Pear Story Sacapultec narratives, following Givón's (1983) measure of referential distance. I used 30 IUs (20 multiplied by 1.5) instead based on the fact that Japanese IUs tend to be non-clausal.
7. When a schema is evoked in a discourse, some of the expectations or concepts associated with it are assumed to change into the semi-active state. For example, the "class" schema includes such concepts as "students," "a classroom," and "a lecture" as accessible entities (Chafe, 1987, pp. 29-30).
8. These IUs do not include what Maynard (1986) calls "turn-internal listener backchannels," or what Schegloff (1981) calls "continuers," i.e., brief backchannelling expressions (e.g., *un*, *bee*) which the interlocutor who assumes primarily a listener's role sends during the other interlocutor's speaking turn, especially in a long multi-unit turn (e.g., storytelling).
9. Table 1 indicates that while in Episodes 1 and 4 the number of IUs produced, or the amount of talk in the conversation, is relatively balanced between the two co-participants, S and Y, in Episodes 2 and 3 more than 70% of the IUs were produced by Y. This can be accounted for by the fact that the conversational interaction in Episodes 2 and 3 centered on Y's narratives or storytelling. In total, however, the percentage of IUs produced is fairly balanced between the two interactants, 42.4% by S and 57.6% by Y.
10. The category "adverbials" includes non-referring adverbs such as *zettai* "absolutely" and *kekkyoku* "consequently" (N = 12). The category "others" includes topics and nominal complement clauses. Elements were coded as "subjects" or "adverbs" if they functioned as such, even if they are marked by the so-called topic marker *-wa*. Also, only "base-generated genuine" topics as in (i) were coded as topics (cf. Shibatani, 1990).

- (i) Tookyoo-wa daremo shiranai.
 Tokyo -TOP no one know-NEG
 "As for Tokyo, (I) don't know anyone (living there)."

11. To be more exact, postposed elements containing new information showed

consistent behavior, given that most of the postposed adverbials and clauses (subordinate and non-finite) contained given and/or accessible concepts as well as new ones.

12. This hypothesis provides a satisfactory explanation for those cases where elements are postposed with no discernible initial pauses. When postposing involves significant pausing, however, it could be argued that the postposed elements have been added as an afterthought, and were not in the active state at the time of the utterance of the previous IU. In this study, all cases of postposing of new information involved short or no initial pauses, that typically were uttered in a compressed manner.
13. These two constraints amount to saying that the maximum amount of information that can be contained within a single IU (at least one involving postposing) is "one new and three non-new." The constraints on the amount of information in an IU, however, naturally follow from the capacity and duration limitations of short-term memory. This in turn restricts the content and duration of IUs, given that these units (Chafe, 1980), are linguistic expressions of a single focus of the speaker's consciousness, and that focus is presumably on new information. That is, IUs submit to cognitive constraints or limitations which confine the amount of information to be contained within each unit.

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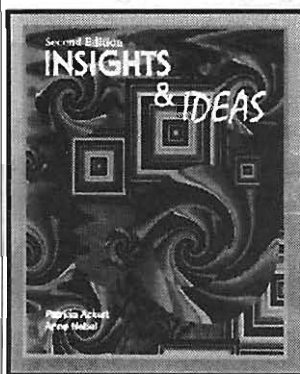
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(Received January 14, 1995; revised June 20, 1995)

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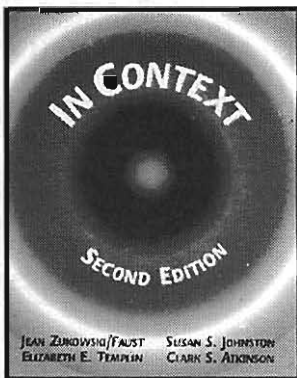
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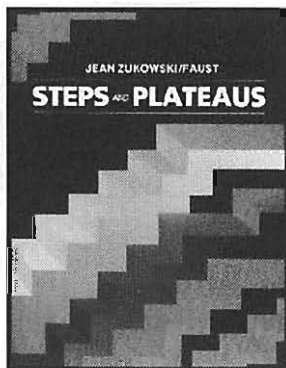
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Point-to-Point

A Reaction to Brown and Yamashita "English Language Entrance Exams at Japanese Universities: What Do We Know About Them?"

Barry O'Sullivan

Faculty of Education, Okayama University

The article by Brown and Yamashita (*JALT Journal* 171), pp. 7-30) serves to highlight the lack of published accounts of empirical research in the area of university entrance test evaluation in Japan. In attempting to achieve their stated purposes

- a) to describe current testing practices at major institutions, and
- b) to establish a baseline of information so that change or lack of change in testing practices of such universities can be monitored in future years, (p. 11)

the authors express a desire to "help English teachers in Japan prepare students for taking such [entrance] tests and help their students in deciding which test to take" and, in addition, to "aid those responsible for creating entrance examinations to prepare high quality tests" (p. 7).

While the article is a welcome and long overdue look at university entrance examinations, there are quite serious problems with it that cause it to lose much of its value, and to fail to achieve its above quoted goals.

The design of the study severely reduces the possibility of using the data for the purpose of either classroom- or research-driven decision making. Though it is useful as a guide for those who may have no previous experience of the entrance examinations, the data presented here lacks the type of information necessary for any teacher to formulate hypotheses. An experienced teacher will agree that decisions such as which test to take, strategy planning and item prediction can only be made when a study is made of individual tests over a number of years. Such a study would consist of the type of descriptive analysis attempted here, and also of an analysis of the language and content of the individual test items.

Though a large amount of information is provided by the data presented by Brown and Yamashita, it is clear that its lack of detail and 'history' ensures that its usefulness as an adequate baseline for guiding pedagogy (i.e. test-taking pedagogy) and generating research hypotheses or testing decisions is called into question.

In practical terms, the Japanese teacher of English must ask

- a) Can I, as a teacher, confidently predict from the data the nature and organisation of any one of the described tests for the coming year?
- b) Can I suggest to my student any specific test-taking strategies based on the data for particular tests presented here?

The data provided here cannot allow for a positive response to either of these questions, making the findings of the paper of limited use to that teacher. Therefore, the decision to use a cross-sectional study, combined with the purely descriptive nature of the data appear therefore to ensure that the first goal, that of formulating an adequate description of the tests, is clearly not met.

The other audience for the paper appears to be those involved in setting the tests. While the data here may highlight some areas of possible worry, such as the high Flesch-Kincaid and Fog readability indices for some tests—Keio, Kyoto, Tokyo and Yokohama are singled out (p. 26)—it provides no empirical evidence of problems with validity and reliability in any of the tests reviewed—even with the tests quoted above we can not be sure if they deliberately and consistently use passages with high readability indices or if the examples from the year surveyed were in some way unusual.

Though the use of inferential statistics was explicitly avoided in the study (p. 13), the authors proceeded to make generalizations in the conclusions that one would expect to have been generated from such statistics. This seriously affects the usefulness of the conclusions, and must surely limit the effectiveness of the appeal to the "universities and the language professionals who write the tests" to attempt to avoid the "problems" highlighted (p.28).

If there is a question mark over the validity and reliability of entrance tests it is better that studies focus on the provision of concrete evidence relating to the existence of these problems. While it is accepted that the limited availability of test scores severely restricts the extent to which tests can be analysed, a study of the design and construction of any of the tests referred to here over a number of years would allow the researcher to reach conclusions that could be used as

'real' evidence of the existence of problems. This, I believe, would be seen as a more constructive form of criticism and would have a far greater chance of reaching those test makers referred to above.

While the thrust of this reply has taken a rather negative view of the Brown and Yamashita article, it is not meant merely to criticize what is a valuable and solid first step in the process of evaluating Japanese university entrance tests. In opening a debate on the reliability and validity of these examinations the article has confronted an issue of growing importance, and has raised a series of questions which researchers should now strive to answer with empirical evidence. These questions include:

- Is there evidence of a topic awareness bias in some tests?
- How harmful is the dependence on translation?
- Can we establish the content and construct validity of these tests?

The Authors Respond to O'Sullivan's Letter to *JALT Journal*: Out Of Criticism Comes Knowledge

James Dean Brown

University Of Hawaii At Manoa

Sayoko Okada Yamashita

International Christian University

We would like to begin by thanking Barry O'Sullivan for his criticisms of Brown and Yamashita (1995a), as well as for his words of praise.

Taking the criticisms first, as far as we can tell, his primary complaints are that there are "quite serious problems" with our study in that:

1. "the design of the study severely reduces the possibility of using the data,"
2. we do not provide enough "detail and 'history'," and

3. we provide "no empirical evidence of problems of validity and reliability in any of the tests . . ."

Beginning with the issue of design, we purposely chose to use a descriptive approach rather than an inferential one because of well-justified concerns about the types and number of statistical comparisons that would have been necessary in such a statistical study (for more on this topic, see Brown, 1988). We also chose the descriptive route out of consideration for the audience of the *JALT Journal*, who are by-and-large hard-working teachers with little or no training in advanced statistics.

With regard to the issue of not providing enough detail, the amount of data involved in such a study necessarily involves making decisions along the way about what to include and what to exclude. We did this to the best of our abilities providing a tremendous amount of detail in a very limited space, but apparently, what we did was not up to Mr. O'Sullivan's expectations.

As for the issue of providing "history", we certainly looked for such "history" in the literature and found nothing. That is why we did our study, that is why we set out to provide base-line data, and that is why we have begun to create "history" by studying the same examinations in subsequent years. For instance, Brown and Yamashita (1995b) compares the 1994 tests to the 1993 tests described in Brown and Yamashita (1995a).

As for failing to provide evidence of the lack of reliability and validity of the tests, it is primarily the responsibility of the test developers (not the general public or the teaching profession or Brown and Yamashita) to provide evidence of the reliability and validity of the tests. As the American Psychological Association has put it (CDSEPT, 1985), "Typically, test developers and publishers have primary responsibility for obtaining and reporting evidence concerning reliability and errors of measurement adequate for the intended uses" (p. 19). They also state that "evidence of validity should be presented for the major types of inferences for which the use of a test is recommended" (p. 13). To our knowledge, no such evidence exists for the university entrance examinations in Japan. In addition, when we have requested such information from a number of universities and/or sought access to the data in order to study these issues ourselves, we have encountered resistance, secrecy, and a total lack of cooperation. A black hole of information exists about these important examinations from which no light can escape. Hence, we can only conclude, as we did in Brown and Yamashita (1995a & 1995b), that problems may exist with the reliability and valid-

ity of these tests. Naturally, we would welcome studies of these issues and would ourselves happily participate.

We would like to emphasize the fact that Mr. O'Sullivan was not entirely negative about our study. For instance, he stated that (a) our study "serves to highlight the lack of published accounts of empirical research in the area of university entrance test evaluation in Japan," (b) our paper provides "a valuable and solid first step in the process of evaluating Japanese university entrance tests", and (c) "in opening the debate on the reliability and validity of these examinations, the article has confronted an issue of growing importance,..."

