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JALT is a professional organization dedicated to the improvement of language learning and teaching in Japan, a vehicle for the exchange of new ideas and techniques, and a means of keeping abreast of new developments in a rapidly changing field. Formed in 1976, JALT has an international membership of more than 3800. There are currently 37 JALT chapters and two affiliates throughout Japan. It is the Japan affiliate of International TESOL (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages) and a branch of IATEFL (International Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language).

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In this issue

In the first article, Greta Gorsuch explores the use of *yakudoku* in Japanese high schools. Her observations of the practices of two Japanese high school teachers of English and interviews with them shed light on this little studied aspect of EFL instruction.

Hiroko Matsuura reports on a study of Japanese and American perceptual differences of politeness in English requests. Her findings indicate that the perceptions of the politeness level vary widely

Advice to foreign teachers in Japan and research on cross-cultural learning styles in ESL/EFL literature are surveyed by Bernard Susser for instances of "Orientalism." He argues that this literature presents a distorted account of Japanese learners and classrooms.

Point to Point

Two sets of exchanges are included. First, Nigel Henry comments on "The Eiken Test: An Investigation" (Vol. 19, No. 1, May 1997, pp. 24-42) and the author, Laura MacGregor responds. Then, Takao Imai comments on "Japanese EFL Learners' Test-Type Related Interlanguage Variability" (Vol. 19, No. 1, May 1997, pp. 89-105) and the author, Akihiro Ito, responds.

Research Forum

Michael T. Hazel and Joe Ayres examine differences in turn-taking behavior by Japanese and Americans, finding that in culturally diverse groups turn-taking behavior did not differ significantly. George Russell and Lester Loschky review communication strategies and instruction, report on a study of how students conceptualize communicative options, and argue that students would benefit from strategy instruction.

Perspectives

In an exploratory study of self, teacher, and peer assessment in a Japanese university EFL class, Dale T. Griffee finds that peer and teacher assessment scores were similar and suggests ways the reliability of peer and self assessment can be further evaluated. Following this, Tim Murphey and Tom Kenny describe a unique configuration of video cameras and video tape recorders which help students focus on form while enhancing their language learning.

Reviews

This issue includes reviews by Charles Adamson, William Bradley, Andrew Jones, and Ann Peyton on cognitive syntax, literacy, translation, and teacher education.

From the Editors

With this issue, the *JALT Journal* celebrates its 20th anniversary. Under a succession of editorial staffs, the *JALT Journal* has provided educators and researchers with reports on a variety of aspects of language education, especially those which impact on teaching in Japan.

During the past four years, the *JALT Journal* editors have initiated a number of new projects. These include introducing a section devoted to pedagogical related research, Perspectives, edited by Sandra Fotos; allowing submission, and therefore publication, of Japanese-language articles, edited by Naoko Aoki, and a change in the cover. Surprisingly, the move to the two-color cover, long-considered, saved JALT money—a less expensive cover stock more than offset the cost of an extra color. Recently, under Nicholas O. Jungheim's guidance, the *JALT Journal* has begun to make its way onto the Internet. I am pleased to have had a part in these efforts.

This issue also marks an editorial change for the JALT Journal. Shinji Kimura joins the editorial staff as the Japanese-language editor, replacing Naoko Aoki. Her work on JALT Journal's behalf is deeply appreciated. In addition, from the fall 1998 issue, Sandra Fotos will take over as the editor and Nicholas O. Jungheim will move into the position of associate editor. And with this issue, I complete my four-year commitment to the JALT Journal. I would like to thank Sandra Fotos for her help during the past four years and her willingness to take on the editorial post. Thanks also go to Thomas Hardy, Brad Visgatis, Jack Yohay, and Greta Gorsuch for their assistance and attention to detail. Thanks also go to every member of the Editorial Advisory Board, and the additional readers, for their commitment to helping others in the field. Without their willingness to review submissions and assist authors, the JALT Journal would be unable to maintain its high standards.

I would also like to remind readers of the editors who have helped make the *JALT Journal* one of the premier journals in second-language education. Past editors were: Nancy Nakanishi Hildebrandt (volumes 1 & 2); Caroline C. Latham (3 & 4); Patrick Buckheister & Donna Birman [5 & 6(1)]; Richard Berwick & Andrew Wright [6(2) to 8(1)]; Andrew Wright [8(2)]; Richard Cauldwell & Charles Wordell [9(1) to 11(1)]; Daniel Horowitz & Charles Wordell [11(2)], and Malcolm Benson & Charles Wordell [12(1) to 16(1)]. From volume 16(2), I took over as *JALT Journal* editor. It has been an exciting and challenging time. Thank you for sharing it with me.

— Tamara Swenson, JALT Journal Editor, volumes 16(2) to 20(1)

Articles

Yakudoku EFL Instruction in Two Japanese High School Classrooms: An Exploratory Study

Greta J. Gorsuch

Mejiro University

Despite so much being made of oral English instruction, some researchers suggest that English language instruction in Japanese high schools is still dominated by yakudoku, a non-oral approach to foreign language instruction. Little detailed, descriptive research on yakudoku instruction in classrooms is to be found, and the beliefs of teachers who use yakudoku seem not to be researched at all. This exploratory study seeks to remedy this. Two high school EFL classes were observed, and the teachers interviewed. Specific classroom behaviors of the teachers were analyzed and coded, and teachers' beliefs, as revealed through interviews, matched with their behaviors. It was found that in focusing on linguistic forms, teachers demanded conformity in students' work. It was also found that the students focused the bulk of their attention on the Japanese translations of the English text, rather than the English text itself. The study, while exploratory in nature, and thus flawed, creates a basis for further research into this little studied aspect of EFL instruction in Japanese high schools.

日本の高等学校における英語教育について、オーラル・イングリッシュの是非が活発に議論される一方、「授業形態の実情はいまだ駅脱中心である」と指摘する研究者は少なくない。ところが、この最も典型的で一般的な授業方法とされる駅脱授業を詳細に分析した研究は少なく、さらに駅脱授業を展開する教師が、英語の授業方法・学習方法についてどのような考えを持ち合わせているのかについては、これまで研究対象にされなかったようである。本研究では、まず高等学校の2クラスの授業観察と教師へのインタビューを行い、教師の授業行動を分析し、カテゴリー化を行った。そして、インタビューを通して判明した教師の「授業方法・学習方法についての考え」と「授業行動」との関係を考察した。

結果、教師は英文と和訳文の表面的な一致を重要視し、従って言語的要素への関心が高いことが判明した。また同時に、生徒は英文そのものよりも和訳文に多くの注意を向けていることが判明した。本研究は仮説の検証を目的としたものではなく、訳説授業についての探索を行った研究であるが、今後期待される訳説授業研究への橋渡しとしての役割を果たすものと考える。

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n spite of pendulum swings towards oral English instruction, some researchers suggest that English language instruction in high schools L in Japan has largely been and still is dominated by yakudoku, a non-oral approach to foreign language instruction thought to be related to grammar/translation (Bryant, 1956; Henrichsen, 1989; Hino, 1988; Law, 1995). Hino, in speaking of high school and university English instruction, goes so far as to say "Yakudoku is 'the' method in the teaching of English in Japan" (1988, p. 46). Writing from a perspective of university teachers dealing with high school graduates educated in the yakudoku method, Bamford agrees: "Indeed, the tradition of using the 'grammar translation' method is . . . practically synonymous with English education in Japan" (1993, p. 64). A survey conducted by the Research Group for College English Teaching in Japan (cited in Hino, 1988, p. 46) reported that among its 1,012 Japanese university and high school teacher respondents nationwide, 70 to 80 percent used yakudoku in their EFL classes.

Despite its seeming prevalence in EFL education in Japan, little detailed, descriptive research on *yakudoku* English instruction in Japanese high school classrooms exists. Complaints and commentaries about its effects on second language reading, second language learning, and secondary and tertiary school curricula abound in the literature. But while these articles are relevant and cogent, they lack descriptive data taken from classrooms in which the methodology is used (Bamford, 1993; Bryant II, 1956; Henrichsen, 1989; Hildebrant & Giles, 1980; Hino, 1988; Horibe, 1995; Januzzi, 1994; Law, 1994; Law, 1995; Mitsuo, 1996; Sheen, 1993).

The purpose of this research is to define yakudoku, and describe how it affects the EFL instruction of two Japanese high school teachers. Central to an understanding of EFL yakudoku education in Japan is an account of the instructional practices of Japanese high school English teachers, and the beliefs that fuel these practices. From there, future researchers can more easily postulate how yakudoku fits in with second language reading and second language acquisition theory. Therefore, as a first step, the research questions are:

- 1. What are the instructional practices of two "academic" high school teachers in their *yakudoku* EFL classrooms?
- 2. How can the beliefs these teachers hold towards *yakudoku* EFL education be characterized?

Yakudoku and Grammar/Translation

Yakudoku is often compared to the grammar/translation method of foreign language instruction, as in Hino: "the Grammar-Translation Method in the West, which grew out of the teaching of classical languages such as Latin and Greek, presents a close resemblance to the Yakudoku Method" (1988, p. 53). Henrichsen provides a similar definition, "Another Japanese language-teaching tradition that ran counter to the reforms . . . was a Japanese-style 'grammar translation' approach called yakudoku" (1989, p. 104).

The grammar/translation method, as described by Howatt (1984), developed in 19th century Europe through a collision of the older study of classical literary texts in higher education with the changing realities of a rapidly growing public secondary education movement for young people. Rather than longer classical literary texts learned through self-study, the grammar/translation method focused on grammar rules through explicit instruction and by using single written sentences to exemplify grammar structures thought essential to learn. The sentences also were used to provide opportunities for students to practice using the grammar structures in pedagogical, classroom-based exercises (Howatt, 1984, p. 132). This practice was achieved in many cases through having students translate the example sentences from the second language into the first language, and vice versa, hence the "translation" part of the method's name. The descriptions of Howatt (1984) and Kelly (1969) suggest that the mastery of the grammar rules was the focus of the method.

Concerning the relationship of yakudoku to grammar/translation, the consensus seems to be that while there are similarities, there are important differences. In this paper, two of the major differences will be discussed, as will be three areas of similarity. Hino (1988, p. 46) specifies the three-step process of yakudoku: First, the reader makes a word-by-word translation of the English text; next, the translation is reordered to match Japanese syntax; and finally, the string of translated words is recoded more finely into Japanese syntax. According to Hino, "the teacher's job in class is to explain the word-by-word translation technique, to provide a model translation, and to correct the student's translation" (p. 46). Contrast this with Howatt's portrayal of a grammar/translation method class: "Each new lesson had one or two new grammar rules, a short vocabulary list, and some practice examples to translate" (1984, p. 136). This suggests the first major difference between grammar/translation and yakudoku: In yakudoku the main focus seems to be on translating the foreign language text into Japanese. While grammar instruction may take place, it seems to be secondary.

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The second major difference is suggested by Law (1995, p. 215), who states that the purpose of yakudoku is to render the text into Japanese so that the content may be understood in Japanese. The commentary of one Japanese scholar, Ueda (cited in Hino, 1988), confirms Law's comments that the meaning and content of the English text is understood not in English, but in Japanese. Law comments, "English has tended to be perceived as a channel of one-way communication, that is, for the reception of Western ideas" (1995, p. 214). The second major difference between grammar/translation and yakudoku, then, is that in yakudoku written texts are studied for their content after being transformed into Japanese as part of a one-way exchange. In grammar/translation, there is a sense of two-way exchange, with students translating text from the L2 into the L1 and from the L1 into the L2.

Given these two differences, the picture forming here is that *yakudoku* instruction requires students to focus more on the Japanese translation of an English text rather than the English text itself. Law comments "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" (1995, p. 216).

Three similarities shared by *yakudoku* and grammar/translation will be discussed here. The first similarity is that both methodologies have been, and are, accompanied by examinations administered on a large scale to secondary students. In the case of British schoolchildren learning modern foreign languages in the 19th century, the universities created a system of public examinations which enabled high scorers to enter better tertiary educational institutions (Howatt, 1984). At present, Japanese high schools prepare 45% of their graduates for junior college, college, or university entrance exams, in which English is nearly always tested (Shimahara, cited in Brown & Yamashita, 1995a).

The second similarity between the methodologies is related to the tests described above. In both cases, there was, and continues to be, a powerful washback effect from the examinations onto secondary level language syllabuses and teaching methodology. Howatt states "though public examinations did not create the grammar-translation method, they fixed its priorities" (1984, p. 133). Effects of the exams on grammar/translation instructional practices of the time were an increasing emphasis on "meticulous standards of accuracy," and an unfortunate tendency to focus on exceptions to the rules of grammar (Howatt, 1984, pp. 134-136). Reform-minded educators of the time objected to this washback effect, and looked to the universities to initiate change to ameliorate the situation (Howatt, 1984, pp. 134-135).