He ends by calling for "empirical evidence" that addresses three questions:

1. "Is there evidence of a topic awareness bias in some tests?"
2. "How harmful is the dependence on translation?"
3. "Can we establish the content and construct validity of these tests?"

We would like to end by seconding his call for further research and adding to his list a number of other questions that occurred to us along the way:

4. How are norms established on these tests, and how do they vary from university to university and year to year?
5. What evidence is there for the reliability of these university entrance examinations (e.g., what is the K-R20, or Cronbach alpha reliability of these tests)?
6. What evidence is there for the decision reliability of these exams (i.e., what is the standard error of measurement, and how is it used to make university admissions decisions responsible and fair)?
7. What evidence is there for the content, construct, criterion-related, face, decision, or social validity of these tests (for more on these types of validity, see Brown, 1995a or 1995b)?
8. How are standards set for the cut-points used in deciding who will be admitted and who will not? Are state mastery methods used? Or, test-centered continuum methods? Or, student-centered continuum methods? Are rational methods used at all? (for more on standards setting, see Brown, 1995b)
9. Why do the examinations cost so much given the relatively cheap and easy-to-score formats that are used? Or put another way, why is it that communicative listening and speak-

ing subtests are not used on these exams even though there is apparently plenty of revenue to support such sound testing practices?

10. What is the impact of the "washback" effect of these tests on the educational system? In particular, what is their effect on the teaching of English?

The very fact that Mr. O'Sullivan felt compelled to react to our study is an encouraging sign. We would like to challenge him and any other readers who are interested in this issue to do their own research on the university entrance examinations so that all of us can begin to understand and perhaps ameliorate any existing negative effects of the "examination hell" that hundreds of thousands of students in all corners of Japan face year after year after year.

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Research Forum

A Preliminary Study of Voice Quality Differences between Japanese and American English: Some Pedagogical Suggestions¹

Yuichi Todaka

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Studies of voice quality, while limited, suggest there may be a normal voice quality difference across languages. This paper first reports on a study of measurable voice quality differences in bilingual English (L1)/Japanese (L2) speakers. Results suggest that a focus on voice quality, in addition to conventional phonological features, may aid in producing correct pronunciation. Activities for focusing on voice quality in the classroom are suggested.

声の質の研究は、その数は限られてはいるが、言語によって標準的な声の質が異なっているかもしれないということを示唆している。本稿は、英語を第一言語とし、日本語を第二言語とするバイリンガル話者の、測定しうる声の質の違いについて報告する。その結果は、伝統的な音韻的特徴だけでなく、声の質にも焦点をあてることが、正しい発音を身につける役に立つかもしれないということを示唆している。授業で使える声の質に焦点をあてた学習活動が提案される。

Though studies on voice quality have been conducted in the past (see Laver, 1980 for an extensive literature review), little research has been carried out to see if normal voice quality differences exist across languages. Hanley, Snidecor, & Ringel (1966) compared pitch and loudness among Spanish, American English, and Japanese speakers (eight male subjects each); they found that the Spanish and the Japanese groups had higher pitch and lower sound pressure levels than the American group. It is difficult, however, to assert conclusively that differences observed are due to cross-language factors. Individuals vary greatly in pitch and loudness of speech due to anatomical and speech-style differences. Use of either a much greater number of mono-

lingual subjects or carefully selected bilingual subjects would be necessary to eliminate these and other sources of variation.

The main objectives of this study were to find out if there are systematic voice quality differences between Japanese and English speakers in order to make appropriate pedagogical applications. The study attempted to answer the following questions: (1) Are there any speaking pitch and/or loudness differences between speakers of the two languages? If so, do the differences observed come from cultural or linguistic factors?; (2) Is there any difference in the overall supralaryngeal tension which is attributable to cultural or linguistic factors?; and (3) Is there any difference between the overall laryngeal tension which is related to cultural or linguistic factors?

Since it is not possible to observe directly any language-specific difference in supralaryngeal tension, the study focused mainly on the laryngeal and respiratory (i.e., speaking F0 and intensity) features. Thus, the investigation of language-specific supralaryngeal tension factors is based solely on Laver's (1980) classification of lax and tense settings.

Method

Two male and two female bilingual subjects were used to minimize anatomical effects on voice quality. The L1 of all speakers was English. Since one of the difficulties in conducting a cross-language analysis on voice quality is to find appropriate bilingual subjects, pre-screening and post-assessment procedures were conducted.² The selected subjects then participated in various aerodynamic and acoustic experiments. All aerodynamic and acoustic recordings were made in the UCLA Phonetics Lab.

In the aerodynamic experiments, each subject wore a mask containing a piece of gauze which exhibited a known amount of resistance through which the ongoing air pressure had to pass (Rothenberg, 1973). The flow rate was calculated from the pressure difference across the gauze. Oral pressure was recorded using a tube inserted through a hole in the mask designed for that purpose. Before the session the air pressure and flow devices were calibrated; the pressure by use of a manometer and the flow by introducing a known flow. In addition, EGG (Electroglottograph) data were collected through a loose collar with two surface electrodes placed around the neck while the subjects phonated, and the data were entered into a computer for subsequent analyses. A headphone microphone was placed approximately two inches from the mouth and to the side.

Regarding the acoustic experiments, five factors were measured using a computer: (1) formant frequencies; (2) harmonic amplitude differ-

ences; (3) average speaking fundamental frequency; (4) long-term spectral average, and (5) bandwidth differences.

A formant is "a group of overtones corresponding to a resonating frequency of the air in the vocal tract" (Ladefoged, 1993, p. 293). According to Laver's (1980) classification, formant ranges are narrower in lax voice than in tense. Less extensive radial movements of the center of the mass of the tongue away from the neutral configuration were found in lax voice. Therefore, formant frequencies of five vowels (i.e., /a/, /i/, /u/, /e/, /o/) were compared to test for supralaryngeal setting differences. It has been reported that the Japanese vowel space is much smaller than its English counterpart (cf. Keating and Huffman, 1984).

A harmonic is "a whole-number multiple of the fundamental frequency of a wave form" (Ladefoged, 1962, p. 112). Various researchers (cf. Henton and Bladon, 1985) inferred the differences between various phonation types by comparing the amplitude differences between the first harmonic and the second harmonic. Therefore, the harmonic amplitude differences were computed here to infer laryngeal setting differences.

Bandwidths are the range of frequencies to which a resonator responds effectively (Ladefoged, 1962). It has been reported that the bandwidths of the first formant is mainly affected by wall loss, whereas the bandwidths of the higher formants are influenced by radiation loss (Rabiner and Schafer, 1978). In other words, an examination of the bandwidth of the first formant will enable us to determine the overall supralaryngeal tension.

The long-term spectral average analytical method has been used by pathologists to establish criteria to quantify pathological voices (Kitzing, 1986; Hammerberg et al., 1986). A breathy voice is associated with a high noise level (cf. Laver, 1980), and high levels of energy at frequencies between 5 K and 8 KHz are said to be associated with noise component of a breathy-voiced source (cf. Yanagihara, 1967). A recent study (Shoji et al., 1993) reports that breathy voices can be clearly differentiated from normal voices by means of long-term spectral average techniques. Though such a technique is most often used by pathologists to quantify pathological voices, it can be used equally well to infer noise level differences in a high frequency band between normal voices in two languages, as in the present study. Therefore, this technique was used to infer laryngeal setting differences between the two languages.³

Results and Discussion

1. Laryngeal setting: The two female subjects in the present study showed a consistent pattern of employing a relatively lax laryngeal setting in Japa-

nese (i.e., their L2) in comparison with their setting in English ($p < 0.05$). This lax setting involves less complete closure of the vibrating vocal folds and also a constant aperture. On the other hand, no consistent differences were observed between the two languages in the two male subjects.

A great deal of research has revealed gender differences within a language (Henton and Bladon, 1985; Klatt and Klatt, 1990). It is said that there is a tendency for English female speakers to employ a breathy setting, though some inter- and intra-speaker variations are found (cf. Holmberg et al, 1988). Therefore, it is possible to interpret the male-female difference found here from the perspective of gender differences. Thus, the observed differences may be due to a sociocultural factor. This interpretation is, however, still speculative and needs to be tested in a subsequent study.

2. *Speaking F0 and Intensity*: All the subjects (both males and females) used higher speaking F0s in Japanese than in English ($p < 0.05$), but no consistent difference in SPL (Sound Pressure Level) was found. The observed F0 (i.e., acoustic correlate of pitch) difference may be the result of a sociocultural factor since the opposite was expected based upon linguistic factors. In other words, lower F0s in Japanese were expected because of a higher ratio of low to high vowels—three to five times higher in Japanese than in English monologue data. In addition, the SPL results may have been due to inter- and intra-subject variations of speaking style at the time of recording, since no consistent patterns were observed among the participants.

3. *Supralaryngeal setting*: All of the subjects used much more vowel space in English than in Japanese. In other words, the high tense vowel in English - /i/ - the low back vowel - /a/ - and the high back vowel /u/ describe a greater range of articulatory settings than the common range of Japanese vowels (i.e., a tenser supralaryngeal setting in English according to Laver's 1980 classification). However, no consistent bandwidth differences were observed across languages (i.e., no obvious tension difference according to Laver's 1980 classification).

To summarize these findings:

1. Female speakers employed a breathier laryngeal setting in Japanese than in English.
2. All speakers used a higher pitch in Japanese than in English.
3. All speakers used a wider vowel space in English than in Japanese.

Based upon the findings of the previous and the present studies, several teaching suggestions are given in the next section.

Teaching Suggestions

When Japanese learners of English practice the pronunciation of the target language, they tend to focus upon segmental features by listening to and repeating model pronunciation. However, such practice has failed to produce satisfactory results (Celce-Murcia, 1987). The suggestions in the present study are, therefore, based on the assumption that the general aspects of the voice quality setting of the target language should be taught in addition to conventional lower-level features (i.e., segmentals and suprasegmentals). This assumption is in line with Esling and Wong (1983), who advocate the importance of teaching the higher-level setting features (i.e., voice quality settings) in the target language. We therefore suggest that the higher-level features be assimilated into the lower-level features. Regarding English as the target language, in particular:

1. When producing the sounds, the speaker should apply more subglottal pressure (i.e., speak louder). Holmberg et al. (1988) found that in changing the vocal effort from soft to normal to loud, the intra-speaker variation of voice quality showed a rather consistent result. A soft voice was often breathier and a loud voice creakier than a normal voice.⁴ Though only the females employed breathier laryngeal setting in Japanese than in English, this exercise would also help the learner be aware of the aspiration and frication noises of the consonants of English. It is also suggested that the teacher have the learner pay attention to those noises, and have the learner find the proper settings in order to produce the noises effectively. Lack of aspiration and frication noises produced by the Japanese learner of English has been reported elsewhere (cf. Vance, 1987).
2. When producing the vowels, Japanese learners should use as much vowel space as possible. To widen the vowel space, the speaker can expand or constrict the pharynx. However, an easier way is to spread one's lips as far as possible and open one's mouth widely when producing the high front vowel /i/ and the low back vowel /a/, respectively.
3. When speaking, Japanese learners (especially females) should understand that it is not necessary to raise pitch to express politeness, as is common in Japanese. Though this is not a linguistic but a socio-cultural factor, it is valuable for the learner to understand the degree to which this cultural difference could cause some misunderstanding, if not confusion of offense, in communication.

4. When speaking, Japanese learners should use relatively wider pitch ranges to learn the various intonational patterns of English. In addition, learners may come to understand the appropriate rhythm of the target language by first imitating how many native English speakers tend to speak Japanese. They often lengthen stressed vowels when compared to non-stressed vowels due to L1 interference (i.e., stress-timed language, Todaka, 1990). Figure 1 illustrates the above suggestions schematically.

Figure 1: A Holistic Approach to Teaching Pronunciation⁵

Voice Quality Setting		
<i>Sociolinguistic Properties</i>	<i>Linguistic Properties</i>	Higher Level
Segmentals	Suprasegmentals	
Vowels	Stress/Duration	Lower-Level
Consonants	Rhythm/Intonation	

The training method described above might seem unrealistic; however, once learners understand these important higher-level differences, they may be able to find more natural ways to produce the L2 sounds effectively. I have used these techniques to teach English pronunciation, and the results are encouraging.

Conclusion

The findings in the present study are still preliminary due to the limited number of subjects. Therefore, the suggestions made here may have to be modified in accordance with further research. However, it is clear that many EFL/ESL professionals are now considering the aspect of pronunciation teaching to be an essential component of communicative competence (Morley, 1991), and that a systematic approach to teaching pronunciation should be considered from various aspects. It is hoped that the present study can serve as a guide for future cross-language studies of voice quality. Subsequent studies should reveal language-specific factors which can then be used for language instruction purposes.

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Notes

1. The author presented an earlier version of this paper at the Twenty-Eighth Annual TESOL Convention, Baltimore, March 8-12, 1994.
2. The pre-screening test was conducted by four native speakers of Japanese (all of them are Japanese teaching assistants at UCLA), with 10 possible candidates for subjects selected based on their Japanese proficiency in terms of fluency and pronunciation. All of the raters agreed that the four subjects (two males and two females) selected did not have any English accent in Japanese. However, the two male subjects were rated as having a slight accent in Japanese when they were rated by four monolingual Japanese raters who had never left Japan. The above inconsistency regarding the raters' decisions on the subjects' nativeness in speaking Japanese may be due to differences in tolerance of accent. Therefore, the results for the two male subjects do not necessarily reflect full bilingual competence though they seem to have acquired Japanese effectively.
3. A full discussion of methods, results and analytical procedures is neither appropriate nor desirable in this article. For a detailed discussion of the experimental techniques, see Todaka, 1993.
4. Regarding the effects of vocal effort on laryngeal quality, subglottal pressure ranges were measured since these are said to be the primary factor in raising voice intensity (Fant, 1982). It was found that the difference observed in laryngeal settings between the two languages in the present study was not due to a change in voice intensity, but rather to language-specific factors.
5. Suprasegmental features are sometimes placed at a lower level than segmental features (cf. Gilbert, 1986). However, both features are placed at the same level under the voice quality features here to show that both aspects should receive the same amount of attention.

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(Received October 10, 1994; revised February 24, 1995)

Goal-Setting to Raise Speaking Self-Confidence

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This research study hypothesized that goal-setting exercises raise self-confidence in English speaking for adult Japanese learners. In this study, 21 freshman women from a university in Tokyo rated their English speaking on a scale of 1-10. The subjects were divided into three classes, with all classes receiving the same instruction except that two classes were given 5- to 15-minutes of goal-setting exercises. After two weeks, all subjects re-rated their English speaking. Only one of the experimental groups showed a statistically significant increase in their self-confidence rating, which failed to support the hypothesis. Experimental design recommendations are discussed.

この研究は、目標設定の練習が、日本人成人英語学習者に、話すことへの自信を育てるのではないかという仮説をもって行われた。東京にある大学の1年生女子、21人が自分の英語を話す能力を1から10のスケールで評価した。被験者は3つのクラスに分けられ、2つのクラスで5分から15分間、目標設定の練習が行われた他は、3つのクラスで同じ内容の授業が行われた。2週間後に、すべての被験者が、ふたたび自分の英語を話す能力を評価した。しかし、実験群では、一人の被験者しか、自信の評価に有意な変化を見せず、仮説は立証できなかった。本論では、実験計画の変更が検討される。

In Japan, students study English for six years or more, yet, they are hesitant to speak it. When students have the opportunity to speak English, they often become mute. Aiga (1990) notes that many Japanese students lack confidence in their English speaking abilities. Because their English self-confidence is low, they do not attempt to speak.

There are many reasons why Japanese students lack speaking confidence. Japan's English classrooms have focused on written grammar, direct translation, and rote memorization rather than oral communicative competence. Another cause might be traced to the Japanese classroom, where individual expression is rarely encouraged. Viswat and Jackson (1993) suggest that "[Japanese] students come to believe that they cannot learn on their own. They lack affective strategies such as being able to praise themselves for doing something well or having confidence in themselves" (p.

17). When they gave students the opportunity to set goals, however, students were excited to be involved in the goal-making process.

Empowering students to learn for themselves is an important part of language learning. Wenden (1991) advocates helping students be confident and independent learners outside the classroom. Although empowerment is associated with learner/learning strategies (Chamot & Rubin, 1994) or learner training (Rees-Miller, 1993), the focus of this research is to raise Japanese students' self-confidence in speaking English by helping them to set goals. It was hypothesized: teaching goal-setting exercises in the ESL classroom will increase Japanese university students' ratings of self-confidence in speaking English.

The Study

Subjects: Twenty-one freshmen from a women's junior college in Tokyo attending a university in Hawaii to study English for two weeks as part of a yearly intensive ESL program were selected for this study. Subjects were divided into three classes at random: A, B, and C.

Instrument: All 21 subjects rated their English speaking fluency on a scale of 1-10, 10 being the highest, twice during the study, prior to instruction and at the end of goal-setting exercises on the last day of instruction. The self-rating of their English speaking level was used as the measure for pre- and post-instruction self-confidence. After each rating, they were asked to write why they rated themselves as they did.

Procedures: Three instructors each taught classes A, B, and C for one hour each day. Instructor 2 used the same material for teaching all classes, except that classes B and C received 5-15 minutes of goal-setting instruction for seven days. Class A, the control group, did not receive any goal-setting instruction and was given more time with other material instead.

On day one of goal-setting, the third day of instruction, Instructor 2 began the goal-setting exercises. Each student was asked to write a goal of something they would like to say to any or all of instructors—these could be greetings, questions about homework, or anything they chose. Instructor 2 helped the students translate their sentences into English, and provided assistance with any other questions or problems. Each student was challenged to say these prepared utterances to the instructors they chose before the next class. The students knew that Instructor 2 would follow up on how well they met their goals the next day.

On day two of goal-setting, Instructor 2 checked on how the students did with their goals. Most of them had not been successful. Instructor 2

then helped them to resolve their concerns about the goals. Some needed to simplify their goals—speak to one teacher rather than all three, and/or pick simpler utterances. Others needed to modify their goals to select things that they felt more comfortable in saying, for example, “I like your dress,” instead of “How old are you?” One student was extremely timid and felt that speaking to someone in English would be too difficult. Instructor 2 asked her if she could say “good-bye” to Instructor 2 at the end of class, and she said she could. Others just needed confidence in following through on their goals; they felt that their goals were appropriate, but they had not acted on them. Again, the students were told that Instructor 2 would check their progress the following day.

This process continued throughout the nine days of instruction, and by the last day every student had accomplished at least two-thirds of their goals. Students from classes B and C reported that they spoke to their instructors, other students on the campus, and others off-campus, though the goal-setting only focused on speaking to instructors. Some reported making friends with university students who spoke no Japanese.

Results

Table 1 shows the ratings each student marked on the initial and exit questionnaires; the differences are calculated to the right. The differences between the initial and exit ratings of self-confidence for classes A, C, and B, in ascending order, are 6, 13, and 15 respectively.

These differences were analyzed in a one-way ANOVA to calculate the variation between and within the three classes (Table 2). The variables were then used in a Scheff Multiple Comparisons (Independent Values)

Table 1: Individual and Class Ratings and Differences (1-10 scale)

Class A			Class B			Class C					
Initial	Exit	Difference	Initial	Exit	Difference	Initial	Exit	Difference			
2	3	1	2	4	2	3	5	2			
2	4	2	2	5	3	1	3	2			
2	2	0	1	3	2	1	3	2			
2	4	2	1	4	3	1	3	2			
3	4	1	2	4	2	1	3	2			
1	2	1	2	5	3	1	3	2			
5	3	-2				4	5	1			
1	2	1									
<hr/>			<hr/>			<hr/>					
Total	18	24	6	Total	10	25	15	Total	12	25	13

Table 2: Analysis of Variance Between Classes

	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Squares	F	P
Between Classes	11.095238	2	5.547619	7.21	.0050
Within Classes	13.857143	18	.769841		
Total	24.952381	20	1.247619		

Significance at the <.01 level

Mean = 1.6190

Table 3: Comparison of Classes and Report of Significance

	N	Mean	Classes Compared	ANOVA	Significance at <.01 level
Class B	6	2.5000	B and A	6.820	Significant
Class C	7	1.8571	B and C	.867	Not Significant
Class A	8	.7500	C and A	2.972	Not Significant

Total 21

F value for <.01 level of significance = 6.013

test to see if the differences were statistically significant (Table 3). Since the required F value for <.01 level of significance is 6.013, this comparison shows that the difference between Classes A and B is significant at the <.01 level, but the difference between Classes A and C is not.

In the space provided for comments on the survey, those in classes B and C frequently reported that they had actively seized opportunities to speak English, whereas many students in Class A reported missed opportunities to speak English. Students in classes B and C exhibited a greater decrease in their fears and shyness towards speaking English.

Discussion

The hypothesis that goal-setting instruction in the ESL classroom would lead to a rise in Japanese students' self-confidence in speaking English was not supported statistically. Although statistical significance was not achieved, students comments appeared to support the hypothesis. One student in Class A reported: "I've had the opportunity to speak, but I don't know what to say. Even when I know what to say, I don't know how to say it, so I feel lost." Other comments from students in Class A reflected this lack of confidence.