The washback effect of Japanese university entrance exams on general high school curricula and teaching methodology is documented by Rohlen (1983, p. 108), "The criterion of efficiency in preparation, of meeting competition by gearing education to the [university] examinations, reaches deep into nearly every corner of high school education." Other scholars have focused on test washback on the high school EFL curricula and teaching methodology, such as Law (1994, 1995), and Reader (1986). Law, in particular, notes of juken eigo (examination English) "[it] exhibits a strong preference for lists of language items over discursive texts, for peripheral over core forms, and for linguistic knowledge over linguistic performance" (1995, p. 217). Washback from the university exams is not limited to high school students who want to enter universities—of the 55% of Japanese high school students who do not aspire to enter colleges or universities, Rohlen (1983) remarks: "one third of all Japanese students who attend vocational [high] schools must endure the same kind of instruction but without the sense of purpose or reward [of preparing for the university entrance exams]" (p. 247). As in the days of grammar/translation in Europe (Howatt, 1984), the distortions created in secondary education curricula and methodology by university entrance exams have their critics both social (Amano, 1990) and educational (Horio, 1988). Horio refers to the system as "our overheated examination system" (1988, p. 12).1

The third similarity between *yakudoku* and grammar/translation is a focus on the written text, at the expense of oral/aural skills. In Howatt's words, "[in grammar/translation] spoken language was, at best, irrelevant" (1984, p. 135). Bryant II echoes these sentiments: "To learn to speak and understand English by this method [*yakudoku*]was still less feasible" (1956, p. 23).

One aspect of this is that teachers overwhelmingly use Japanese, not English, as the language of classroom instruction. The result is a tendency for native English speaking teachers in Japan to be assigned oral skills classes, where English is used for instruction. Japanese English teachers are assigned reading classes, where the use of English as the language of instruction is perhaps thought unnecessary. In noting this, Law (1995, p. 222) states: "it will be difficult to convince students that all leachers] are engaged in the same enterprise, and that communication skills are not marginal aspects of language learning." A further possible effect of this lopsided assignment of teaching subjects is that Japanese EFL teachers who use yakudoku help perpetuate the myth, held by many Japanese EFL students, that reading English and yakudoku are the same thing (Hino, 1988, p. 47).

In conclusion, yakudoku can be characterized as a widely used text-based (non-oral) foreign language instructional methodology with some similarities to grammar/translation, but also with important differences. Yakudoku really seems to be more about the process of translating sentences of English text into Japanese, and understanding the text in Japanese, than about understanding English grammar through study of example English sentences. Finally, yakudoku is entwined with university entrance exams.

Teacher's Practices and Beliefs

Unfortunately, there is little detailed, descriptive research on Japanese EFL high school teachers' instructional practices with *yakudoku* and beliefs about these practices. This is not limited to EFL—according to Rohlen (1983, p. 241): "Descriptions of Japanese high school instruction apparently do not exist in Japanese education." This seems odd, considering that "Their [the high schools'] administrative structures, schedules, textbooks, and curricular designs are largely generated by the same Ministry of Education formulas" (Rohlen, 1983, pp. 43-44). Japanese education is centrally controlled, and thus it is surely desirable to research classroom instruction to understand not only what is happening in classrooms, but also to generate alternatives.

Why are there not more descriptions of classroom instruction at the high school level? Rohlen (1983) notes certain tendencies of high school teachers' lecture design which may shed light on this question: "examples of . . . instructional independence are rare, not because senior teachers or administrators are breathing down the backs of teachers . . . but because most teachers design their lectures with only luniversityl entrance examinations in mind" (1983, p. 243). If Rohlen is correct, then it explains why high school instruction is not studied more—a consensus has been reached that places preparation for university entrance exams as the highest educational priority. What may be in place in high schools, then, is a whole set of unexamined, shared assumptions concerning what is "proper" classroom instruction. Clearly, more research is needed to confirm or disconfirm this disquieting idea.

With the advent of team teaching programs, such as the Japan Exchange and Teaching program (JET) begun in 1987 (Wada & Cominos, 1994), some research on secondary education classroom instruction has been done by those seeking to understand how JTEs (Japanese Teachers of English) and their foreign counterpart AETs (Assistant English Teachers) interact in the classroom to enhance students' learning.

One such researcher, Yukawa (1992, 1994), observed a Japanese high school English teacher's interactions with a British teacher in a reading class over a period of several months. Yukawa does not characterize this class as being a yakudoku class, although this is implied by the prevalence of translation activities in the class observed (63% of all routines conducted in the first month of the study). Yukawa found that at the beginning of the study, the Japanese teacher translated English text into Japanese, asked students for their translations, and explained grammar and word usage. In translating English for the students, the teacher would give "a bad example (direct translation) and then change it into a good one (better translation in natural Japanese)" (1994, p. 48). These class activities were conducted in Japanese. Later in the study, the Japanese teacher engaged in fewer translation activities and used English as the medium of instruction more frequently.

Finally, in writing generally of high school instruction, Rohlen (1983) states that "instruction almost entirely by lecture is a thoroughly entrenched pattern" (p. 245). The picture of high school English instructional practices emerging from these few sources is that of a teacher-centered, university entrance exam-oriented, text-based, translation-based *yakudoku* pedagogy, which is just beginning to be investigated.

What about Japanese high school vakudoku EFL teachers' beliefs? There is little previous research available to answer this elusive question, but what there is, is suggestive. One survey, described above, by the Research Group for College English Teaching in Japan (1983) focused on 1,012 college and university EFL teachers. Findings indicated that teachers in these environments tended to subscribe to one of three views of how to approach the learning of English as a foreign language. The first group (48.9% of respondents) felt that English is best learned through "intensive reading, translation, and appreciation of literary works." This group is best labeled the "English and American literature" group. The second group (37%) felt EFL study was best approached through English linguistics, hence the name the "English linguistics" group. The third group, labeled the "TEFL" group (20.8%) subscribed to the belief that EFL study is best approached through methodology current in the TEFL field (1983, pp. 263-264). While this survey did not focus on high school teachers, it did comment on the beliefs of university EFL teachers who run the teacher certification programs, from which 70,034 high school teacher candidates earned teaching certificates in 1989 (National Institute for Educational Research, 1989, p. 9). There is a possibility that high school teachers, coming from teacher certification programs variously imbued with the "literary view," the "linguistic view," and the GORSUCH 13

"TEFL view," also fall into one of these three categories, which will affect their beliefs about classroom instruction.

In characterizing high school EFL teachers' views of language learning, university entrance exams certainly can't be ignored. Rohlen (1983) quotes one Japanese high school EFL teacher: "I know I can't speak English, and your presence in school embarrasses me, but I study the fine points of English grammar, and this is more helpful to my students. They can use it on the exams" (p. 244). This statement suggests the centrality of this teacher's concerns about preparing students for exams. While there isn't widespread research on high school teachers' beliefs concerning their responsibility to students *vis-à-vis* entrance exams, there are many anecdotal hints. Yukawa (1994), for example, reports that "academic" high schools are reluctant to make use of AETs (Assistant English Teachers) to help students improve their oral skills because they are thought to be a "hindrance to students' preparation for [university] entrance examinations" (p. 56).

The Study

Method

Subjects: The subjects were two Japanese male EFL teachers in their mid-30s, Messrs. Suzuki and Honda (pseudonyms), employed in a public boys' high school outside Tokyo. The school is noted for its success in placing graduates in some of the top universities in Japan. Both teachers have taught in public high schools for approximately 14 years since earning their teaching certificates through English teaching licensure programs as undergraduates at their universities. In such a system, university students take extra Ministry of Education approved courses such as Educational Psychology and English Linguistics, and complete a two-week student teaching practicum at a junior or senior high school (National Institute for Educational Research, 1989). Mr. Suzuki gained his teaching certificate while getting a degree in French Literature; Mr. Honda gained his while getting a degree in English Literature. Both teachers are very proficient in English, and thus were interviewed in English. Both teachers were shown transcripts of their interviews to ensure their intended meanings had been accurately recorded.

In her initial contact with the school, the researcher, hoping to avoid having to observe the intensive, exam-specific preparation prevalent in the third year, specifically requested to be allowed to study second-year English classes. However, during this initial contact period, the head

teacher of the English department expressed the concern that as this was an "academic" school, that is, geared for students' preparation for university exams, the researcher might not be able to see much of interest or "newness" in teachers' classroom practices. Therefore, it is not known to what extent the classes observed were "typical" of high schools. It would be wrong to generalize findings or conclusions drawn from this study to other high schools.

Materials and Procedures: The research entailed: classroom observation, teacher interviews, and an examination of all relevant and available documents. The second-year English classes (English II) of Mr. Suzuki and Mr. Honda were observed in Autumn, 1996. Two of Mr. Suzuki's classes, with the same students, were observed about a month apart. Due to time considerations, only one of Mr. Honda's classes was observed. In addition, the classes were tape recorded. The tape recordings were reviewed by the researcher and a Japanese interpreter, and the field notes were transformed into more accurate transcriptions of the classroom activities. Both teachers were observed in fairly small, crowded classrooms which held approximately 40 desks and chairs arranged in rows.

The teachers participated in two sets of individual interviews. The first set took place immediately after the first classroom observations, and the second set after the second observation of Mr. Suzuki's class. The teachers were told at the beginning of the first set of interviews that neither their names nor the name of their school would be published or discussed with anyone else besides the assistant to the researcher. The teachers were also given the option to withdraw from the interviews at any time. The teachers' confidentiality agreement can be seen in Appendix A.

All available relevant materials were collected, including the class textbook, one worksheet used by Mr. Suzuki in class, seven textbooks assigned for students' home reading, a course grammar syllabus, and a report on trends in university entrance exams put out by a commercial cram school.

Analyses: In this section, analyses of data arising from three aspects of the study will be discussed—the class observations, the collected materials (in particular, the textbook and home reading materials), and the teachers' interviews.

After the classroom observation, field notes and tape recordings were integrated into more complete transcripts. Perusal of the transcripts focused on two aspects of classroom activity: 1) basic descriptions, in terms of classroom instruction, of what the teachers did, or called upon

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students to do; and 2) the textual focus of an activity. A focus on basic descriptions of what teachers did, and what they asked students to do, is appropriate, given that this study purports to describe teachers' instructional practices in the classroom.

"Textual focus" refers to which text—the English text or the Japanese translation of the English text—the teachers and students focused on during an activity. Both Hino (1988) and Law (1994, 1995) have asserted that in *yakudoku* classrooms, much of the students' attention is focused not on the English text but on the Japanese translation of the text. An analysis of this aspect of the data may shed light on this issue. Other aspects of activities and interactions in the classroom such as the physical positioning of teachers and students, turn taking, or functional uses of teachers' questions were considered to be outside the scope of this study.

The unit of observation in this study is the "activity." Various definitions for "activity" (also "procedures," and "practices") exist in the literature. Shavelson and Stern (in Nunan, 1989) present the simplest definition, "the things the learners and teacher will be doing in the lesson" (p. 47). Larsen-Freeman (1986), and Richards and Rodgers (1986) stress the notion that classroom activities are behaviors that arise from teachers' principles and assumptions about learning, teaching, learners, teachers, and language. Breen (in Nunan, 1989) completes the picture by recognizing that activities follow "a specified working procedure" (p. 6). Given these various definitions, the definition of "activity" for this study is: An activity is an event taking place within a classroom, and is bounded by the following five elements: a classroom activity is (1) behavioral—the activity calls for actions done in a classroom by students and/or the teacher; (2) teacher initiated; (3) procedural—in the teacher's and students' minds, the activity has a beginning, a middle, and an end; (4) purposeful—the activity is done in the context of a goal; and (5) based on the teacher's principles.

Of particular interest is the notion that a classroom activity is procedural. It is this quality that gives "activity" the feeling of being a unitary event, and thus something that can be counted while looking at observational data. Because most of the activities in the yakudoku classes used as a starting point phrases and sentences in the English text, many of the activities appeared short and repetitive. For example, during a translation comprehension check activity (see below), the teacher would call on one student, ask him for his Japanese translation of a phrase or sentence in the text, and then often move directly into a related but functionally different activity (grammar instruction or translation instruction) by correcting and commenting on some aspect of the student's translation. Thus the teacher's work with the one student could be counted

as one or more activities. The effect was of one or more activity types being recycled again and again, each time with a different student. Some activities which were not so directly based on a text were much longer and less repetitive, such as the listening dictation quiz, where the teacher played a tape with sentences from the text while students wrote the sentences down. The entire five or six minute period in which this was done was counted as one activity.

Definitions for the activities that were observed are given below, along with abbreviated samples from the class observation transcripts. The definitions have been categorized into two general types, activities which seemed to focus on the English text, and those which seemed to focus on the Japanese translation of the English text.

English Text Focus Activities

Content instruction: In a lecture, the teacher gave the students background information, or provided commentary on the "logic" of the author. This seemed to arise from the teacher's perception that students needed more information to understand the text.

Example: Teacher draws diagram of brain and spinal cord on the blackboard, explaining Lou Gehrig's disease in Japanese, and saying 'brain' and 'spinal cord' in English.

English sentence location check: The teacher checked students' ability to find and say the appropriate English word or phrase from the text in response to written English comprehension questions. It also seemed to function to transmit the answer approved by the teacher to the rest of the class.

Example: Teacher questions a student in English, "What kind of person does the word 'hero' apply to?" Student answers with an English word from the text.

Grammar instruction: In a short lecture, the teacher used specialized grammatical terms and wrote the structure on the board. This seemed to be triggered by the teacher's perception, based on a student's spoken Japanese translation, that the student had misunderstood the grammar of the English text.