In contrast, students in the goal-setting classes exhibited more confidence, often only after the first week. One student said, "More than

before, I greet my teachers and initiate conversation with them. I have begun to greet people I meet on the street and at the university. In spite of being nervous in the beginning, after about one week I surprised myself with how much confidence I have." Goal-setting appeared to have helped Classes B and C's confidence while the lack of it seemed to inhibit Class A.

Limitations and Recommendations

There are several limitations in this study. One weakness is the number of subjects and length of time devoted to the research—although it is remarkable that Class B showed statistically significant improvement in spite of this. Follow-up studies should both determine if more time for goal-setting instruction, including more time between pre- and post-ratings, helps improve self-confidence, and whether increased self-confidence actually leads to improvement in specific areas.

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(Received September 9, 1994; revised March 13, 1995)

Perspectives

Introductory Lessons: Setting the Stage for Communicative Language Teaching in Japanese College English Classes

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This article first discusses the styles of communication common to Japanese and English speakers and some of the difficulties the differing styles may cause. It then suggests ways to provide a safe and protected environment for Japanese learners that allows them to participate fully and naturally in a second language. Activities for establishing a three-part conversation framework comfortable to Japanese college students are given.

この記事は、まず、日本語話者と英語話者に共通したコミュニケーションのスタイルと、異なったスタイルが引き起こすかもしれない困難について論ずる。そして、日本人学習者に、第二言語を使って、十分に、また自然に参加できる、安全で保護された環境を提供する方法を提案する。日本人大学生が抵抗なく参加できる三人の会話の枠組みを作る学習活動が紹介される。

Conversation styles are far from universal—they vary in important ways from culture to culture. Unconscious cultural values condition and shape the communication patterns employed by different peoples. In Japan, for example, “the prevailing social virtues [of] restraint, patience, and modesty [are] in clear contrast to the Western values of self-confidence, decisiveness, and individuality” (Kennedy & Yaginuma, 1991, p. 30). These opposing values give rise to significant contrasts in conversation style.

The conversation pattern typical to English is often compared to a game of ping-pong. The ball is hit back and forth across a table from person to person. If one partner doesn't return the ball (i.e., doesn't fully participate or ask enough questions), the conversation stops. Conversely, if the other partner repeatedly “smashes” the ball (i.e., doesn't give the other person the chance to adequately respond), he or she is

seen as monopolizing the conversation (see Levine & Adelman, 1993, p. 70; Kobayashi & Alter, 1991, p. 17).

The Japanese conversation pattern, on the other hand, is frequently compared to bowling:

Each participant in a Japanese conversation waits politely for a turn and knows exactly when the time is right to speak. That is, they know their place in line. One's turn depends on status, age, and the relationship to the other person. When it is time to take a turn, the person bowls carefully. The others watch politely, and do not leave their places in line or take a turn out of order. No one else speaks until the ball has reached the bowling pins. Answers to questions are carefully thought out, rather than blurted out. In Japanese conversation, long silences are tolerated. (Levine & Adelman, 1993, p. 72)

One of the most effective situational settings for illustrating the English conversation pattern is the ubiquitous Western cocktail party. At these get-togethers individuals initiate, participate in, and terminate a seemingly random series of conversations in an informal, direct, and relaxed manner, moving smoothly from person to person or group to group. Light conversation or "small talk" is the norm, and people seem to chat as easily with complete strangers as with close friends. In the West, all this seems perfectly natural, but as anyone from another culture will tell you, participation in cocktail parties is definitely a learned skill. In fact, the Japanese often have a very different view:

... traveling outside Japan still seems to many Japanese like going on a trek in the jungle. They are convinced of this when they happen upon their first cocktail party (for which there is no Japanese equivalent), an occasion in which a varied assortment as possible of people who have never met before are brought together for no discernible reason. The Japanese wonder if this is not complicating life unnecessarily, rather like playing roulette with people instead of playing with a little ivory ball. It seems very reckless because the results are so unpredictable (and, of course, so eerily fascinating). Cocktail parties seem like a microcosm of Western society: a very noisy forum for people to practice trumpeting their individuality. (Kennedy & Yaginuma, 1991, p. 28)

These socially-conditioned, contrasting styles provoke certain, easily-definable reactions. The Japanese sometimes feel that Westerners are pushy, ask too many questions, don't give a person enough time to answer carefully. Westerners tend to think that the Japanese are overly reserved, excessively polite, or lacking in real opinions. Many Japanese students of English are deeply hurt to discover that they are seen as having no opinions or as being unintelligent. Many Westerners have a

similar reaction when they learn that they are judged as being egotistical, aggressive, or insensitive.

Although it seems to be human nature to make this type of ethnocentric judgment, students should understand that these cultural differences are neither right nor wrong, good nor bad — they are simply different. Language cannot be separated from its cultural context. It is just as important to make students aware of the cultural values that underlie communication, as it is to teach them the specific language structures involved. When teaching English as a second or foreign language, particularly at a college or adult level in Japan, it is essential to provide students with a conversational framework that is appropriate to English. Students need repeated practice in a safe and protected environment so they can begin to feel at home in another cultural context and develop the confidence they need to participate fully and naturally in a second language. This is the underlying premise of this article.

The Conversation Pattern of English

The conversation pattern typical of English can be illustrated in a variety of ways as we have seen above. Levine and Adelman (1993, p. 70) describe it this way: "Each part of the conversation follows this pattern: the greeting and the opening, the discussion of the topic, and the closing and farewell." For the purposes of this article, however, we will redefine this three-part process as follows: (1) greeting; (2) social English (small talk, chit chat, light conversation); and (3) closing

At first sight, this may seem perfectly obvious or even banal, but for native English speakers it is a pattern that we repeat so often in our daily lives that it becomes almost second nature. Social English or "small talk," together with its concomitant openings and closings, also creates a necessary foundation or starting point for building deeper human relations in English. Japanese ESL/EFL students, however, frequently feel ill-at-ease with some of the egalitarian and informal aspects of this mode of communication, and need repeated practice and reinforcement in the classroom to feel at home with it.

Teaching Materials

An overview of ESL/EFL teaching materials on the market today illustrates a relatively uniform approach to this issue. Appropriate language structures and dialogues are generally introduced (or sometimes reintroduced) at intermediate or pre-intermediate levels under such headings as

Meetings and Greetings, Personal Details (*Grapevine*, Student Book 2, Unit 1); Getting to Know You, Greetings and Introductions (*Interchange*, Student Book 2, pp. 2-4); Personal Information, Greetings (*Main Street*, Student Book 3, pp. 4-6). Variations on this theme involve having students work with personal profile charts, application forms giving personal details, filling in customs and immigration forms, etc.

Surprisingly, beyond its use as a warm-up activity or as a means for students to get to know one another and their teacher, there seems to be little recycling and reinforcement of these language structures within a conversational framework that is suitable for English. In the communicative classroom, however, as students move from partner to partner, interacting with others in a variety of ways, they will need to greet one another, exchange information, and close conversations on a regular basis. This three-part framework can be used as an ongoing pattern into which subsequent lessons are embedded, creating the essential foundation for all the communicative activities of an entire course.

Introductory Lessons

The following procedures have been designed for college-level communicative courses in Japan (i.e., 90-minute lessons, approximately 15 lessons per semester, class size variable). They can of course be easily modified for other types of students (e.g., businessmen, housewives) and can be used effectively in both large and small classes. These lessons are based on the assumption that students are starting out with a fairly extensive passive knowledge of English, but with much less communicative competence. This passive knowledge needs to be activated in a way that will allow students to interact naturally in English in (as much as possible) an authentic cultural setting.

There are three main parts to the introductory lessons suggested here. The first involves an exchange of personal information, while at the same time dealing with many of the questions and responses that are commonly used in English during social interaction. The second part introduces greetings and closings to this pattern. The third lesson brings in more depth and variation to the pattern, with subsequent lessons embedding selected functions, notions, and communicative activities within the framework.

The following lessons with their accompanying appendices outline procedures that have been found to be effective in implementing this pattern in the classroom. Many specific details, however, have been left up to individual teachers, who should use strategies and approaches that are compatible with their own particular teaching styles and abilities.

Lesson I

- A. *Preamble*: The opening lesson of a new course is an important time when the teacher may wish to set down clear ground rules, such as staying in the target language (i.e., English only), coming to class on time, regular attendance, seating arrangements, and requirements for testing. Students can then be presented with their first handout, the Personal Information Chart.
- B. *Personal Information Chart* (Appendix 1)¹: This type of chart is commonly found in ESL/EFL textbooks and has many variations; the one presented here seems to suit the needs of college students. The following is an outline of steps that have been found to be effective in using this chart:
1. Whole group work: eliciting personal information questions
 - Working with the group as a whole, the teacher asks students to provide the appropriate question for each of the categories in the column on the left (name, age, place of origin, etc.).
 - When the correct responses are elicited, they are written on the blackboard and students are requested to write them in the appropriate space on the chart.
 - 2 Individual work: responses to the questions
 - Students are asked to write the answers to the questions individually in the next column in short form.
 - 3 Pair work: student to student
 - Working with a partner, students ask each other the questions and write down their partner's responses in the final column.
 4. Whole group work: students to teacher
 - As a windup activity, students ask the teacher any of the questions above.

Lesson II

- A. *Review*:
- By means of, say, a test, game, or contest,, the questions dealt with in the previous lesson can be briefly reviewed. At this point, the teacher may wish to reinforce the idea that these questions are basic to English communication and should be learned by heart.
- B. *Social English* (Appendix 2)²:
- The students receive their second handout which includes the corresponding questions from Lesson I and introduces greetings and clos-

ings as part of the pattern.

- Dialogues (shaded boxes in the appendix) for "meeting someone for the first time" and "closing a conversation" are introduced, modeled, and practiced in pairs until students feel comfortable with the language involved.
- The entire pattern can now be put into practice, with students working in pairs greeting one another, exchanging personal information, and closing conversations. Five to ten minute periods of time are generally adequate, after which students change partners and recycle the whole process. At this time issues involving group dynamics (e.g., movement from partner to partner) and the physical layout of the classroom (e.g., clear pathways between desks) should be addressed.
- The teacher's role in this lesson is to orchestrate the entire process (a "bell-timer" is often useful for starting and ending conversations), and to circulate throughout the classroom giving feedback and maintaining an English-only atmosphere. At this point, it may also be wise to emphasize that mistakes are OK; what is important is natural communication.
- At varying intervals within this process, the teacher may also wish to stop and present mini-lessons to assist students in areas that involve important cultural differences associated with these language patterns. These issues might include:

handshakes (when and where, what constitutes a good handshake, etc.) • eye contact (always important when speaking English, especially in the West) • the use of names (first names vs family names; names vs titles; Mr/Mrs/Miss/Ms; etc.) • the relaxed, direct, and informal nature of English conversation (as opposed to the more formal, indirect Japanese pattern)

- Of importance, as well, is the rhythm or pace of the lesson. There should be a constant flow of students meeting new partners every five to ten minutes, punctuated by short breaks for embedded mini-lessons or feedback to the class as a whole. At the end of this lesson students may be quite tired, but also content in the knowledge that they are participating in an authentic process of natural communication in their second language.

Lesson III

- After reviewing the contents of the previous lesson, students are presented with the dialogue dealing with "greeting a friend or ac-

quaintance." Once this dialogue has been modeled and practiced, students are asked to put it into practice in the three-part pattern of greeting, exchanging information, and closing.

- The framework should now be expanded by introducing information questions (see Appendix 2). For example:

Q "What's your favorite sport?"

A. "Tennis."

Follow-up information questions:

Where do you usually play tennis?

Who do you play with?

Why do you enjoy playing tennis?

How often do you play?

How long have you been playing tennis? etc.

Within this pattern students are now requested to ask at least three information questions to follow up every personal information question they ask.

- Conversation is never a one-way street. After responding to a question, students can be taught to use the follow-up question, "How about you?" to give the interaction a two-way flow.
- Every language makes use of certain listener expressions (back-channeling in English, *aizuchi* in Japanese), in which the listener indicates an interest in what the speaker is saying. Typical examples in English can now be introduced in the form of another mini-lesson.
- Depending on the ability level of the class, variations on the greeting and closing dialogues can be introduced (Appendix 3), as well as some practical language for communicative English (Appendix 4). Sometimes, however, the teacher may wish to delay introducing these patterns until later.

Subsequent Lessons

Subsequent lessons should focus on selected areas chosen by the teacher to enhance students' communicative abilities. These may include various functions, notions, or practical, real-life situations which fall under a broad definition of "communicative language": likes and dislikes, agreeing and disagreeing, giving and asking for opinions, frequency language, inviting, giving advice and suggestions, location and direction, further development of information questions, at a restaurant, on the weekend, etc.

All of these topics can be introduced within the framework suggested above, with students continually greeting one another, exchanging required information or solving given problems, and closing conversations with

different partners at periodic intervals. From time to time the teacher may also wish to allow "free conversation" segments, where students exchange personal information with completely new partners, or simply chat in English with partners who are already friends or acquaintances.

Summary

Every language carries within it certain cultural imperatives that students need to made aware of. In teaching a second or foreign language it is just as important to focus on the cultural values of the target language as it is to teach the appropriate language structures themselves. Presenting a conversational framework that is suitable for English at a beginning stage of instruction, following through with this pattern throughout a course, and targeting specific problems as embedded mini-lessons, within a process that maintains a constant flow of real communication should be one of the goals of effective communicative teaching. As students become aware that they are undergoing some very practical preparation for interaction in English in the real world, they will participate enthusiastically in this process. As language teachers, we will have established a solid basis for authentic communication within our classrooms.

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Notes

1. Appendix 1 originated in a long-forgotten source used by the author many years ago. It has been subsequently modified numerous times and adapted to match the social English questions in Appendix 2.
2. Appendices 2, 3, & 4 are the author's own creation and design. Readers involved in English second language teaching are encouraged to use them freely and adapt them to their own teaching situations.

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(Received October 19, 1994; revised July 17, 1995)

Appendix 1: Personal Information Chart

PERSONAL INFORMATION	QUESTION(S)	YOURSELF	PARTNER
NAME			
AGE **			
PLACE OF ORIGIN			
PLACE OF RESIDENCE			
OCCUPATION (JOB)			
COMPANY			
SCHOOL			
MARITAL STATUS ** (CHILDREN?)			
FAMILY			
BOYFRIEND? GIRLFRIEND? **			
HOBBIES / FREE TIME / INTERESTS			
FAVORITE FOOD			
MUSIC			
READING			
SPORTS			
HOLIDAYS / TRAVEL			
HOME TOWN			
PART TIME JOB			
** May I ask you a personal question?			

Appendix 2: Information Questions

<p>MEETING SOMEONE FOR THE FIRST TIME</p> <p>A. Hello. My name is _____. B. Hi. I'm _____. A. Nice to meet you _____. B. Nice to meet you too _____.</p>	<p>GREETINGS</p>  <p>HAND SHAKES ?</p>	<p>GREETING A FRIEND OR ACQUAINTANCE</p> <p>A. Hello. _____. B. Hi _____. A. How are you? B. Fine thanks. And you? A. Very well, thanks.</p>												
<p>EYE CONTACT</p> 	<p>First Name? Family Name? Nickname? Mr? Ms? Mrs? Miss?</p>	 <p>• Relaxed • Direct • Informal</p>												
<p>Where are you from? Where do you come from?</p> <p>Where do you live? Where are you living?</p> <p>What do you do (for a living)? What's your job/occupation?</p> <p>Who do you work for? Where do you work?</p> <p>Where do you go to school? What school do you go to?</p> <p>(May I ask you a personal question?) How old are you? Are you married? Any children? How many are there in your family? Do you have a girlfriend/boyfriend?</p>	<p>SOCIAL ENGLISH</p> <p>LISTENER EXPRESSIONS</p> <p>I see. Really? Uh huh. Hmm. That's interesting. Is that right?</p>	<p>What are your hobbies / interests? What do you do in your free time?</p> <p>What clubs do you belong to?</p> <p>Do you have a part-time job?</p> <p>What kind of food/music/books/sports/movies... do you like? What's your favorite food/music...?</p> <p>What's it like in (your hometown)? What's (your hometown) like?</p> <p>Do you like to travel? What places have you visited? Where would you like to go next?</p> <p>Did you have a good weekend? What are you doing next weekend?</p>												
<p>CLOSING</p> <p>A. Well, nice talking with you _____. B. Nice talking with you too _____. A. See you again. B. So long.</p>	<p>INFORMATION QUESTIONS</p> <table style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <td>Where?</td> <td>What?</td> </tr> <tr> <td>When?</td> <td>Why?</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Who?</td> <td>How...long? often?</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>old? far?</td> </tr> <tr> <td>DETAILS</td> <td>much? many?</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>etc.</td> </tr> </table>		Where?	What?	When?	Why?	Who?	How...long? often?		old? far?	DETAILS	much? many?		etc.
Where?	What?													
When?	Why?													
Who?	How...long? often?													
	old? far?													
DETAILS	much? many?													
	etc.													

GREETINGS & CLOSINGS — VARIATIONS

MEETING SOMEONE FOR THE FIRST TIME

NAME

HANDSHAKES

EYE

CONTACT



A. Hello. My name is _____.

B. Hi. I'm _____.

A. Nice to meet you _____.

B. Nice to meet you too _____.

Hello...

Hi...

Good morning...

Good afternoon...

Good evening...

My name is...

I'm...

I don't think we've met. My name is...
May I introduce myself? I'm...

Nice to meet you...

Pleased to meet you...

Happy to meet you...

Glad to meet you ...

A. How do you do?

B. How do you do?
[more formal]

GREETING A FRIEND OR ACQUAINTANCE



EYE CONTACT

NAME

A. Hello _____.

B. Hi _____.

A. How are you?

B. Fine thanks. And you?

A. Very well, thanks.

How are you?

How are you doing?

How have you been?

How are things?

How's it going?

Hello... Hi...

Good morning...

Good afternoon...

Good evening...

Fine thanks.

Very well, thanks.

Not too bad.

Pretty good.

OK / Allright.

A. Nice to see you again...

B. Nice to see you again too...

CLOSING

A. Well, nice talking with you _____.

B. Nice talking with you too _____.

A. See you again.

B. So long.

See you (again) / later.

Talk to you again / later.

So long.

Take care.

Good-bye. (Bye-bye.)

A. Have a nice weekend.

(Have a good day / week / etc.)

B. Thanks. You too.

Appendix 4: Practical Language

COMMUNICATIVE ENGLISH

PAIR WORK: USEFUL LANGUAGE

Would you like to start?
Shall I start?

It's your turn.

Let's change.
Let's switch.

SUGGESTING

Would you like to...
Shall we...
Let's...
Why don't we...

CORRECTING

I'm sorry, but that's not quite right.
I'm afraid there's a mistake.
I think there's a problem with ...

ASKING FOR REPETITION

Pardon me? / Excuse me? / I beg your pardon?

I'm sorry, I don't understand.
Sorry, I didn't catch that.

Could you repeat that, please?
Would you mind repeating that, please?
Could you repeat that more slowly, please?

ASKING FOR CLARIFICATION

What does ____ mean?

Did you say ____?
Do you mean ____?
Are you saying ____?

How do you spell that, please?

ASKING FOR OPINIONS

What's your opinion?
What do you think about ...?
How do you feel about ...?
What are your views on ...?

GIVING OPINIONS

In my opinion, ...
I think that ...
I feel that ...
If you ask me, ...

AGREEING

(+) I think so too.
(+) You're (probably) right.
(++) I completely agree.
(++) I couldn't agree more.

DISAGREEING

(-) You may be right, but ...
(-) I'm not so sure ...
(-) I'm sorry, but I have to disagree.
(--) I'm afraid I can't agree.

Reviews

The Cultural Politics of English as an International Language. Alastair Pennycook. London: Longman, 1994. 364 pp.

Reviewed by

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As English further becomes the dominate language in the world today, educators are increasingly confronted with issues centered around its role in becoming an international language. *The Cultural Politics of English as an International Language* explores these issues and provides the reader with an understanding of the cultural and political implications of the globalization of English. The book, which is divided into nine sections, is perhaps the most comprehensive to date on the subject and is part of a series entitled *Language in Social Life*, edited by Chris Candlin. This book provides readers with a blend of research, theory, and critical insight that covers a broad range of areas such as applied linguistics, inter-cultural communication, critical pedagogy, colonial history, post-colonial literature, and international politics. Thus, it could be of interest to students and practitioners of applied linguistics, English as a second or foreign language, education, post-colonial literature, and international relations.

There are three principle themes in the book. Firstly, Pennycook searches for connections that explain how English as an international language (EIL) came into being by looking at its origins in colonial history and studying its relationship to linguistics and the proliferation today of English teaching practices worldwide. Secondly, he implies that English is never neutral and that it is influenced continually by contextual, social, cultural, political, and economic factors. This he calls the "worldliness" of English. Finally, in this concept or worldliness, Pennycook addresses more practical concerns in dealing with English internationally by discussing its pedagogical implications and thereby helping teachers view their work differently.