Example: Teacher says in Japanese "Let's find the indirect object in the English text. 'Us' is the object but the indirect object is in three parts: 'high example,' 'purpose,' and 'a dream'."

Tape/text listening: The teacher played a tape narrated by a native English speaker, and the students listened while reading along in the text.

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Listening dictation quiz: The teacher repeatedly played a tape with the text spoken by a native English speaker while the students write the sentences down on a worksheet. The text used in the activity had been taught in a previous lesson.

Pronunciation: The choral repetition of translated words.

Example: Teacher reads words from the textbook out loud and students repeat chorally: kekyosuru oyosuru, apply, apply, futsu no, ordinary, ordinary, enjiru jikosuru, perform, perform, superiority, superiority, ority, ority, riority, riority, periority, periority, superiority, superiority

Japanese to English quiz: The teacher read aloud several Japanese sentences and asked the students to write down the equivalent English sentences from a text which had been previously studied. This activity seemed to allow the teachers to monitor students' preparation for the class.

Example: Teacher read three sentences in Japanese and students were to write the English translations as they appeared in the English text which they had translated for the lesson. One student asks, "How many English words are allowed for number 1?" The teacher says "Seven." When the quiz is over, students check their answers in their textbooks.

Japanese Translation Focus Activities

Translation comprehension check: The teacher asked a single student to provide the Japanese translation of an English sentence or phrase in the text. The teacher would often then evaluate and correct the student's translation and move into one of the other sequences, such as a grammar instruction activity. This activity seemed to function as a check on the comprehension of the student called on, and to transmit the translation approved by the teacher to the rest of the students in the class.

Example: Teacher tells student to read his translation of the following: that particularly in Europe and North America the young now refuse to admire anyone. Student reads his Japanese translation aloud and the teacher comments, giving the "proper" Japanese translation, which the students write down.

Translation instruction: In a lecture, the teacher commented on "correct" ways to translate, giving examples. This activity often occurred after a translation comprehension checking activity, when, based on a student's Japanese translation, the teacher perceived the student had used inappropriate Japanese in the translation.

Example: Line from text being discussed in class: They are the giants, the out-of-ordinary figures whose superiority fills our hearts with admiration and awe:

Teacher asks student to give his Japanese translation of 'awe'; student answers *tket*. Teacher says "*tket* is the first definition in the English/Japanese dictionary but it is bookish and very formal." Teacher instructs student to translate it into easy Japanese.

The three lesson transcripts were analyzed according to the classroom activities defined above by two raters, one of whom was the researcher. The two sets of ratings resulting from each of the three transcripts were correlated to estimate inter-rater reliability.

The collected student reading materials were analyzed descriptively. A 500 word segment from each book (the initial line of the extract was randomly selected) was entered into a word processing program (Nisus Writer 4.14, Paragon Concepts, 1988) and checked on the program's Flesch readability scale for estimated reading difficulty. The teachers' interviews were analyzed for evidence of teachers' beliefs concerning their instructional practices.

Results

Results concerning the first research question, "What are the instructional practices of two "academic" high school teachers in their *yakudoku* EFL classrooms?" can be found below. From the classroom observations and teacher interviews, eight salient features of classroom instruction were noted. First, it seems clear that translation is at the heart of the teachers' classroom instruction. Table 1 indicates the results of the classroom observation analysis in terms of the frequency of various classroom activities and their textual focus (English text, or Japanese translated version of the English text).

The last two activity categories in the table, which involve translation and are focused on the Japanese translation of an English text, account for a large chunk of total activities observed. Mr. Suzuki based his instruction on translation in 19 (53%) of his sequences in this first class, and 7 (57%) in his second. Mr. Honda used translation in 24 (69%) of his sequences. Underscoring these estimates is the fact that inter-rater reliability for the first transcript was 99%; the second, 97%; and for the third, 98%, indicating a relatively high level of agreement between the raters. That translation plays such a large part confirms Yukawa's (1992, 1994) description of high school EFL classroom instruction.

Table 1: Sequence Frequencies During Classroom Observations

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Class: Date: Text being studied: Section:	Suzuki's Class September 27 "No More Heroes?" lines 67-76	Suzuki's Class October 30 "Stephen Hawking" lines 40-72	Honda's Class September 27 "No More Heroes?" lines 1-27
English Text Focus Activities			
Content instruction	5	2	1
English sentence location check	2	0	0
Grammar instruction	6	4	7
Tape/text listening	3	0	0
Listening dictation quiz	0	1	0
Pronunciation	1	0	2
Japanese to English quiz	0	0	1
Japanese Translation Focus Activities	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		
Translation comprehension check	15	6	14
Translation instruction	4	1	10
Total Activities	36	14	35
Percent Translation Activities	53%	57%	69%
Interrater Reliability	99%	97%	98%

In interviews, both teachers reported telling students to translate entire units (approximately 700 words of text) in the textbook on a regular basis. This was to be done as homework and preparation for the next class. According to the teachers, students are told to rewrite the English text on the left hand side of their notebooks and write their Japanese translations on the right hand side. Both teachers reported checking the notebooks periodically to ensure students have completed the homework.

During classes observed, the teachers asked individual students to read their Japanese translation for a phrase or a sentence. The teachers would then evaluate the student's translation. If, judging from the translation, the teachers sensed the student had misunderstood the English text, or if the student's translation was written in ungrammatical or stilted Japanese (or "queer Japanese" as Mr. Suzuki put it), the teachers then would move into a grammar instruction sequence, a content sequence, or a translation instruction sequence that would help clear up the student's misunderstanding.

Thus the translation comprehension check sequences seemed to function in two ways—first, teachers could gauge students' comprehension of the English text via their Japanese translations, and second, teachers

Table 2: "Home Reader" Descriptions

Title	Genre	Length	Difficulty	Format
I, Robot (Asimov, 1993)	Science Fiction	85 pages of text	Flesch: 82 (U.S. Grade 8)	Entirely in English with 3 pages of inference, sentence combining, opinion activities
The Year of Sharing (Gilbert, 1994)	Science Fiction	40 pages of text	Flesch: 94 (U.S. Grade 5)	Entirely in English with 2 pages of sentence order, inference, opin- ion activities
The Man From Paris (Thornley, 1970)	Mystery Thriller	46 pages of text	Flesch: 100 (U.S. Grade 4)	English with one page plot synopsis in Japanese, 21 pages of grammar, vocabulary, and back- ground notes in Japanese
The Young King and Other Stories (Wilde, 1987)	Short Stories	57 pages of text	Flesch: 97 (U.S. Grade 6)	English with one page introduc- tion in Japanese, 24 pages of grammar and vocabulary notes in Japanese
For and Against (Alexander, 1968)	Short Essays	61 pages of text	Flesch: 56 (U.S. Grade 11)	30 English essays with 2 page Japa- nese introduction, 19 pages of grammar, vocabulary, and back- ground notes in Japanese
<i>The Crisis of</i> <i>Modern Man</i> (Milward, 1983)	Short Essays	64 pages of text	Flesch: 68 (U.S. Grade 12)	9 English essays with 19 pages of grammar, vocabulary, and back- ground notes in Japanese
<i>Charlie Chaplin</i> (Milward, 1980)	Biography	60 pages of text	Flesch: 73 (U.S. Grade 9)	2 pages of maps, 1 page synopsis in Japanese, 20 photographs, 19 pages of grammar, vocabulary, and background notes in Japanese

Note: Flesch readability scores are given above as "Flesch."

could convey the "correct" and accepted Japanese translation of the text. The translation instruction sequences appeared to the researcher more as lessons in Japanese than in English. On one hand, these sequences served to help teachers focus students' attention on grammatical differences between English and Japanese. On the other hand, the teachers focused on helping students to think about and create meaningful Japanese, rather than meaningful English.

One last feature pertaining to translation was the teachers reported that students are asked to translate seven textbooks, assigned as "home readers," in the course of an academic year. The seven "home readers" vary in genre, length, difficulty, and format.

The second feature of teachers' instruction concerns the English texts themselves. This researcher believes the texts the students were being asked to process were quite difficult for them, not only linguistically but also in terms of unfamiliar content. This can be seen in Table 1 above when looking particularly at the content instruction and grammar instruction activities. During the class observations, the teachers spent a lot of time and effort ensuring that students understood the text. This could indicate that the text was beyond the students' abilities in more ways than one, and that the teachers sensed this. An analysis of the textbook appears in Table 3.

Table 3: Analysis of English Texts Used During Classroom Observations

Text used for Suzuki's and Honda's September 27 classes:

"No more heroes?" (Kenan, 1995) Length: Approximately 600 words

Flesch Readability Estimate: 55 (U.S. Grade Level: 15)

Text used for Suzuki's October 30 class:

"Stephen Hawking" (Ferguson, 1995)

Length: Approximately 900 words

Flesch Readability Estimate: 63 (U.S. Grade Level: 12)

It seems clear from the Flesch readability estimates that the texts are linguistically difficult, perhaps beyond what non-native readers of English can be expected to do after 4 1/2 years of formal EFL instruction. What is more, readability estimates do not account for difficulties students may have with unfamiliar content. In "No More Heroes?" the focus is on historical figures from the U.S. and Europe. In "Stephen Hawking," a rare medical condition, amyotrophic lateral sclerosis, is discussed. Both present content perhaps unfamiliar even to native English readers. Extracts from both readers appear in Appendix B.

Third, the classes were found to strongly resemble intensive reading classes. The English text was considered literally word for word, with additional attention in teacher lectures paid to sentence structure and, occasionally, paragraph structure. The few listening sequences observed involved students listening to a tape while reading along in the textbook or completing a dictation task. There were also a few pronunciation sequences.

Fourth, the language of instruction for both teachers was observed to be overwhelmingly Japanese. Only during pronunciation sequences, noted above, was English spoken by the teachers. In these cases, single

words were spoken, which students had to repeat. This was the extent of the treatment of English in the oral/aural mode.

Fifth, the students never actually produced any English. As noted above, any productive work was completed outside class, when students translated the English text into Japanese. One exception, a quiz given by Mr. Honda, involved orally reading out to the students three Japanese translations of English sentences taken from the textbook and then having the students write the English translations. The English sentences had to be exactly the same as those in the textbook, which students were to have memorized.

The sixth feature noted from classroom observation was that both teachers demanded conformity in what students produced. During translation comprehension check activities, no discussion of the students' translations took place—they were simply "right" or "wrong," with the teacher demonstrating and conveying the "right" translation for students to write. Students did not have a chance to consider or to argue for the meaning they had gathered from the English text, even if through their Japanese translations.

Seventh, if it is not already abundantly clear, the classes observed were strongly teacher-centered. The teachers determined the pace and focus of the lessons. Both teachers seemed to work hard to actively engage the students in trying to comprehend the English text. This was done through questions directed at individual students, and through lectures designed to have personal relevance to the students.

For instance, to explain a metaphor in the text, Mr. Suzuki noted that rain was falling outdoors. When learning that only a few students had brought their umbrellas, he said, "Now aren't you sad, just like the 'sad sky' mentioned in the text?" Mr. Honda engaged students by asking a student a question and then giving the student hints when he appeared to have trouble (which was often). The result was an intense, exciting interchange in which sometimes the students were able to give the answer Mr. Honda wanted, and sometimes not. This strong desire to engage students in this teacher-centered way was also reflected in the teachers' interviews. Both teachers reported trying to inspire students to think deeply about what the texts meant and to consider the author's point of view.

The eighth feature noted from classroom observations and interviews concerns student assessment. This is closely related to the observation that the classes are strongly teacher-centered, as the classroom assessment appears to function as a form of teacher control. Students are tested often, and conformity in their answers is required. The first type of assessment comes in the form of daily quizzes. To do well, students need to memorize portions of the English text. The teachers both re-

ported giving students hints about which sentences to memorize in a previous class. If students do poorly on three quizzes in a row, they are expected to have a conference with the teacher, who will give them another test. Both teachers stated in the interview, however, that these quizzes do not count towards the students' grades.

A second type of assessment *does* count towards the students' grades—these are the 11 "terminal tests" that students have to take in an academic year. The teachers stated that the tests are based on the "home readers," and contain 30-40 translation and multiple choice items. According to one of the curriculum documents, students took a test in 1995 based on three chapters of the "home reader" *The Young King and Other Stories* (Wilde, 1987). Another "home reader" text chapter was listed on the same testing schedule for a later test with the Chinese characters for "memorize" next to it (*Charlie Chaplin*, Milward, 1980).

To answer the second research question, "How can the beliefs these teachers hold towards *yakudoku* EFL education be characterized?" it will be necessary to analyze the teachers' beliefs in relation to their instructional practices as observed and reported above.

Instructional Practice #1: The teachers base their classroom instruction on the translation of English text into Japanese. Both teachers report ambivalent feelings about the use of translation as a method of instruction. Mr. Honda felt that translation is the easiest way to learn a new language because it takes away the need for the teacher to make laborious explanations of new grammar and vocabulary. Mr. Suzuki believed that translation helps students prepare for university entrance exams. He also believed that by memorizing English sentences, and translating them, students can best learn English.

Translation serves positive pedagogical purposes, according to both teachers. Mr. Suzuki stated that with translation it is easy to tell which students understand the English text, and which do not, just by listening to their translations. He also believed that low level students can use it to understand English, and that students of any level can get satisfaction from knowing that "they've translated so many lines of English today." Mr. Honda added that learning through translation helps students learn Japanese. On this topic, Mr. Suzuki states that although Japanese students can read Japanese, they do not really understand it. Hence, students can learn their own language through translating a foreign text into Japanese.

Both teachers had negative feelings about translation as well. Mr. Suzuki feels that asking students to translate "robs them of pleasure," and that they cannot get a feel for the "exciting story" of a text if they have to translate it. Mr. Suzuki wants students to mentally process En-

glish texts in English but feels they probably do not because they have to translate. Finally, as reported above, Mr. Honda feels that translation keeps students from developing their aural/oral skills.

Concerning the "home readers" Mr. Suzuki stated that some were easier than others, and that was desirable. He maintained that with the easier ones students could develop their ability to read fluently. This is somewhat contradicted by the fact that students are still required to translate each book in its entirety. This may point to translation being mistaken for reading (Hino, 1988), or it may indicate that translation has great pedagogical value in that the teachers can ensure that students have "read" the book.

Instructional Practice #2: Teachers use textbooks that are probably difficult for students both linguistically and in terms of unfamiliar content. We should begin here with what the teachers thought constituted a "good textbook." Both agreed textbooks had to be attuned to students' interests. and should be vehicles for teaching specific grammar structures and vocabulary. A strong belief shared by the teachers was the idea that a textbook should have readings in it that were "logical," and that posed questions within the text to which there were definite answers that students could find. In particular they complained about one of the readings in which a rhetorical question (with no clear answer) was posed. They also strongly believe that culture should be transmitted to students through the texts. and that they wished there were more materials in English about Asian countries, rather than the standard U.S./European fare. Finally, Mr. Suzuki commented that for students reading new content was like a window on the world. He felt one of the main purposes of reading in English was to "get content," such as philosophy, science, and historical trends, What comes through here is the teachers' desire that the text "educate" students in many ways, not just help them learn English.

Mr. Suzuki felt that reading easy texts is sometimes good for students, and that they will not need to translate in such cases. However, he felt that easy texts do not pose enough of a "challenge" for students, and without being challenged they will not progress. Both teachers voiced the belief that their students were nowhere near ready to "succeed" with the university entrance exams that they would have to take 18 months in the future, despite the difficulty of their current textbook. Thus, the teachers seem to have dual goals—to educate the students about the world, and to help them pass university entrance exams. In their opinion, these dual goals add up to difficult texts.

Both teachers reported to be profoundly concerned that the study of English texts would also better students' minds and improve their ability to think "logically." Both teachers saw this as something that would last GORSUCH 25

students a lifetime. Both teachers also saw students' ability to understand the author's message as a function of reading ability. This is to say that students with low ability could probably translate adequately but not really understand the "deep message" of the text.

Instructional Practice #3: The classes resemble intensive reading classes. Both teachers expressed the belief that students should be prepared for university entrance exams. This means, in Mr. Honda's words, that students should be able to process English passages "quickly and correctly." He said they should also be able to answer multiple choice comprehension and grammar questions about the passage. Mr. Suzuki commented that students need to learn sentence patterns and vocabulary in order to do well on the exams.

Another belief reported by the teachers that seemingly underpins this practice has to do with what Mr. Suzuki called the "logic" of the author (Mr. Honda termed it "English logic"). Both teachers firmly feel that this "logic" is very helpful for students to understand English passages. Mr. Honda went so far as to say that if students are guided carefully through the first paragraph of a text, then they will understand the rest of the text. He said he also tried to help students find the "one main idea" he believed exists in each paragraph in English texts by helping students identify different grammatical elements in each sentence, and then looking at the paragraph as a whole.

Instructional Practice #4: The language of classroom instruction is Japanese. Neither teacher expressed beliefs underpinning this practice. Mr. Honda commented, however, that one of the weak points of yakudoku is that students do not learn to "speak or listen in English." Several times during the class observation Mr. Honda told the researcher that at several times he felt "shy" that a native speaker of English (the researcher) was in the room.

Instructional Practice #5: Teachers don't ask students to produce English. In the context of an exception—quizzes in which students do write out English sentences, Mr. Honda believed students should write out full sentences in English, as he believed this helps students learn English vocabulary. Mr. Honda commented further that for students to create their own English sentences would be too difficult, but he believed that if given a model to follow, students could copy that.

Instructional Practice #6: The teachers demand conformity in students' translations and quiz answers. Both teachers felt that learning a foreign language involves a lot of memorization. Mr. Suzuki commented that for students to sufficiently prepare for the daily quiz they had to memorize their translations and answers to questions he posed in an earlier class.

In the October 30 class, after the students had made their first attempt at a listening dictation, he told them that if they memorized English sentences, they could write out the sentences correctly even if they did not completely hear what was on the tape. Mr. Honda commented from a different standpoint—he felt that for students to pass university entrance exams, they have to read English passages "correctly and quickly."

Instructional Practice #7: Classes are teacher-centered. Neither teacher directly commented on this phenomenon. However, they did express points of view that explain it. First, both teachers believe their classes of 40+ students are too large. It could be that, in the interests of classroom management, teachers feel they should maintain strict control. Second, both teachers felt strongly that they operate under time pressure, and that the curriculum is very full. They felt it is important to get through large amounts of text in class, and that with classes that meet only three times a week, they do not have the time they would like to cover the texts more thoroughly.

Instructional Practice #8: Students are assessed often. Mr. Suzuki and Mr. Honda reported somewhat different reasons for doing this. Mr. Suzuki felt that the quizzes were purely motivational, and without them, students would not translate the textbook. Mr. Honda used the daily tests as a way to get students to write out full sentences in English, which he felt was beneficial to students' learning. Both teachers mentioned using the daily tests to monitor whether or not students were keeping up. Concerning the 11 "terminal" tests based on the home readers, the researcher feels that the teachers' comments above concerning the need for English to be "challenging" have bearing on this practice. Mr. Suzuki said he can tell from the students' scores whether or not they've translated their home readers.

Discussion

In this section, four points will be discussed.

First, the results of this study generally confirm earlier characterizations of *yakudoku*. Translation was found to be at the heart of these *yakudoku* classrooms, which accords with the findings of Hino (1988), Law (1995), and Yukawa (1992, 1994). There were substantial amounts of explicit grammar instruction, but this was nearly always in the context of translating English text into Japanese. In striving to create good Japanese translations, the teachers created classes that resembled Japanese language classes more than English classes, a tendency noted by Law (1995). *Yakudoku* was found to resemble intensive reading classes

with a strong focus on the written text. Oral/aural skills were not developed, confirming previous characterizations of *yakudoku* (Henrichsen, 1989; Hino, 1988; Law, 1995).

Second, yakudoku is really about teacher control. Students were required to translate at nearly every juncture, and their translations were checked, and controlled, by the teachers in and out of class. Even with "home readers" that one teacher felt students could read without translating, the students were required to translate. The researcher believes that in this context, yakudoku is pedagogy that affords teachers powerful control over students' language learning activities. When students translate, they create written proof of their having processed the assigned text. And when students reveal their translations in class, the translations are, in a sense, "edited" by teachers so that the other students receive the "correct" version. Pedagogical issues aside, there remains the question of how this sort of language processing affects the students' foreign language reading ability and acquisition. This is, however, beyond the scope of this paper.

Third, there is washback on *yakudoku* from university entrance exams. University entrance examinations were found to have a pervasive influence on teachers' *yakudoku* practices. In interviews, both teachers reported that in choosing what aspects of English to focus on in class, they considered what grammar structures or sentence patterns might appear on future exams. At one point, the researcher was given a report published by a commercial cram school that summarized the features of recent entrance exams.

This focus on the entrance exams can also be seen in the strongly teacher-centered classrooms, and teachers' insistence on conformity in students' answers. Mr. Honda stated in an interview that to do well on the exams, students had to be able to read English passages "quickly and correctly." Perhaps he felt that if students are to pass these important exams, they should become accustomed to making their answers "count" by being correct. Generally, these results confirm Law (1994, 1995), Reader (1986), and Rohlen (1983). The overall purpose of these yakudoku EFL classes does seem to be university exam preparation.

But what doesn't make sense is that most university exams don't actually require students to translate, which is what *yakudoku* is all about. Surveys of private and public university exams in recent years indicate that English reading passages with comprehension questions, and not translation tasks, comprise the greatest number of test items (Brown & Yamashita, 1995; Law, 1994). The answer to this may be that *yakudoku* has a pedagogical life of its own. It fulfills something deeper

in Japanese society than helping students develop second language ability to pass the English section of entrance exams. Perhaps traits that *yakudoku* is thought to develop in students, such as mental discipline (Hino, 1988), are seen as helping to build students' characters.

Fourth, the "English and American literature" paradigm has a strong influence on teachers' instruction. As noted earlier, the Research Group for College English Teaching in Japan (1983, pp. 263-264) found that respondents to their nationwide survey of university teachers subscribed to one of three paradigms for EFL education. The largest group felt that intensive reading, translation, and appreciation of literary works were the elements of a good foreign language program. It was clear that both Mr. Honda and Mr. Suzuki upheld this paradigm. That they were acting out of their own educational experiences through their high school instruction is evident.

There are many shortcomings in this study. Fortunately, these shortcomings point to possible avenues of future research. The most glaring shortcoming is the small number of classroom observations. To really understand what teachers are doing with yakudoku and what they believe about it, a longer-term project with longitudinal observations in a variety of schools is needed. Developing such a long-term relationship with Japanese high school teachers could be a stumbling block, however. As helpful and friendly as the teachers in this study were at the outset, it was clear after a certain point that they really didn't have the time or the desire to construct a long-term research relationship.

Also, because of linguistic difficulties, the researcher has not completed a thorough literature search of Japanese-language sources on *yakudoku*. Any in-depth treatment of *yakudoku* would require a strong grounding in Japanese perspectives on this apparently prevalent language learning pedagogy.

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Note

1. For research and commentary in English specific to the nature of the English sections on Japanese university entrance exams, and its effects on students and EFL curricula, see Berwick & Ross, 1989; Brown & Yamashita, 1995a; Brown & Yamashita, 1995b; Buck, 1988; Januzzi, 1994; Kimura & Visgatis, 1996; Law, 1994; Law, 1995; and Reader, 1986; also see Brown & Yamashita, 1995b for numerous references to contributions on these issues made by scholars in Japanese.

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GORSUCH 31

Appendix A: Confidentiality Agreement with Teachers

Date: October 4, 1996

School: XXXXX High School, XXXXX, XXXXX

The following message and the questions below were given to the teachers a week prior to the interview. They affirmed they understood the message. The teachers' responses are marked in green ink, and later comments by the researcher in red.

I'd like to interview you for about 40 minutes about the English II class I observed. Your name, your students' names, and the name of your school will be completely confidential. No one but myself and the interpreter will listen to this audiotape. Please answer the questions as best you can. If there are any questions you cannot understand, please just say so. You can end this interview at any time if you feel you can't continue.

Appendix B: Extracts from Class Textbook

"No more heroes?" Kenan, 1995, Lines 1-27:

The word hero can be confusing, for it has several meanings. It is often applied to ordinary people who happen to perform an act of great courage—a fireman who saves someone from a burning house at the risk of his own life, for example. Then the principal character of a play, a novel, or a film is known as the hero of the story, even if he is not particularly brave. But the heroes and heroines that we are going to consider now constitute a third group. They are the giants, the out-of-ordinary figures whose superiority fills our hearts with admiration and awe; the men and women who gave us a high example to follow, a purpose in life, or sometimes just a dream, because they represent the person that we would like to be.

Many articles have appeared in recent years, claiming that there are no more heroes in the Western world. The authors say that, particularly in Europe and North America, the young now refuse to admire anyone; that we are living in a world too well informed, too curious and critical for hero worship. The press, books, and television keep showing us the faults of the public figures who could become today's stars, until we lose faith and start looking for defects in any person who seems worthy of respect. In a neighbor or statesman, we try to discover the weaknesses, failures, or ugly motives that are surely hiding behind his noblest actions.

"Stephen Hawking," Ferguson, 1995, Lines 40-64:

During his third year at Oxford Hawking had been getting clumsy. He'd fallen once or twice for no apparent reason. The following autumn, at Cambridge, he had trouble tying his shoes and sometimes had difficulty talking.

Shortly after this twenty-first birthday in January 1963, Hawking found him-

self not back at Cambridge for the Lent term but in a hospital for tests. After two weeks they released him, telling him vaguely that what he had wasn't a "typical case" and that it wasn't multiple sclerosis. The doctors suggested he go back to Cambridge and get on with his work. "I gathered," Hawking remembers, "that they expected it to continue to get worse, and that there was nothing they could do, except give me vitamins. I could see that they didn't expect them to have much effect. I didn't feel like asking for details, because they were so obviously bad."

Hawking had contracted a rare disease for which there is no known cure, amyotrophic lateral sclerosis, known in America as Lou Gehrig's disease. It breaks down the nerve cells in the spinal cord and brain that control voluntary muscle activity. The first symptoms are usually weakness and twitching of the hands, and perhaps unclear speech and difficulty in swallowing.