The first section lays the groundwork for subsequent chapters by raising questions and concerns about the global spread of English. He notes that current discourse on EIL considers the spread "to be generally natural, neutral, and beneficial and [to be] concerned more with

questions of linguistic description than of language, culture, and politics" (p. 35). In contrast, he argues that a more critical view of English in the world reveals a direct link to social and economic power, diffusions of culture and knowledge, and changes in international relations. For example, Pierce (1990) draws attention to the dichotomy between a traditional-structuralist approach and a sociopolitical point of view in examining the "People's English" in South Africa viewed as a variety of English and as a tool in the political struggle, stating:

To interpret People's English as a dialect of international English would do the movement a gross injustice; People's English is not only a language, it is a struggle to appropriate English in the interests of democracy in South Africa. Thus the naming of People's English is a political act because it represents a challenge to the current status of English in South Africa, in which control of the language, access to the language, and teaching of the language are entrenched within apartheid structures. (p. 108)

To further understand the cultural and political implications of language use, the notion of language needs to be deconstructed and viewed as discursive social action rather than merely as a system for analysis. In understanding the worldliness of EIL we begin to see the relationships that power and knowledge have on English and English language teaching.

Chapter 2 looks at discourse, dependency, and the role of culture in a shifting world. While defining culture as a productive mechanism for people in making sense of their lives within the constructs of power, Pennycook also examines the issue of representation and distribution in respect to the spread of English. Chapters 3 and 4 address the primary concern of the book, the construction of discourse of English as an International Language, by examining the influence of colonialism on English and the spread and disciplining of the language.

While exploring English in its colonial roots, Pennycook highlights the role of Anglicism (the moral imperative to teach in English) and Orientalism (a view of education as taught in the vernacular). He summarizes the five main findings by pointing out first that the two operated "alongside each other," second, that both were an important part of colonialism, third, that English "was withheld as much as it was promoted," fourth, that access to English was demanded by colonized people, and finally, "the power of English was not so much in its widespread imposition but in its operating as the eye of the colonial panopticon" (p. 103). The implications of this view of colonial education policy can be seen today in the current debate between the English Only movement and those that support bilingualism and multiculturalism.

One salient point that can be drawn from the discussion on the origins of the discourse of EIL is that an enormous amount of the study of English came into being during the colonial era. This further led to such fields as linguistics and applied linguistics. Pennycook goes on to explain how these fields emerged and discusses their implications for the discourse of EIL. He argues that many English language teachers have not been presented with a view of language in the worldliness sense and are, for the most part, trained to view the role of English and English language teaching in linguistic abstractions. Furthermore, they approach teaching in a decontextualized manner. Repeatedly, he underscores the importance of raising critical questions about the social, cultural, and political dimensions in educational issues.

In chapter 5, Pennycook takes a strong look at the global spread of ELT as affected by developmental, philanthropic, and commercial interests, the central theme being that ELT operations and language teaching in general are Anglo-centric and dominated by self-interest. He cites examples of imposing Western views of language teaching theory and practices that have met with misunderstandings and conflicts. As Brown (1990) points out, even in the case of ELT materials where publishers have attempted to reflect this concept of EIL, the content has merely shifted to a new "cosmopolitan" set of contexts with such topics as international travel and hotels. Pennycook further points out that the "claims to neutrality and internationalism break down under scrutiny" and asserts that this new cosmopolitan English assumes a materialistic set of values (P. 13). He claims, therefore, that English language practices, beliefs, and materials are never neutral; they are part of a broader range of discursive and cultural practices that emanate from the West (p. 178). This, he points out, does not guide English language teachers well in their search to understand the importance of the position of English in the world and their role in teaching it.

Chapters 6 and 7 return to the concept of worldliness of English by taking an extended look at the examples of Malaysia and Singapore. The case of Malaysia illustrates that it is not only important to consider the relationship between power, the position of English in the world, the relationship between English as an international language and other global discourses, but also the struggles of English in local contexts. As cited, situations such as Malaysian politics, Malay nationalism, Islamization, mass education, and popular culture are to be considered when making sense of a worldliness of English. In the case of Singapore, Pennycook attempts to demonstrate how complex the notion of worldliness of English can be in a multiracial society. He provides examples

of Singaporean cultural politics and outside factors that have influenced the country in its overwhelming adoption of English.

In the next chapter, Pennycook discusses the production of and constraints on language use in different contexts by examining the written text as it evolved from colonial literature up to modern-day variations. He reiterates that the links between the worldliness of English and the social, cultural, and political position of writers, texts, and readers are inseparable. Thus, he states,

To teach English within the discourse of EIL is to maintain a faith in the possibility of 'just teaching the language', and a belief in the existence of firmly established shared meanings which need to be taught in order for one's students to be able to communicate with a global community. To teach from a point of view of the worldliness of English is to understand that possible meanings occur within the cultural politics of the local context as well as within a more global context. (p. 293)

This tenet leads Pennycook to call for the formation of a critical pedagogy which poses serious questions to language teachers such as what kind of vision of society are they teaching towards. In the last section of the book, he also adds that in pursuing a critical pedagogy, "We need a reconception of the role of teachers and applied linguists that does away with the theory-practice divide and views teachers/applied linguists as politically engaged critical educators" (p. 303). Pennycook does not offer any formative model of such a pedagogy but advocates a schema based on a more Freirean (1970) approach to pedagogy. Finally, he concludes on an optimistic note by remarking that English couched in the notion of worldliness offers interesting possibilities for the spread of different forms of culture and knowledge and new forms of community action.

I applaud Pennycook for focusing our attention on the role of English as an international language in a critical and exhaustive manner. Perhaps one of the book's greatest strengths is its ability to sensitize us as language educators to the realities inherent in the "voice" that carries our message in the global spread of English, and the implications this has for the emergence of an international language. His treatment of the colonial era and the development of discourse is quite useful in getting a historical perspective on the evolution of the English language. However, Pennycook provides few examples of any linguistic transformation as incurred by social, cultural, and political forces acting on English. The chapters dealing with worldliness of English in Malaysia and Singapore, although interesting in the context of the global spread of

English, were the dominant case studies examined; extended examples from other cultural areas would strengthen the argument. The book raises the awareness of language teachers, asking them to question the implications of their language teaching, and calling on those involved in the global spread of English to reassess their teaching. But does so without offering practical suggestions or models to realize an active critical pedagogy. The book achieves the goal of defining what it means to adopt the notion of worldliness of English in our teaching, but falls short in giving teachers and educators clear directions on how we can get there. Since Pennycook has been successful in bringing us thus far, it is certain that we have not heard the last word on the subject.

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Exploring Gender: Questions and Implications for English Language Education. Jane Sunderland (Ed.). Hemel Hempstead, UK: Prentice Hall International, 1994. 232 pp.

Reviewed by

Jacqueline D. Beebe

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This is a book that deserves a wide audience. The English education referred to in the title is English as a foreign or second language. While perhaps half of the 26 authors of the 21 articles are based in the UK, contributions are included from writers in eight other nations. References are also made to research in first language classrooms and to languages other than English, and thus the book could fruitfully be read by other language educators. The papers in this collection are all first published here and many of them cite others in the book, which makes it easy for readers new to the field to do some initial further reading without having to find obscure articles. Many of the articles are as short as five pages. I have no objection to Sunderland having chosen breadth over depth, but it does prevent a summary of all the articles. I can say that included are several authors that I immediately recognized: Deborah Cameron, Janet Holmes, and Rebecca Oxford.

Sunderland tells us that this book's purpose is to help language teachers "look at their work through gendered eyes" (p. 8). The publisher has felt the need to reassure us on the back cover that although there are several feminist contributions, the book is not "prescriptive." However, simply by looking at gender as something that is socially constructed and not an invariant natural given, all of the articles help to raise the reader's awareness. Furthermore, Sunderland seems to feel that an educator cannot be politically neutral, since all places of education play some role in the learner's construction of gender. "This role of the school may be seen as undesirable by some parents and teachers; it may be seen as desirable by others, especially if they view the school as an instrument for the perpetuation of dominant values of society" (p. 6). Sunderland intends her book to promote the critical awareness of teachers and to help them "where appropriate" to challenge "gendered and gendering beliefs and practices" and "empower" their female and male students (p. 8).

Sunderland does an admirable job in the general introduction and introductions to and comments on each of the book's four Quadrants, summarizing and citing debate on some of the key terminology (sex, gender—grammatical gender and human gender as both a social concept and individual identity, and sexism) and theoretical issues in the field. She points, for example, to the debate on to what extent differences in men's and women's language use reflect differences in the way males and females are acculturated (the view popularized by Deborah Tannen, 1991), and to what extent such differences are explained as a result of dominance of females by males. Shan Wareing briefly explores both the empirical linguistic evidence and theoretical debate on this topic in her article "Gender Differences in Language Use."

Sunderland also points out three reasons why English teachers may want to be particularly sensitive to gender issues. First, because the English language carries gender. Learning English requires both "learning to conceptualise the world in a gendered way" and an understanding "that in many contexts women and men use the resources of English rather differently, for example in the length of their utterances, and the amount and quality of the feedback they provide" (p. 7). Second, teachers need to consider their methodology, especially if it is communicative, because of studies of mixed-sex classes "have repeatedly come up with the findings that female students receive less teacher attention than males, and that male students talk more than females" (p. 7). Third, because of studies which suggest that girls have both higher proficiency and higher interest in first and second languages, especially verbal language.

The Quadrant "Classroom Processes" is particularly helpful to teachers and teacher trainers who want to explore what gender-related differences in the behavior of teachers and learners have been observed, how these differences affect language acquisition, and how a teacher or teacher trainer might try to respond to such differences. This Quadrant also offers plenty of inspiration for those interested in conducting classroom research on gender issues. Throughout the book, Sunderland points to many possible research topics, both mentioning work that needs replication and briefly discussing questions which have suffered neglect in this book and elsewhere, such as the concerns of gay and lesbian teachers.

The final Quadrant, "Beyond the English Language Classroom" will be helpful to those interested in equitable union or management practices, or those wondering if they are short-changing themselves by not being more aware of sexual politics in the workplace or more assertive regarding their own careers.

The middle Quadrants, "The English Language" and "Materials," will be of great use for those writing, analyzing, or choosing teaching materials. These may also be valuable to *JALT Journal* readers who have never or have not for many years lived in a country where English is spoken as a first language and yet are expected to be experts on the current state of international English. I have lived in Japan for so long that when I come across a term like *wait staff* or *waitron* in an American magazine I do not know if the word is being used either sarcastically or tongue-in-cheek, or is indeed becoming a common replacement for *waiter* and *waitress*.

"The English Language" explores the use and connotations of various sexist and non-sexist language forms, both lexical and grammatical, and gender differences in speech acts such as compliments, sympathizing, and advice giving in speech communities from around the world. Sunderland gives a quick review of the evidence that a non-sexist language change is taking place in her introduction to this Quadrant. In "Problems of Sexist and Non-sexist Language," Deborah Cameron explores the strategies of either seeking gender-free language or pursuing the "visibility strategy"—gender-explicit language with a bias towards *Exploring Gender's* women. Both the research results contained in articles and other research cited tend to be up-to-date. Furthermore, the bibliography for each Quadrant includes both the cited works and other "classic" or relevant works chosen by Sunderland.