Japanese EFL Learners' Perception of Politeness in Low Imposition Requests

Hiroko Matsuura

Fukushima University

This study examined Japanese and American perceptual differences of politeness in English requests in order to find points that can be implemented in EFL classrooms in Japan. For this purpose, 77 Japanese and 48 American university students were given 11 English sentences which were to be used in the action of borrowing a pen, with a seven-point rating scale attached. Findings were as follows: Japanese rated "May I borrow a pen?" to be almost in the neutral politeness zone whereas Americans rated it as a very polite request; in the case of a close-friend as an addressee, Japanese tended to think that "Could you/I...?" form was less than marginal while Americans saw the form as an appropriate request; and Japanese tended to think other Japanese could use rather casual requests of American students whereas Americans would expect them to use more polite expressions.

本研究は、英語依頼表現の丁寧度について、日本人とアメリカ人の認識の相違を分析したものである。丁寧度に認識に相違があるとすれば、授業で取り上げることにより、日本人英語学習者の社会言語能力の向上に寄与することが期待される。日本人大学生 7 7 名、アメリカ人大学生 4 8 名を被験者とし、ペンを借りる際の英語依頼表現として 1 1 の異なる英文を与え、その丁寧度・適当度を 7 段階に評価させた結果、以下の事が判明した。日本人は "May I borrow a pen?" が自然な丁寧表現と感じる一方、アメリカ人は親しい間柄での使用には非常に丁寧な表現と感じる。日本人は "Could you/I ...?" 表現が丁寧さを欠いた表現と感じる一方、アメリカ人は適度な丁寧表現であると感じる。日本人はアメリカ人に対して比較的くだけた表現を使用できると考えるが、アメリカ人は日本人がより丁寧な表現を使うことを期待している。

In recent years, the importance of teaching pragmatic aspects has been widely acknowledged by ESL/EFL teachers, and, for the purpose of identifying points to be applied in actual language classrooms, a number of rigorous studies have been conducted. Many such pragmatic studies centered around finding problematic areas for learners, and analyzing students' interlanguage by comparing and contrasting it with authentic data collected from native speakers. Research areas that have

most attracted teachers are those of linguistic politeness within the framework of speech acts. Classroom teachers often observe that their students, not knowing an appropriate expression for a certain situation, easily violate the social norms of native speakers, and as a consequence they sound arrogant or impolite. Tanaka (1988), for example, reported that in a bookborrowing situation, Australians were likely to use more modals as mitigating devices as in "Someone said that you might have that book," whereas Japanese ESL students in Australia tended to say "My friend said you have the book," which could sound as if they were saying, "I have proved that you have the book so lend it to me" (p. 89). As Trosborg (1995) stated, a request is an act in which the speaker imposes on the hearer in order to bring about a desired action. It is generally at the cost of the requestee, and therefore, if inadequately performed by the requester the friendly atmosphere between interlocutors can easily break down.

Assuming that there are some differences in the degree of perceived politeness between native speakers and nonnative speakers, this study aims to explore how the Japanese perception of politeness in making English requests could differ from that of Americans. Specifically, this study is intended to examine the perceptual differences of American and Japanese university students toward 1) the level of politeness given English requests, 2) the level of appropriateness for the use of these requests with people of different social and psychological distances, and 3) the level of acceptability of those English requests if used by someone who is not a native speaker of English. By analyzing data obtained from American and Japanese students, it is hoped that some specific points can be found which could be exploited in actual EFL classrooms in Japan.

Politeness and L2 Requests

In second language acquisition research, politeness usually means pragmalinguistically appropriate language usage. Politeness is defined by Lakoff (1990) as "a system of interpersonal relations designed to facilitate interaction by minimizing the potential for conflict and confrontation inherent in all human interchange" (p. 34). Generally, it is a concept which is commonly seen across cultures and languages. Brown and Levinson (1987), for example, investigated universal politeness strategies observed in three languages: English, Tamil, and Tzeltal, bringing the notion of "face" into their theory of politeness. According to Brown and Levinson, when we interact socially, certain kinds of acts intrinsically threaten the face, or the public self-image, of ourselves or other people. These acts are referred to as "face-threatening acts" (1987, p. 25).

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Politeness is often investigated within the framework of such speech acts as requests (Fukushima & Iwata, 1987; Fukushima, 1995; Kitao, 1990; Niki & Tajika, 1994; Tajika & Niki, 1991; Takahashi, 1996; Tanaka & Kawade, 1982; Tanaka, 1988; Trosborg, 1995), complaints (Boxer, 1993; Olshtain & Weinbach, 1993; Trosborg, 1995), refusals (Beebe, Takahashi, & Uliss-Weltz, 1990) and apologies (Bergman & Kasper, 1993; Garcia, 1989; Trosborg, 1987; Trosborg, 1995). These are acts which could intrinsically threaten the face of a hearer especially when inappropriately used by a speaker.

Among these speech act categories, requesting may be the act in which native/non-native differences in politeness strategies have been the most extensively examined by Japanese researchers. Tanaka and Kawade (1982), examining request strategies of advanced ESL learners in comparison to those of native speakers, claimed two types of distance existed between addressers and addressees: social distance and psychological distance. Social distance was defined as a function of such variables as age, sex, and social status. Psychological distance was related to how one perceives another in relation to oneself. The authors suggested that psychological distance might play a more important role in selecting a politeness strategy than social distance, because the latter would affect the former. They concluded that the non-native speakers, like the native speakers, were able to use different politeness strategies in accordance with varying situations, but with one difference. In certain situations, the non-native speakers tended to employ strategies which were less polite, whereas those the native speakers used were more polite.

Kitao (1990) examined three groups of subjects, Americans, Japanese studying in the U.S., and Japanese living in Japan, finding that "The higher the hearer's power in relation to the speaker, the higher the level of politeness used," and "The Japanese perceive negative politeness [as] less polite than Americans" (p. 190). On the other hand, his findings failed to support the hypothesis that "The Japanese use less polite strategies than Americans do" (p. 190).

Tajika and Niki (1991) illustrated the differences in norms of English and Japanese sentence forms in borrowing situations. In Japanese the sentence form *kashite-* (Can/Could you lend . . .?) is preferred to the *karite-* (Can/Could I borrow . . .?). This preference is clearly reflected in English sentences made by Japanese students—i.e., Japanese students used the "Can/Could you lend . . .?" pattern of requests more often than the "Can/Could I borrow . . .?" pattern.

Fukushima (1995) compared patterns of requests used by native English speakers in the U.K. and Japanese EFL learners with intermediate

English proficiency. She found that in a situation of low imposition, the British often used speaker-dominant expressions (e.g., Could I borrow your salt, please?), while in a situation of high imposition they did not use this pattern of expression but rather used hearer-dominant ones (e.g., Would you mind putting one of my friends up for the night?). EFL learners in her study, on the other hand, did not switch patterns depending on degrees of imposition because of the lack of pragmatic knowledge and limited English proficiency.

Takahashi (1993, 1996) examined the transferability of Japanese indirect request strategies to corresponding English request contexts. She defined pragmatic transferability as "the transferability rate obtained by subtracting the acceptability rate of an English indirect request from the acceptability rate of its Japanese equivalent in a particular situation " (Takahashi, 1993, p. 63). She found that contextual factors played a major role in determining transferability at the pragmatic level, and that proficiency had some effect on the transferability of indirect request strategies (Takahashi, 1993).

Politeness is seen as a neutral label for a scale ranging from 'polite (plus-politeness)' to 'impolite (minus-politeness)' with the neutral 'non-polite (zero-politeness)' in the middle (Ide, Ogino, Kawasaki & Ikuta, 1986; Ide, Hill, Carnes, Ogino & Kawasaki, 1992). Both studies used the scale to examine the degree of politeness, which may vary from person to person and from situation to situation. Ide et al. (1986) examined requesting strategies used by Japanese and American college students in their native languages. The results confirmed their assumption that a Japanese, according to the addressee's social status, is likely to use a limited number of expressions of an appropriate politeness level, whereas an American uses a variety of expressions depending on the addressee's perceived distance from the speaker. Furthermore, they illustrated politeness degrees of various types of requests in both languages.

The present study also examines request forms of low imposition, i.e., expressions for asking for a pen. As stated earlier, this study compares perceptual differences between Japanese and Americans toward given English requests. As in Ide et al. (1986), this study also examines the politeness levels of requests. The scope of the study, however, is different. This study aims to compare and contrast Japanese EFL learners' interlanguage perceptions to some specific linguistic forms with those of native speakers vis-à-vis the same forms, whereas Ide et al. examined how Japanese and American L1 requests were different both sociolinguistically and psychologically.

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The research questions addressed in this study are:

1. In which of the given requests do Japanese EFL students perceive a different degree of politeness from Americans? And where does this possibly come from?

- 2. For which of the given requests do Japanese perceive a different degree of appropriateness from Americans when those requests are addressed to those at varying social distances?
- 3. In which of the given requests do Japanese perceive a different degree of acceptability when those requests are used by Japanese students and not by Americans?

The Study: Method

Subjects: The Japanese subjects were 77 university English majors (15 males and 62 females) living in the Tokyo area. All had passed the Step 2 test, equivalent to English proficiency of TOEFL 450 or above. The American subjects were 48 university students (24 male and 24 female) specializing in various fields at two universities, one in Colorado and the other in Illinois. The average age of the Americans was 20.96 (range 17 to 28), while the average age of Japanese subjects was 20.17 (range 19 to 22).

In order to determine whether instruction may have had any effect, 17 native speakers of Japanese teaching English at college level were also administered the first section of the questionnaire (see Measure below). All had obtained either a master's degree or doctorate in teaching English or Applied Linguistics. This group had lived either in the U.K. or in the U.S.A. for periods from three months to four years.

Measure: In a paper and pencil questionnaire, subjects were asked to indicate their perceptions of politeness in requests. The questionnaire consisted of three sections. The first section, to measure the degrees of politeness perceived by Japanese and American subjects, included 11 English sentences to be used in asking for a pen, with a seven-point rating scale. On the rating scale "1" meant "most uninhibited" whereas "7" indicated "most careful." Sets of opposites such as "polite" vs. "impolite" and "formal and informal" were avoided because Ide et al. (1986) suggested that these imply somewhat different connotations from their Japanese translations. As "polite" and "formal" might imply stiffness in manner (Ide et al., 1986), the adjectival pair of "uninhibited" and "careful" and their Japanese counterparts were used in the questionnaire.

In the second section, the same 11 English sentences were rated according to the appropriateness of each sentence toward people of different perceived distances to themselves: toward their academic advisor, a stranger they meet at a post office, and a close-friend. It was assumed that academic advisors are socially distant but psychologically either close to or distant from the subjects. In other words, the social status of advisors is high, and therefore, they should be respected, but psychological closeness depends on the subjects' interpersonal relationship with their advisors. A stranger they meet at a post office is socially unknown and psychologically distant. Here, the subjects' perceived distance is presumably not close. The distance to close-friends, not just acquaintances, is usually very close, both socially and psychologically.

In the third section, subjects, using the seven-point rating scale, indicated the acceptability of each sentence when it was used by a Japanese student toward the subject's academic advisor, a stranger at a post office, and a subject's close-friend. In other words, the addresser is a Japanese student, and the addressees are the people the subjects either know very well or is just a stranger. The addresser, however, is expected to know their social status. Affective factors toward subjects' advisors and close-friends might influence their acceptability judgment.

Unlike the study of Tajika and Niki (1991), which strictly differentiated requests (e.g., Could you lend . . . ?) from asking for permission (e.g., May I borrow . . . ?), this study treated both as requests in that a speaker's intended message is the same, i.e., "Let me use your pen," no matter what the form. In each section of the questionnaire, the mean ratings for the 11 requests were computed to obtain results in terms of degrees of politeness, appropriateness, and the acceptability of each sentence.

Results and Discussion

Degrees of politeness

The Japanese and American subjects indicated similar perceptions for the politeness levels for the 11 sentences. Table 1 shows the average ratings of degrees for politeness perceived by Japanese and American subject groups. Both groups felt that "I was wondering if I could borrow a pen" was the most polite request, followed by such interrogatives as "Could you lend me a pen?" and "Could I borrow a pen?" On the other hand, imperatives such as "Lend me a pen" and "Give me a pen" were seen as uninhibited requests.

	Americans		Japanese		Rank Orders	
Request	M	SD	M	SD	Americans	Japanese
I was wondering if I could	6.29	1.15	6.49	1.00	1	1
2. May I borrow a pen?	6.02	1.36	4.21	1.54	2	6
3. Could you lend me a pen?	5.29	1.24	5.83	1.07	3	2
4. Could I borrow a pen?	5.19	1.16	5.60	1.07	4	3
5. Do you have a pen I can use?	5.17	1.36	4.65	1.59	5	4
6. Can you lend me a pen?	4.75	1.19	4.34	1.36	6	5
7. Can I borrow a pen?	4.38	1.31	3.90	1.40	7	7
8. Got a pen I can use?	2.33	1.00	2.51	1.43	8	9
9. Let me borrow a pen.	2.15	1.24	2.81	1.45	9	8
0. Lend me a pen.	1.44	0.92	1.30	0.61	10	10
1. Give me a pen.	1.27	1.11	1.22	0.50	11	11

Table 1: Degrees of Politeness

Although Japanese and American subjects generally indicated similar degrees of politeness in the sentences, there was discrepancy in perceptions toward the interrogative "May I borrow a pen?" The American average rating for this interrogative was 6.02, the second most polite. On the other hand, the Japanese mean rating for the "May I . . . ?" form was only 4.21, almost in the neutral, zero-politeness zone. It was evident that the Japanese subjects did not see this expression as being as polite as the Americans did.

The Japanese subjects in this study seemed to apply a generalization which claims that "interrogatives with present tense modals are less polite than interrogatives with past tense modals." In fact, two interrogatives with past tense modals, "Could you lend me a pen?" and "Could I borrow a pen?" were perceived to be more polite than "May I borrow a pen?" Others have pointed out this generalization is basically true (Carrell & Konneker, 1981) but not always. It should be noted that it has been widely taught in high school classrooms in Japan.

To determine if instruction had played any significant role in the students' perceived politeness toward the 'May I . . .?' form, 17 Japanese native speakers teaching English evaluated the degrees of politeness of the 11 sentences. The mean rating of the teachers was 5.29, between the mean rating of the American (6.02) and the Japanese (4.21) subjects. ANOVA results indicated that the mean ratings of the groups were statistically significantly different (see Table 2). Despite the educational and personal backgrounds of this group of Japanese educators, it was likely that the

Source of variance	SS	df	MS	$\boldsymbol{\mathit{F}}$
Between groups	106.19	2	53.09	23.66
Within groups	311.89	139	2.24	
Total	418.08	141		

Table 2: ANOVA for Politeness Degrees of "May I . . . ?"

Japanese educators had their own standards of judgment for the degree of politeness in the "May I . . . ?" form. Japanese EFL teachers in general, who do not have such backgrounds, may have even more difficulty indicating the native norm of politeness perception toward this interrogative, which may affect the teaching of the politeness level of this form.

Degrees of Appropriateness

Japanese and American subjects were asked to rate the degrees of appropriateness of the 11 sentences when used toward their academic advisor, a stranger they met at a post office, and a close friend. Means of Japanese and American subjects are shown in Table 3.

In general, American subjects, as well as their Japanese counterparts, appeared to use almost the same politeness level of requests when talking to an advisor or a stranger. Their average ratings of the sentences were quite similar and they rated polite sentences to be appropriate for such people. On the other hand, when asking a close friend for a pen, relatively uninhibited and casual expressions were perceived to be appropriate.

In the situations of borrowing a pen from an advisor and from a stranger, both the American and the Japanese subject groups tended to avoid using the most polite form. Americans rated "May I borrow a pen?" as most appropriate, followed by "I was wondering if I could borrow a pen." The third most appropriate form was "Do you have a pen I can use?" followed by the more polite interrogatives "Could I borrow a pen?" and "Could you lend me a pen?" Similarly, the Japanese chose their second most polite expression ("Could you lend me . . . ?") as the most appropriate form, ranking their most polite expression, "I was wondering if I could . . . ," as third most appropriate. In general, both groups of subjects tended to prefer relatively polite forms but apparently not the most polite one. This seems to be the influence of the degree of imposition involved in borrowing a pen. According to Brown and Levinson (1987), the degree of imposition plays an important role in the choice of politeness strategies. Niki and Tajika (1994) reported that the degree of imposition affected the Japa-

^{*}p < .01

nese EFL learners' choice of request forms. In the present study, the item to be borrowed is a pen, which seems to have a low degree of imposition. Items with high degrees of imposition might draw different results.

There are some differences in the perceptions of Americans and Japanese in the close-friend situation (see Figures 1 & 2). While both subjects indicated that forms which were too polite were inappropriate (e.g., "I was wondering if I could . . ." was rated 3.83 by Americans and 2.26 by Japanese), Japanese perceptions of such polite forms as "Could you lend . . . ?" and "Could I borrow . . . ?" were quite different from those of Americans. The American means for these expressions were on the positive side of the scale (5.48 for both sentences), whereas the Japanese means were on the negative side (3.52 for "Could you lend . . . ?" and 3.69 for "Could I borrow . . . ?). Japanese may have assumed those interrogatives were too polite for close friends. Highly evaluated politeness degrees of "Could you/ I . . . ?" also suggested that this could be true. The Japanese mean for "Could

	Artv	isor			Stran	Opt			Close Fr	iend	
Ameri	cans	lana	nexe	Ameri	ans	iana	28 28 28	Americ	ans	iapa	16% 1
M	SD	M	SD	×	SD	M	SD	×	B	X	SD
6.50	1.03	4.69	1.44	6.58	0.71	5.21	1.28	5.90	1.22	5.09	1.35
6.17	1.23	5.65	1.44	6.15	1.22	5.56	1.42	5.65	1.34	5.39	1.28
5.54	1.07	4.21	1.36	5.69	1.09	4.71	1.47	5.63	1.58	4.47	1.56
5.44	1.22	5.73	1.12	5.65	1.08	5.88	1.03	5.48	1.49	3.52	1.58
5.31	1.29	5.88	1.30	5.42	1.22	6.17	0.94	5.48	1.43	3.69	1.65
4.94	1.34	4.42	1.32	5.27	1.35	5.04	1.21	5.40	1.47	4.86	1.34
4.88	1.30	4.38	1.44	4.98	1.59	5.14	1.20	4.90	1.65	5.03	1.40
2.33	1.21	2.32	1.23	2.96	1.57	2.47	1.10	4.50	1.90	4.69	1.47
1.73	0.92	2.60	1.38	1.79	1.01	3.26	1.56	4.17	1.91	5.27	1.72
1.31	0.97	1.36	1.02	1.38	0.79	1.60	0.92	3.83	2.16	2.26	1.42
1.13	0.73	1.17	0.50	1.19	0.73	1.43	0.72	3.52	2.07	4.99	1.83
	Ameri M 6.50 6.17 5.54 5.44 5.31 4.94 4.88 2.33 1.73 1.13	ericans 1.03 1.23 1.07 1.29 1.30 1.30 1.30 1.30 1.30 1.30 1.31 1.31	ericans	Advisor Japanes SD M 1.03 4.69 1.23 5.65 1.07 4.21 1.22 5.73 1.29 5.88 1.34 4.42 1.30 4.38 1.21 2.32 0.92 2.60 0.97 1.36 0.73 1.17	Advisor Japanese SD M 1.03 4.69 1.23 5.65 1.07 4.21 1.22 5.73 1.29 5.88 1.34 4.42 1.30 4.38 1.21 2.32 0.92 2.60 0.97 1.36 0.73 1.17	Advisor Japanese Americans SD M SD M SD 1.03 4.69 1.44 6.58 0.7 1.23 5.65 1.44 6.15 1.2 1.07 4.21 1.36 5.69 1.0 1.22 5.73 1.12 5.65 1.0 1.29 5.88 1.30 5.42 1.3 1.34 4.42 1.32 5.27 1.3 1.30 4.38 1.44 4.98 1.5 1.21 2.32 1.23 2.96 1.5 0.92 2.60 1.38 1.79 1.0 0.97 1.36 1.02 1.38 0.7 0.73 1.17 0.50 1.19 0.7	Advisor Japanese Americans SD M SD M 1.03 4.69 1.44 6.58 1.23 5.65 1.44 6.15 1.07 4.21 1.36 5.69 1.22 5.73 1.12 5.65 1.29 5.88 1.30 5.42 1.34 4.42 1.32 5.27 1.30 4.38 1.44 4.98 1.21 2.32 1.23 2.96 0.97 1.36 1.02 1.38 0.73 1.17 0.50 1.19	Advisor Stranger ericans Japanese Americans SD M SD M SD 1.03 4.69 1.44 6.58 0.71 1.23 5.65 1.44 6.15 1.22 1.07 4.21 1.36 5.69 1.09 1.22 5.73 1.12 5.65 1.08 1.29 5.88 1.30 5.42 1.22 1.34 4.42 1.32 5.27 1.35 1.30 4.38 1.44 4.98 1.59 1.21 2.32 1.23 2.96 1.57 0.92 2.60 1.38 1.79 1.01 0.97 1.36 1.02 1.38 0.79 0.73 1.17 0.50 1.19 0.73	Advisor Stranger ericans Japanese Americans Japanese SD M SD M SD M 1.03 4.69 1.44 6.58 0.71 5.21 1.23 5.65 1.44 6.15 1.22 5.56 1.07 4.21 1.36 5.69 1.09 4.71 1.22 5.73 1.12 5.65 1.08 5.88 1.29 5.88 1.30 5.42 1.22 6.17 1.34 4.42 1.32 5.27 1.35 5.04 1.30 4.38 1.44 4.98 1.59 5.14 1.21 2.32 1.23 2.96 1.57 2.47 0.92 2.60 1.38 1.79 1.01 3.26 0.97 1.36 1.02 1.38 0.79 1.60 0.73 1.17 0.50 1.19 0.73 1.43	Advisor Stranger Claranger Americans SJ M SJ M SJ M SJ M SJ N SJ M SJ M	

Table 3: Degrees of Appropriateness

you . . . ?" was 5.83 and the mean for "Could I . . . ?" was 5.60, indicating that the Japanese subjects perceived these forms to be more polite than their American counterparts.

In the close-friend case, the Japanese perceptions toward expressions with low politeness degrees were also different from those of the Americans (see Figures 1 & 2). The Japanese subjects tended to think that even lower degrees of requests could be used toward close friends, as in such imperatives as "Lend me a pen" (mean 5.27) and "Give me a pen" (mean 4.99). The Americans, on the other hand, saw those sentences as marginal (4.17 for "Lend . . ." and 3.52 for "Give . . ."). It appeared that while Japanese had a tendency to prefer neutral or casual expressions to polite ones, Americans did not. This was also borne out by the fact that their rating of the three most polite expressions (i.e., "I was wondering if I could . . . ," "Could you lend me . . . ?" and "Could I borrow . . . ?") coincided with their three least appropriate expressions.

Degrees of Acceptability

In the third section, both American and Japanese subjects, using the seven-point scale, indicated how acceptable each of the 11 sentences was when addressed to their academic advisor, a stranger at a post office, and a friend when a Japanese student was the addresser. The questionnaire indicated that this Japanese student did not have a close relationship with any of these three addressees. As stated earlier, it was assumed that the addresser could tell the social status of the addressees. It was also assumed that there would be both acceptable forms and unacceptable forms for American subjects even if they knew that the addresser was an international student whose pragmalinguistic competence was not fully native-like.

Discussion of acceptability is normally concerned with native speakers' acceptability judgment for non-native performance in that ESL/EFL teachers should know to what extent students' deviations can be accepted by native speakers. Here also, the results of acceptability judgment by American subjects could be represented as native norms. Ratings are in Table 4. Americans preferred "May I borrow . . . ?" regardless of who the addressee was. It is also clear that highly polite forms were generally preferred, even in the friend case, which had a supposedly casual atmosphere. However, although highly polite forms were preferred, the most polite form, "I was wondering if I could . . . ," was chosen as the second most acceptable. Again, this is probably because the item borrowed, a pen, was expected to cause low imposition.

In all three cases, the American subjects showed a clear boundary between acceptable and unacceptable forms, with the exception of

ary. Expressions with higher those with lower degrees of "Got a pen I can use?" with a close friend. This sentence was almost on the bounddegrees of politeness than "Can I borrow a pen?" were determined to be acceptable. Unacceptable forms, on the other hand, were politeness than "Got a pen can use?" It appeared that the more polite a sentence, the more preferabe it was to American subjects. In other words, they would expect Japanese students to use rather polite expres-

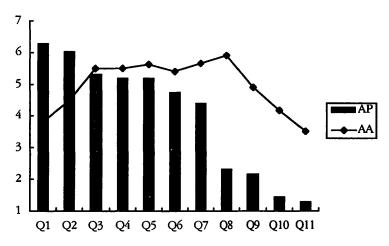
rated the acceptability of point should be noted: apanese subjects tended to think some expressions of Also, Japanese subjects Japanese subjects also sentences, assuming the addresser was another Japanese student. When the close friend, some interesting dif-American perceptions were observed. The following lower degrees of politeness could be used by another Japanese. The Japanese mean rating of acceptability for "Let me borrow a pen" was 4.12, whereas the American mean was 2.71. ferences in Japanese ત was addressee

tended to think that the po-

	Advisor Mean (<i>SD</i>)		Stranger Mean (<i>SD</i>)		Close Friend Mean (<i>SD</i>)	
Request	Americans	Japanese	Americans	Japanese	Americans	Japanese
May I borrow a pen?	6.73 (0.64)	4.75 (1.41)	6.63 (0.98)	5.28 (1.25)	6.48 (1.17)	5.24 (1.32)
I was wondering if I could	6.42 (1.07)	5.78 (1.33)	6.44 (1.09)	5.43(1 53)	6.13 (1.35)	4.25 (1.74)
Do you have a pen I can use?	5.92 (1.05)	6.07 (1.06)	5.92 (1.29)	4.57 (1.53)	5.96 (1.20)	5.13 (1.50)
Could I borrow a pen?	5.69 (1.24)	5.83 (1.05)	5.85 (1.07)	5.79 (1.00)	5.81 (1.30)	5.24 (1.46)
Could you lend me a pen?	5.69 (1.24)	5.83 (1.05)	5.85 (1.07)	5.79 (1.00)	5.81 (1.30)	5.24 (1.46)
Can I borrow a pen?	5.56 (1.17)	4.34 (1.29)	5.52 (1.37)	4.93 (1.29)	5.73 (1.35)	5.30 (1.25)
Can you lend me a pen?	5.42 (1.27)	4.46 (1.32)	5.35 (1.55)	5.09 (1.23)	5.58 (1.37)	5.26 (1.19)
Got a pen I can use?	2.63 (1.27)	2.43 (1.15)	2.94 (1.58)	2.68 (1.22)	4.02 (1.76)	3.62 (1.51)
Let me borrow a pen.	1.94 (1.10)	2.79 (1.52)	2.21 (1.49)	3.22 (1.38)	2.71 (1.81)	4.12 (1.45)
Lend me a pen.	1.46 (0.80)	1.54 (1.11)	1.44 (0.87)	1.83 (1.05)	2.00 (1.32)	2.91 (1.78)
Give me a pen.	1.08 (0.35)	1.30 (0.65)	1.17 (0.60)	1.49 (0.76)	1.54 (1.13)	2.72 (1.84)