In the "Materials" Quadrant, Sunderland's chapter on pedagogical grammars and Margaret Hennessy's chapter on learners' dictionaries are informative as to both what changes in attitudes and usage are being reflected

by publishers and the degree to which a few sampled books adequately explain these changes. As Hennessy says, learners need access to "systematically reliable and usable information about sexist and non-sexist language" in order to "exercise their right to freedom of expression" (p. 111). The "Materials" Quadrant can also help readers in Japan who may not know any colleagues or editors who can help point out sexism in self-chosen or self-developed materials. For example, the guidelines developed by the Women in EFL Materials group, included in the chapter by Jill Florent, Kathryn Fuller, Jenny Pugsley, Catherine Walter and Annemarie Young, include many evaluative questions. One, regarding illustrations, had never occurred to me before: "Are people shown as belonging to a range of physical types, or for example, are women always shorter than men?" (p. 114). Such checklists can help us review materials before we use them to catch vocabulary or grammar that we need to up-date for students (*fire fighter* for *fireman*). Or we may notice that a textbook is weighted towards male-dominated mixed-sex dialogues and thus we may want to deliberately assign dialogue roles to members of the opposite sex to equalize speaking practice time for female students.

On the other hand, a reader of *Exploring Gender* may have a questionable textbook and because of lack of time, a "damned if you do, damned if you don't" frustration, or cynicism may want to avoid the challenge of either rewriting it or inviting learners to approach it with critical awareness. In that case, some handy defensive arguments may be found in chapters by Robert O'Neill and David Haines. O'Neill maintains that textbook writers are only obligated to reflect the real world, not an ideal non-sexist one. However, as one's assumptions color the "real world" one perceives, and O'Neill still seems to assume that female employees have male bosses, as seems clear to me from the parallelism in his passage "In the real world, some women are gold diggers and nags and many men are fools and scoundrels. Some women still come to work late (just as their bosses do)" (p. 72). In the chapter "Comment: An International EFL Publisher's Perspective," Haines, of Prentice Hall International, discusses a business English text for Japanese learners which included no women, and one for a Middle Eastern country which showed women only in domestic or servile situations and men in professional ones. "Editing these titles to reflect sex-equitable values would almost certainly have made them as inappropriate for these markets as not editing them in this way would have made them for other markets" (p. 132).

Should I blame Haines the next time a student or professor at my Japanese university brings me a business letter for a "native-speaker" check that begins "Dear Sir" when "Dear Sir or Madam" is called for? Or when I

receive English-language form letters from Japanese companies addressed to "Mr. Beebe," or letters which force to me to designate myself as only either Miss or Mrs.? Haines seems to assume that publishers must produce textbooks that recreate, and thus reinforce, the gendered world that looks familiar to the senior Japanese (male) manager of the English school or the company training division who will choose the book, rather than producing a book that will adequately prepare Japanese employees to use English as an international language in a changing world.

I do not want to suggest that only the male or the less feminist authors in this book made statements I objected to. Sunderland throughout most of the book comes across as a feminist, but in one case seems to go out of her way to avoid indicting men. In her Introduction to the "Beyond the English Language Classroom" Quadrant she points out that while most language teachers are women, "in many countries most administrators, heads of teaching teams and Language Departments, Principals, Directors of Studies, curriculum designers, inspectors, testers, materials writers, and academic staff in Applied Linguistics Departments are male" (p. 185). She then goes on to say that

The gender differential in positions and qualifications does not stem from a patriarchal conspiracy to keep women at low levels of the ELT profession. Part of the problem is to do with the [flat] career structure.... Most people in EFL are at the bottom; most people in EFL are women ... complete the syllogism. This is, of course, a chicken and egg situation: the 'flat structure' may not have come about without so many women entering the profession in the first place. Not a conspiracy, then, but certainly a situation in which men, rather than women, seem to thrive. (p. 186) [First ellipsis mine, second hers.]

As I read this, I felt that Sunderland should have also included the syllogism, which unlike hers, does not make the current situation sound inevitable or natural: Most people in EFL are women; most people at the top in EFL are men.

In her article "Women and Management Structures" Jenny Pugsley includes some general feminist ideas and tips for working women, along with a number of other ideas which seem to jump around almost randomly, including the weaknesses of traditional general British education. The article reads more like a first draft than a polished article. It includes a typographical error; "reply" for rely (p. 194). I could not easily identify the antecedent of "either way" (p. 197) nor identify at all the antecedent of "it" in the paragraph containing "And you, dear reader, would not be reading this if you did not share it with me." (p. 193). Some of Pugsley's advice

seems trite, but her "action plan," a list of questions aimed at revealing the information and power structures at one's workplace, could be of real practical value. The other articles in the book seem to be much better edited and proofread, except for Sunderland's comment on the "Beyond the English Language Classroom" Quadrant, in which footnote number one comes after footnote number two.

This book is both a good introduction to and a good update on each of the four main topics. I am aware of no other book in the interdisciplinary field of language and gender that covers such a range. It has, for example, both a case study of how ESL literacy classes for the Vietnamese refugee mothers of Amerasian children became emotional support groups (William Burns) and an article on the latest evidence of gender differences in second and foreign language learning styles and strategies (Rebecca Oxford). It has articles with practical advice on both working as an English teacher while pregnant (Katie Plumb) and "Using Concordancing Techniques to Study Gender Stereotyping in ELT Textbooks" (David Carroll and Johanna Kowitz). Nothing I can think of summarizes this book as well as the cliché that it has something for everyone.

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Analyzing Genre: Language use in Professional Settings. Vijay K. Bhatia. London: Longman, 1993. 246 pp.

Reviewed by

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In *Analyzing Genre: Language Use in Professional Settings*, Vijay K. Bhatia relies heavily on the work of Swales, a researcher and theorist in genre analysis, for his definition of genre and for applications of genre analysis (1990, pp. 45-58). Put simply, genres are classes of "communicative events" or text types used by members of specific academic or professional communities. Genres usually exhibit conventional structures related to the professional purposes of their authors. In other words, legal draftsmen in English write the way they do because they are concerned with the effects of their texts on social relations, specifically that

judges and lawyers understand the exact intentions. Thus, the concept of genre attempts to relate text features to human purposes. This aspect of genre is repeatedly emphasized by Bhatia, who suggests "that the communicative purpose which the genre is intended to serve is the most important factor in genre identification" (p. 45). This, genre analysis, is a form of language description which ties language forms to explanations of why they are used in specific professional or academic settings. This is exciting because it connects language use with thought and intention, thus grounding language forms in a social context.

The book is divided into three parts: 1) defining genre analysis within the context of discourse analysis; 2) providing extended examples of genre analysis in three areas, two professional and one academic; and 3) providing ideas about the application of genre analysis to language teaching, particularly to English for Specific Purposes and to reforming professional language to make it easily understood by the lay public. The book is intended for applied linguists, especially EAP/ESP teachers. It makes a persuasive argument for a central place for genre analysis in ESP curricula.

In Part I, Bhatia argues that the last several decades of language description have evidenced a shift from description to explanation. Genre analysis, the culmination of this trend, is "a tool to arrive at significant form-function correlations which can be utilized for a number of applied linguistic purposes, including the teaching of English for specific purposes" (p. 11).

Chapter 1 gives a detailed account of the history of applied discourse analysis. It must be said that this account is heavy going and requires a fair amount of background knowledge on the part of the reader. Nevertheless, the chapter is short and should not discourage those unfamiliar with the details of discourse analysis. In the core of the book, Bhatia not only shows how to do genre analysis, he also demonstrates its usefulness, indeed its indispensability, for teaching ESP in any of its forms, such as English for Business and Technology, English for Science and Technology, or English for Academic Purposes.

In Chapter 2, Bhatia defines genre and again stresses the relationship between text features and communicative purposes. "It is primarily characterized by the communicative purpose[s] that it is intended to fulfill. This shared set of communicative purpose[s] shapes the genre and gives it an internal structure" (p. 13). After describing the linguistic, sociological, and psycholinguistic orientations of genre analysis, the author provides a step-by-step recipe for analyzing text through genre analysis. Chapter 2 offers some research to show that cross-cultural differences

exist within genres. Part I closes with a discussion of the benefits of genre analysis, along with some minor caveats, and restates the basic thesis of the theoretical preliminaries, that genre analysis "not only clarifies the communicative goals of the discourse community in question, but also the individual strategies employed by the members to achieve these goals" and is particularly relevant to ESP (pp. 39-40).

Part II of the book gives life to the preceding theoretical arguments by applying the analysis to various texts. In Chapter 3, Bhatia demonstrates that two common text types in the world of business, sales promotion letters and job applications, are actually instances of closely related genres, perhaps even the same one. A detailed analysis breaks each text into seven parts or "moves" based on a communicative purpose, such as "establishing credentials" and "introducing the offer." Some of these moves are obligatory and some optional. Moreover, there can be some variation in the sequencing of moves. Bhatia's analysis shows, however, that the move structures are remarkably similar. Furthermore, he argues that the communicative purpose is also similar: to persuade the recipient to buy some goods or services, or to hire the writer. Therefore, they are of the same genre, or at least of closely related genres. Chapter 3 closes with observations about cultural variations within this genre.

Chapter 4 takes the opposite tack. Two text types which may be thought of as the same genre are analyzed and shown to have quite different communicative purposes. Thus, they represent two distinct genres. They are research article abstracts, whose purpose is "to give the reader an exact and concise knowledge of the full article" (p. 78), and research article introductions, which are intended, in Swales' (1990) terms, to introduce the article by "creating a research space" (p. 83). This discussion shows that "the ultimate criteria for assigning discourse values to various moves is [sic] functional rather than formal" (p. 87). This point is further stressed in a discussion of the structures and communicative purposes of student lab report introductions and student dissertation introductions.

Chapter 5, the last illustration in Part II and the longest chapter of the book, concerns genre analysis of legal texts. This is clearly the author's first love, for he lavishes a great deal of space on several detailed analyses of the extremely complex legal language found in legislative provisions and reports of legal cases. It is also clear from the references cited that Bhatia has a great deal of experience in analyzing legal texts. As everyone knows, the language of statutes is marked by especially complicated syntax. Bhatia lists a number of syntactic features and argues that the language is so drafted in order to meet two primary requirements of legislative language:

1) that it must be clear and unambiguous; and 2) that it must be all-inclusive. Thus, the linguistic complexity is the result of communicative requirements. As such, the texts' cognitive structuring consists of a main provisionary clause and a number of qualifications of that clause.

Part III of Bhatia's book will probably be seen as the core argument by applied linguists, for it deals with applications of analyses, such as those illustrated in Part II. Here, Bhatia argues that it is important in ESP teaching to use authentic genres, rather than simplified versions or simple accounts, as defined by Widdowson (1978, p. 88). Bhatia says that either of these violates the generic integrity of the text and leads to "negative repercussions for a number of applied linguistic situations ... particularly for the teaching, learning and testing of languages in specific contexts as well as in language reform" (p. 146). Instead, Bhatia recommends "easification." This somewhat inelegant neologism refers to techniques for making texts more comprehensible without loss of generic integrity.