Table 4: Degrees of Acceptibility

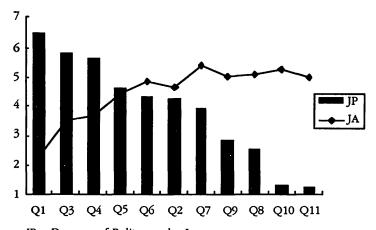
Figure 1: Degrees of Politeness and Appropriateness by Americans in the Close Friend Situation



AP = Degrees of Politeness by Americans

AA = Degrees of Appropriateness by Americans

Figure 2: Degrees of Politeness and Appropriateness by Japanese in the Close Friend Situation



JP = Degrees of Politeness by Japanese

JA = Degrees of Appropriateness by Japanese

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lite expression as "I was wondering if I could . . ." was marginal in terms of its acceptability, whereas Americans indicated that this form was highly acceptable. The Japanese mean for this sentence was 4.25; the American mean 6.31. These results draw an important implication of which Japanese EFL learners should become aware: i.e., native speakers of English in general would expect them to use more polite expressions than they might think necessary or might use, even in casual interactions between college students.

Implications and Conclusions

The results of this study suggest some important implications for EFL classrooms in Japan. Some notable results center around Japanese underestimation of the degree of politeness of the "May I . . . ?" form, the degree of politeness appropriate in a close relationship, and the degree of politeness acceptable to native speakers of English.

Japanese students tended to underestimate the politeness level of the "May I . . . ?" form, which should be noted by classroom teachers. In this study. Japanese students rated this interrogative request to be almost neutral in politeness while Americans evaluated it as a very polite request. The politeness level of this particular form may be introduced as being relative to other request forms such as "I was wondering if I could . . . " and "Could I/Could you . . . ?" In this study, these all showed similar degrees of politeness as perceived by native speakers. The Japanese misconception of "May I . . . ?" may be due to instruction. As stated earlier, Japanese students are generally taught that "interrogatives with present tense modals are less polite than interrogatives with past tense modals." This might cause students to generalize that the "May I . . . ?" form is not as polite as "Could I/Could you . . . ?" and is quite similar to the politeness of "Can I/Can you . . . ?" Although the relationship between the students' proficiency and their judgment of the politeness level of English requests was not explored in this study, there may be some correlation. However, even Japanese teaching professionals with high English proficiency parted company from natives as to the politeness level of the "May I . . . ?" form. Their perceived degree of politeness for this particular request was between that of native speakers and Japanese students. This should be noted by both native and non-native teaching professionals, and the function and the politeness level of this particular form treated more carefully in Japanese EFL classrooms.

The next point of concern is regarding the appropriateness level of requests. Results showed that in the situation of close friend as an ad-

dressee, Japanese tended to think that they could use rather casual expressions, while Americans indicated that they might use more polite requests. For example, more Japanese than Americans might use such imperatives as "Lend me a pen" and "Give me a pen" in an actual interaction. In this study the Japanese subjects tended to evaluate these requests to be rather appropriate, while Americans judged them neutral in appropriateness. The Japanese preference for casual requests in the closefriend situation was also seen in their appropriateness judgment for "Could I borrow a pen?" and "Could you lend me a pen?" Many tended to think these to be inappropriate, and they preferred "Lend me a pen" and "Give me a pen." This was obviously not the case for Americans. This Japanese preference may be due to the transfer of a pragmatic concept and/or a linguistic function from the equivalent Japanese-speaking context. In borrowing a pen from a close friend, it is very common for a Japanese student to say "Pen kashite (Lend me a pen, will you?)." However, the English expression of "Lend me a pen, will you?" apparently cannot show exactly the same or even similar appropriateness level to this Japanese counterpart. Students need to be aware that such English imperatives as "Lend me a pen" and "Give me a pen" might be perceived as inappropriate, even with low imposition requests.

The third important implication is that Japanese should know that American students are likely to expect Japanese to use more polite expressions than they might think appropriate in borrowing a pen from a friend. As shown in the results, "Lend me a pen," for example, is a casual, uninhibited expression to Americans, appropriate for when addressing a friend. However, this particular imperative does not seem to be acceptable for American students when addressed by a Japanese student with whom the relationship is not close. They might simply think that the Japanese student is rude. It is likely that American students think a foreign student should use polite expressions rather than casual and colloquial ones. When a student's command of English is not fully like that of a native speaker, it is often safer for the learner to use polite expressions at all times.

Finally, there are some points to be taken into consideration for further studies on English requests. This study was limited in that it only examined Japanese and American perceptions to politeness in English expressions used in asking for a pen, which is presumed to have low imposition. Other pragmalinguistic aspects should be carefully considered in the future. However, it is almost impossible for a researcher to include a wide variety of aspects in one study at a time. Therefore, it is suggested that any future study should have a clear focus as to what it is

examining: e.g., whether it is looking at production or perception, whether it is examining the sentence level of expressions or whole discourse, or whether it is focusing on expressions in borrowing something or in requesting some kind of action.

The following questions are as yet unanswered by this study: To what extent does learners' English proficiency affect their performance?; and, how are learners' requests accepted by native English speakers of varied educational and social backgrounds? Even though a number of studies on English requests have been conducted to this date, there is still much more to explore.

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EFLÅfs Othering of Japan: Orientalism in English Language Teaching

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This survey of two aspects of ESL/EFL (English as a second/foreign language) literature—advice to foreign teachers in Japan and research on cross-cultural learning styles—found many instances of what Edward W. Said called the discourse of "Orientalism." The argument is made that because of its Orientalism, the literature surveyed presents a distorted account of Japanese learners and classrooms.

本研究は、日本で英語授業を担当する外国人教員への指導アドバイスたるESL/EFL文献と 文化的学習スタイルの研究報告を調査したものである。その結果、Edward W. Saidが「オリ エンタリズム」と呼んだ論述の実例が多く発見された。本論文では、この「オリエンタリ ズム」によって、日本人学習者と日本の教育現場が著しくゆがめられた形でESL/EFL文献 に報告される危険性を論じる。

ecent years have seen a vast increase in the number of foreign teachers in the Japanese educational system, contributing both to an improvement in Japanese students' foreign language skills, and to the "internationalization" of Japanese society. As with most crosscultural encounters, this one has not been free of problems, particularly concerning differences in those teaching methods, learning styles, and classroom behaviors familiar to foreign teachers on the one hand, and those expected or displayed by Japanese learners on the other. To redress these problems a large body of literature has appeared to advise foreign teachers in Japan. In addition, much research on cross-cultural and individual learning styles and strategies makes specific reference to Japanese learners. This literature contains many accurate observations and much good advice, but a close reading leaves the impression that many authors and researchers are writing in what Edward Said (1978/ 1994) has called the discourse of Orientalism, representing Japan as the Other, limiting what we can know of Japan, and in some cases expressing prejudice or hostility.

This paper critiques the Orientalism of this ESL/EFL literature by drawing on works in Japanese studies, particularly in anthropology, history, and sociology, whose descriptions of Japan derive their authority from their linguistic and methodological expertise.² The investigation reveals Orientalism in ESL/EFL literature in both the advice to foreign teachers in Japan and the research on cross-cultural learning strategies involving Japanese students. I first define the key concepts and then apply representative examples drawn from this ESL/EFL literature to a model of Orientalist discourse.³ My goal is to make their Orientalist discourse explicit so that foreign teachers will be more critical of published descriptions of Japanese education and students.

Terminology

Here I define a few terms that appear in my argument: Orientalism, discourse, Othering, stereotyping, representing, and essentializing.

Orientalism: "Orientalism" in the sense I use it here comes from Edward W. Said's Orientalism, published in 1978 and reprinted with an "Afterword" in 1994. This book, with its themes of hegemony, imperialism, colonialism, and racism (1978/1994, pp. 7-8, 13-14) and its use of postmodern literary theories of discourse and textuality (p. 13), made a strong impression on the academic world in the post-Vietnam War era, and is cited frequently to this day. Even so, readers of this journal may be wondering what Said's work, devoted mostly to analyses of British and French works on the Near and Middle East, has to do with teaching English in Japan.⁵ The connection is that this same Orientalist discourse permeates the ESL/EFL literature that I take up in this essay. This is dangerous because, as Said points out, "when one uses categories like Oriental and Western as both the starting and the end points of analysis, research, public policy . . ., the result is usually to polarize the distinction—the Oriental becomes more Oriental, the Westerner more Western—and limit the human encounter between different cultures, traditions, and societies" (pp. 45-46); this division itself is an expression of hostility (p. 45). This same polarization and hostility can be seen also in Japan's "self-Orientalism," the Nihonjinron (the theory of Japanese identity) literature, produced largely by and for a Japanese audience.6

Said defines Orientalism as "a way of coming to terms with the Orient that is based on the Orient's special place in European Western experience" (1978/1994, p. 1). Specifically, "Orientalism is a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made

between 'the Orient' and (most of the time) 'the Occident'" (p. 2); "Orientalism can be discussed and analyzed as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient—dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short, Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient" (p. 3). Said argues that Orientalism is a discourse in Michel Foucault's sense of that term (p. 3) (see below); he sees Orientalism as an "imperialist tradition" (p. 15), as "a kind of intellectual *authority* over the Orient within Western culture" (p. 19), a representation of the Orient by the West (p. 21), "ultimately a political vision of reality whose structure promoted the difference between the familiar (Europe, the West, 'us') and the strange (the Orient, the East, 'them')" (p. 43). Orientalism is not a positive concept but "a set of constraints upon and limitations of thought" (p. 42).

Said is concerned particularly with the colonialism, ethnocentrism, and racism that characterize Western Europe's view of the Near and Middle East. As his argument progresses, his definition of Orientalism transmogrifies: it is "a system for citing works and authors" (1978/1994, p. 23), a rhetoric (p. 72), "a form of paranoia" (p. 72), a discipline (p. 73), a "collection of dreams, images, and vocabularies" (p. 73), and more (pp. 95, 121, 202-204, 206). For our purposes, a work is in the Orientalist discourse vis-à-vis the Japanese learner of English if it has the following characteristics (the page references to Said indicate places where he mentions each characteristic; he does not refer to Japan, Japanese learners, or language education):

- 1) Othering: Posits the Japanese learner as an Other different from Western learners (p. 2) and by implication inferior to them (p. 42).
- 2) Stereotyping: Stereotypes Japanese learners (p. 26).
- 3) Representing: Represents Japanese learners rather than depicting them (p. 21).
- 4) Essentializing: Essentializes or reduces Japanese learners to an abstraction (pp. 230 ff., 298-299).

These four characteristics form the model of Orientalism that I will apply to the ESL/EFL literature on Japanese learners.

Discourse: The term "discourse" is used widely today with many meanings (see, e.g., Norris, 1996; Wales, 1989, pp. 129-131); Said states specifically that he sees Orientalism as a discourse in Michel Foucault's sense of that term (1978/1994, p. 3). For Said the main point is that texts in a discourse

"create not only knowledge but also the very reality they appear to describe"; in other words, what appears in writings about, for example, language classrooms in Japan, is not true in any objective sense but is merely the product of a constellation of representations of such classrooms, characterized by othering, stereotyping, etc. What is important for our purposes here is that a discourse in this sense has two effects: for writers, it becomes a vehicle for control over the other; for readers, it shapes, distorts, and limits the readers' perception of reality (in this case the Japanese classroom or student).