Chapter 6 presents the discourse values of various kinds of noun phrases in advertisements, scientific writing, and legislative language. The point of this discussion is that an ESP curriculum must do more than teach grammar and reading comprehension. It must make students aware of the genre conventions which they will deal with in their professional lives so that their use of language will be pragmatically successful.

One example is the pitfalls which await learners whose course of study makes extensive use of newspaper articles. Despite the many advantages of news reports for language teaching, learners must be made aware that their structure is designed to elicit surprise and interest and that it differs from the expected structure of academic essays which typically stress factuality and comprehensiveness.

A second point important for ESP curriculum planners is that both genres and learning tasks must be authentic and relevant to the eventual professional use of the language. For example, Bhatia holds that legal case reports in English for Legal Purposes classes must not be used as mere narratives followed by comprehension tasks. Instead, they should lead learners to think like lawyers, which means to distinguish legally material facts from legally immaterial facts as they read. Furthermore, most such courses completely ignore the language of statutes because it is too complex for the teacher. The result is that students of English for Legal Purposes do not learn to appreciate the relationship between legislative writing and the real world in which they will later function.

An extensive section of Chapter 6 is devoted to examples of genre-based self-access materials for English for Business and Technology. Bhatia explicitly states the goals of these materials as:

1. Identifying and assigning discoursal values to various parts of the text
2. Internalizing the discourse structure of the genre
3. Introducing the learner gradually to the variation in the use of strategies to realize specific moves. (p. 183)

Experienced teachers will be able to read through these materials and deduce strategies for exercise construction, but there is relatively little discussion by Bhatia.

The last chapter of the book concerns the use of easification techniques to make complex professional language more comprehensible to lay readers. These include: explicit statements of a text's cognitive structure, reducing the information density of the text, expressions of the author's intentions in a text, and addition of notes and illustrations. Bhatia also recommends writing simple, alternative accounts as explanations of complex professional texts for lay readers. Noticeably missing after Chapter 7 is a summary restatement of the book's thesis and main supporting points. Its inclusion would strengthen the overall rhetorical effect of the book.

Bhatia has provided a coherent and well argued case for genre analysis in ESP contexts. The book's numerous analyses of complex texts serve as compelling evidence for the author's thesis: that the patterning of surface features of texts is directly related to the writer's communicative purposes. Indeed, this insight is the central contribution of genre analysis to linguistic description and to language teaching.

The reader who pays close attention to the analyses and to Bhatia's theoretical arguments will gain a powerful tool for meeting the needs of ESP learners. However, this very strength is also a weakness of the book since many readers may find these analyses tedious. In particular, those seeking a simple approach to ESP exercise writing will be disappointed. What the book does offer is a comprehensive and principled rationale for genre analysis as a primary determinant of any ESP syllabus. In this respect genre analysis is analogous to stylistic analysis in literature courses. Just as stylistic analysis is designed to assist learners in achieving literary competence by developing their ability to perceive the patterning of language features in literary texts, genre analysis can make them masters of linguistic features used for specific communicative purposes in professional texts. To this reviewer, that is a major contribution to the field of applied linguistics.

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Infotext: Reading and Learning. Karen M. Feathers. Markham, Ontario (Canada): Pippin Publishing, 1993. 143 pp.

Reviewed by
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As Karen Feathers explains in the preface to her text, the term "infotext" refers to nonfictional narratives—textbooks, journals, etc.—that one reads for the purpose of gathering information. In keeping with the recent trend in reading and writing scholarship to turn the learning responsibility over to the students, getting them involved in their own learning processes, *Infotext* suggests leaving the actual performance of reading activities to the student.

Much as writing specialists have been suggesting for some time, that teachers encourage students to write introspectively, watching their own writing processes as they write. Feathers proposes that teachers direct "students [to] develop their own notes, reflecting their own ideas about what is important and how the text is organized" (p. 8).

Feather's stated purpose in *Infotext* is to urge teachers of elementary, junior high, and high school content area courses to teach reading as part of their curriculum. The target of this text, however, would seem to be undergraduate students in education courses. While Feathers alludes to some of the major research throughout her text, none of it is given much critical scrutiny. Further, most graduate students will have had most of this information in greater depth in their general introduction courses, especially as more and more programs introduce reading and writing across the curriculum.

Chapters throughout the text are not numbered; rather they are divided into eight sections. In the first section, titled "Why teach content reading?" *Infotext* begins with a strong sales pitch aimed at teachers of content courses: "What would it take to interest you . . . What if I

could show you strategies What if they are so understandable Would you be interested?" (p. 10). She then proceeds to explain that it is necessary to teach content reading because students need help in approaching new narrative styles. As an example, she cites her first experiences reading science fiction stories. She first found these narratives difficult to understand. However, after practice, she was able to puzzle out what they were about. Now she is an avid reader of science fiction narratives and no longer has trouble with them.

In "The basis of content reading," which follows, she discusses the necessity of engaging readers in their own reading/learning processes. She also argues that all reading is not the same and that it is necessary to develop the proper tools and strategies to handle different narratives.

In the next section, "Evaluating students—and texts," she raises one of the oldest problems facing writers and users of texts: their quality. She also suggests that teachers examine what students have gathered from texts by using a content Informal Reading Inventory (IRI). Feathers explains that students are given a passage from a required text and questions prepared by the teacher. To create an IRI, teachers need to select a passage which fulfills three primary conditions: it is "a complete unit, such as a section or subsection of a chapter, that makes sense when it stands alone," it is "representative of the entire text," and it is "long enough to provide a good estimate of the students' ability," then prepare 10 to 15 questions for students to answer (pp. 40-41). Once students have taken the test, their results should be evaluated based upon their ability to understand the vocabulary, recall details, identify or generate main ideas, make inferences about them, and apply what has been learned.

Feathers then gives a brief overview of what areas to consider when evaluating texts, including content information, vocabulary use, organization at both the paragraph and global levels, the helpfulness of graphics, the relevance of the questions and supplemental aids included with the text, and finally the text's biases.

The following section, "Making connections," begins with the statement that, "We learn by linking new information to what we already know" (p. 53). Feathers then suggests "pretests" to ascertain prior knowledge of the information, and distributing lists of difficult vocabulary students are likely to encounter. Students then brainstorm with classmates to discover the shared knowledge of the group. Finally, they are encouraged to predict what they expect to find, on the theory that "[o]nce students predict what an author is likely to include in a particular text . . . they will be motivated to read to see if their predictions are confirmed" (p. 59).

"Focusing on meaning," the next section, discusses the need for readers to monitor. It opens with the comment that when "proficient readers process text, they monitor their own understanding" (p. 66). She argues that many readers only read words without trying to puzzle out what those words mean: "They neither search for meaning as they read nor monitor their own understanding Reading involves more than simply saying words—either out loud or in our heads" (p. 67).

Feathers suggests that part of the problem is that teachers have unwittingly made students dependent upon them for meaning. She urges that students be taught to monitor their own work through the use of "metacognitive journals," made by students in order to examine their reading processes, and encouraged to undertake reading which actively engages involvement with the text. The author suggests use of Russell Stauffer's Directed Reading-Thinking Activity (DRTA) to help students make predictions about what they are about to read. She also advocates use of "think-alouds," similar to the metacognitive journals but done with a partner, pair dialogues about what is being read, and underlining and note taking.

"Organizing information—new perspectives" is a brief guide showing what to do with the information once it has been gathered from each chapter of the student's infotext. This section suggests charting, diagramming, listing, and a number of other methods that people generally use to categorize and internalize information, making it somehow meaningful for them.

The seventh section, "The importance of reflective writing," is one of the most valuable sections of the text. Without stating it directly, it promotes the reading process as linked to writing by its use of journal, letter, poetry, and story writing. Feathers encourages teachers to help their students find ways to bring the material to life by making it part of the student's world.

The final section, "Understanding vocabulary," begins by warning against teaching vocabulary out of context. Students, she explains, must learn vocabulary items in context in order to fully understand the concepts which underlie the basic definitions.

In all, this text would serve well as a supplement to an L1 undergraduate course in general education. For graduate students and professionals desiring research and support, the material in the text has been covered in greater detail by others (c.f. Lapp, Flood, & Farnan, 1989; Stendal & Betza, 1990; Vacca & Vacca, 1986). Those working in different cultural settings will want to examine Alverman and Phelp's (1994) contribution.

The strength of the text is in its overall friendly and conversational tone. It is exceedingly approachable and nonthreatening. The downside is that it oversimplifies much of the research. To choose just one example from many: Feathers takes almost two pages to make the point that good readers are those who think about what they are reading; whereas, poor readers read without thinking about the meaning of what they are reading. Of course, Feathers realizes that the problems are more complex—that is, there are reasons why students' attentions become distracted from what they are reading. But in her attempt to present her readers with a reader-friendly text, much explanation and discussion has been left out that it might have been better to include.

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JALT Journal 第17巻 第2号

1995年10月25日 印刷

1995年11月 1日 発行

編集人 タマラ・スウェンソン

発行人 デービッド・マクマリー

発行所 全国語学教育学会事務局

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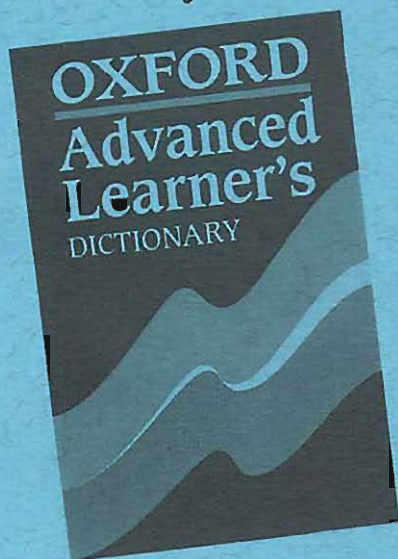
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**For similar services among international Type 1 telecommunications carriers. Super Family Line does not apply to calls made from car or portable phones.

Talk to us: For more information, call toll-free **0120-44-0041** (24-hour service).

The fast, easy way to call the U.S.A. (The example shown is for N.Y.C.)
ITJ access number U.S.A. country code N.Y.C. area code

0041 ▶ 1 ▶ 212 ▶ Local number

Rate table (The Japan time frame is applied to these rates.)

Mon.-Fri.	Discount (40% off)	Standard	Economy (20% off)
Sat. Sun. Holiday			

Join ITJ Super Family Line and get savings like this. First three months to U.S.A. (As of June 1, 1993)	Regular 0041	Standard	Economy	Discount
Super Family Line		¥580	¥460	¥350
		¥510	¥410	¥310

0041

THE BEST WAY TO CALL OVERSEAS