Othering: "Other" and "Othering" are philosophical terms: "The question of the relation of self and other is the inaugurating question of Western philosophy and rhetoric" (Biesecker & McDaniel, 1996, p. 488; see also Kapila, 1997; Macey, 1996, pp. 392-393; Riggins, 1997). For Said, the Orient is one of the West's "deepest and most recurring images of the Other" (1978/1994, p. 1). Although he concentrates on the Near and Middle East, other scholars have pointed to the role of China and Japan as the West's "Other"; Geertz, discussing Ruth Benedict's The Chrysanthemum and the Sword, says, "But Japan, about the last such elsewhere located, or anyway penetrated, has been for us more absolutely otherwise. It has been the Impossible Object" (1988, p. 116; see also Iwabuchi, 1994; Tobin, 1986, p. 264; Tobin, 1991, p. 7; Zhang, 1988; note the title of Befu & Kreiner, 1992). Othering is not by definition a malignant act; to know ourselves, we must differentiate, as many philosophers have pointed out (Zhang, 1988, p. 113). The problem begins when "the nature of this 'Other,' in reality, has less to do with who the 'Other' is than with the identity of the subject who is gazing at the 'Other'" (Befu, 1992a, p. 17), so that we end by interpreting the other in the light of our own self-perceptions (see Iwabuchi, 1994). According to Befu (1992a, pp. 17-18), we can correct for this tendency by making comparative analyses of differing perceptions of the other, by comparing, for example, the images of Japan presented by British and by French scholarship.

Stereotyping: Said uses the term "stereotype" in a common-sense way without giving a technical definition (1978/1994, e.g., pp. 26-27); however, given the importance of stereotypes in the study of cross-cultural communication between Japan and the West (e.g., Finkelstein, Imamura, & Tobin, 1991; Gudykunst & Nishida, 1994, pp. 2-3, 93-96; Mukai, 1994; Wilkinson, 1991), we should define it here. Stereotyping is "the process of ascribing characteristics to people on the basis of their group memberships" (Oakes, Haslam, & Turner, 1994, p. 1), and a

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stereotype is the "collection of attributes believed to define or characterize the members of a social group" (p. 1). Oakes et al. argue that "stereotypes serve to reflect the realities of group life as perceived from a particular vantage point and within a particular context" (p. 160). For example, the stereotypes of Japanese that appear in Hollywood films changed with the changing political and economic relationships between Japan and the United States: the mysterious Oriental of the 1930s, the fanatical samurai of the 1940s, the clown in kimono (1950s and 1960s), the economic animal (1970s and 1980s), the sophisticated financier (1980s), the high-tech gangster (1990s). These are stereotypes reflecting Americans' changing views of the Japanese, who did not mutate rapidly between the 1930s and the 1990s.⁸

Representing: Said's first epigraph (1978/1994, p. xiii) is a quotation from Marx's The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, "They cannot represent themselves; they must be represented" (1963, p. 124). The "they" in this case is the French peasantry who are "incapable of enforcing their class interest in their own name" so that they need a representative who is "an authority over them" (p. 124). "Representation" is also a term of aesthetics, referring to how and to what degree the visual arts and literature abstract from reality; literature itself may be called a "representation of life" (Mitchell, 1995, p. 11). Said uses this term in both its political and literary senses; for him, Orientalists (i.e., specialists on the Orient) have used their (imperialist/colonial) power over the Orient to represent it to Western readers, abstracting from the reality, representing rather than depicting the actual circumstances of the Orient (1978/1994, pp. 21-22; see also pp. 57, 60, 62-63,), so that Orientalism can be defined as "a system of representations" (pp. 202-203) that "creates the Orient, the Oriental, and his [sic] world" (p. 40).

Essentializing: Said frequently describes Orientalism as "reductive" (1978/1994, e.g., pp. 239, 297-298, 309) or "essentialist" (e.g., pp. 315, 333); these terms have technical meanings in philosophy (Bullock & Trombley, 1988, pp. 284, 730) but Said seems to mean just the act of explaining or describing complex things simplistically. Williams describes essentialism for Said as the reduction of Oriental complexities "to a shorthand of caricature and cliché" (1996, p. 142). In a discussion of "Japan bashing," Miyoshi uses "essentialism" for a case in which "a society, a culture, and a nation are all identified and defined as a pure abstract absolute that is sterilized from any interaction with other elements and forces in history" (1991, p. 72). This seems close to Said's meaning.

ESL/EFL Literature and Japan

In this section I apply the above model of Orientalist discourse to the ESL/EFL literature on Japan, specifically the materials advising foreign teachers how to teach in Japan, and the research on cross-cultural learning styles and strategies. The literature on teaching in Japan includes: 1) advice on how to find and keep a teaching job (e.g., Best, 1994; Dillon & Sower, 1996)9; 2) impressionistic accounts of teaching experiences (e.g., Davidson, 1993; Feiler, 1992); 3) advice on classroom management (e.g., Wadden & McGovern, 1993); and 4) studies of classroom management, learner behavior, etc. (e.g., Sasaki, 1996). Research on cross-cultural learning strategies includes both general studies that make some reference to Japanese learners and those devoted exclusively to Japanese learners. I also make reference, for purposes of comparison, to popular and academic studies of Japanese education, particularly ethnographic studies of classrooms. 10 My method has been to search the literature for clear examples of the four major characteristics of Orientalism: these examples are cited below with explanations and criticisms.11

Othering

The literature on teaching in Japan others Japanese learners by establishing an Orientalist polarity: positing an East vis-à-vis the West. Titles like "Classroom Cultures: East Meets West" (Cogan, 1996), "The Chrysanthemum Maze" (Kelly & Adachi, 1993), or "West vs. East: Classroom Interaction Patterns" (Rule, 1996) are examples of this. The West is seen as rational (and superior), the East as mysterious (and inferior). I offer two examples: 1) the use of Confucianism, an archetypal symbol of the Oriental Other, to "explain" aspects of Japanese classrooms; and 2) the positing of an unbridgeable difference between Japanese and Western communication.

The idea that Confucianism has a powerful influence on contemporary Japanese education is common in the literature on teaching in Japan (e.g., Sower & Johnson, 1996, p. 26). Often "Confucianism" is simply an undefined Oriental force; Esposito (1997, p. 296), for example, conflates it with Buddhism. McLean reduces Japanese universities to battlegrounds for a struggle between essentialized "Confucian and Christian philosophies" (Gorsuch, Hinkelman, McLean, Oda & Robson, 1995, p. 16); she invokes the 19th century conflict between Japanese spirit and Western knowledge (wakon yosai), untroubled by the historical conflict between Japanese spirit and Confucianism (see, e.g., Befu, 1997, pp. 11-13; Harootunian, 1970, pp. 24 ff., 154 ff.; 1988, pp. 186 ff.; Najita, 1991, p. 618). Stapleton (1995), finds in Confucianism the source of many aspects of Japanese education that

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puzzle foreign teachers: the emphasis on social hierarchy, the role of effort, an emphasis on memorization, the importance of examinations, etc. Let us examine these points, drawing on research on Confucian thought in Japan and on classroom ethnographic studies.

Concerning hierarchy, Smith (1983), an anthropologist who emphasizes the influence of Confucianism on contemporary Japan (p. 37), points out that the conception of hierarchy "was far more rigid in theory than in its practical application" (p. 48), both in premodern and contemporary Japan. Further, Dore argued that because Confucian education was "a training in principles" (1965, p. 308), it encouraged individual application of those principles rather than absolute obedience to authority. Finally, van Bremen (1992) showed that the Confucian influence in Japanese popular literature stresses heroes of the Wang Yang-ming tradition who were activists and rebels, a far cry from the image of docile students at the bottom of the Confucian hierarchy.¹²

Stapleton (1995, p. 14) sees the long Japanese school year as an example of the Confucian emphasis on effort. Leaving aside the problem that discussions of school calendars cannot be found in the Confucian classics, it is a fact that Japanese students go to school more days than do students in U. S. public schools (e.g., Rohlen, 1983, p. 160). However, Lewis (1995), looking at instructional time rather than hours spent in school or on school activities, found very little difference between Japanese and United States elementary schools (pp. 62 ff.; see also Shimahara & Sakai, 1995, pp. 142-143; 218-220); Fukuzawa (1996) found that "Japanese middle school students actually spend proportionately more time on nonacademic subjects and activities than their American counterparts" (p. 303).¹³

For Stapleton, Confucianism is the justification for rote learning and memorization in Japanese schools (1995, p. 15); he presents no evidence, hardly surprising in view of the research finding that drill was more frequent in Chicago's classrooms than in Japan's (Lee, Graham, & Stevenson, 1996, p. 177; see also Stevenson, 1989, p. 89). Aiga (1990, p. 143) points out that rote learning in Japanese language classrooms is likely to be based on the theory of habit formation, which owes more to Fries than Confucius. Finally, Confucianism is blamed for the Japanese system of evaluation by examination (Stapleton, 1995, p. 15). It is true that in the early modern period there was an examination system based on the Chinese model (Dore, 1965, pp. 85-86, 201 ff.) but it did not function like the Chinese system (Nosco, 1984, p. 25). In fact, the modern emphasis on examinations owes as much to European as to Confucian models (Frost, 1991, p. 298; for background see Amano, 1990). In short, descriptions of Japanese education as "Confucian" are misleading

because the term is used without reference to the complicated history of Confucian thought in Japan (see, e.g., Bodart-Bailey, 1997), and because ethnographic data shows that many of the "facts" cited to illustrate this "Confucian" influence are simply false.

Concerning the unbridgeable difference between Japanese and Western communication, we often are told that Japanese students "have been trained to communicate in a very different way from the foreign teacher of English" (Cogan, 1995, p. 37), or that there is an "inherent conflict in the communicative styles of foreign teachers and their Japanese students" (p. 37). 14 This may be true. A large research literature argues that Japanese speech acts, communication styles and patterns, etc. differ from those of North Americans (e.g., Beebe, 1995; Clancy, 1990; Maeshiba, Yoshinaga, Kasper & Ross, 1996; Maynard, 1997; Miller, 1995; Rinnert, 1995; Yamada, 1997). However, there are two problems. The first has to do with the quality of this research. For example, Clancy (1986) uses an orthodox research methodology to study the acquisition of Japanese communicative style, but her definition of that style (pp. 213-217) is based on stereotypes about Japanese culture that Mouer and Sugimoto (1986), among others, have thoroughly debunked. Further, her starting point is the contrast of Japanese and American communicative styles (p. 213) but she is forced constantly by her data to point out that there is not so much difference between the two styles (e.g., pp. 222, 229).

A second problem is that speech acts, communication styles, discourse patterns, etc. are culture-specific, so there are differences among all people from different countries and language backgrounds, not just speakers of English and Japanese. There are even differences among people of various ages, genders, occupations, discourse communities, etc. For example, Deborah Tannen has shown convincingly that there are differences between North American male and female speech, and between New York and West Coast communication styles (1984, 1986, 1990). Problems of communication between native English speaking teachers and Japanese students may result from the fact that the teacher was brought up in the United States or Australia, but such problems might also result from age or other differences. Further, there is nothing in this unique to the Japanese situation.

Stereotyping

The typical stereotypes found in Western writing about Japanese society—group-oriented, hierarchical, harmonious—are found in the teaching-in-Japan literature (e.g., Wordell, 1993, p. 147), where they are used to "explain" the behavior of Japanese students and guide the practice of

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native speaker teachers.¹⁵ This creates problems because stereotyping prevents our seeing the reality and complexity of our classrooms (see Stevenson & Stigler, 1992, pp. 20-22). Below I look at two examples, the idea of Japanese society as group-oriented, and the depiction of Japanese classrooms as hierarchical.¹⁶

One of the most common stereotypes of Japanese society is that it is "group-oriented" so that Japanese students behave as a group rather than individually (e.g., Bingham, 1997, p. 37; Kobayashi, 1989; O'Sullivan, 1992, p. 11; Schoolland, 1990, pp. 151 ff.; Shimazu, 1992); the proverb, "the nail that stands out gets pounded down" is offered as "proof" that Japanese value the group more than the individual (e.g., Anderson, 1993a, p. 103; Mayer, 1994, p. 15; Nozaki, 1993, p. 31; Sower & Johnson, 1996, p. 26). 17 However, Mouer & Sugimoto (1986, pp. 99-155) present empirical evidence and methodological critiques showing that the Japanese may be no more group-oriented than other peoples in the world (see also Befu, 1980a; 1980b; Kuwayama, 1992; Maher & Yashiro, 1995, p. 10). Groups certainly play an important part in Japanese society and education (e.g., Hendry, 1986; Iwama, 1989), but not necessarily at the expense of the individual (see, e.g. Kotloff, 1996, pp. 114-115; Sato, 1996, pp. 120-122, 146); Morimoto cites the "more contemporary saying" that "the nail that comes out all the way never gets hammered down," used as a slogan of the student activists who have been opposing school regulations (1996, p. 203). Kataoka (1992) shows how teachers try to develop students' independence and self-initiative (p. 98) in a process that emphasizes the development of the individual in a group context. Using Reed's (1993) idea of avoiding cultural explanations in favor of common sense, we could argue that the main reason teachers emphasize the group is that it is the most practical way to deal with the large classes typical of Japanese schools (Stevenson & Stigler, 1992, p. 62; see Reed, pp. 61-62).

Groups that play an important part in Japanese classrooms are equivalent to the peer groups in the West that "also exert a powerful influence on most children's upbringing" (Duke, 1986, p. 33). Anderson (1993a) too, in an otherwise excellent article that offers sound advice based on ethnographic research, sees in Japanese groups "the reverse of the western concept of individuality" (p. 104). One of his examples is the "marathon deliberations" of university faculty meetings to achieve decisions by consensus (p. 104; see also Wordell, 1993, p. 151); this is one pattern in Japan but many readers will have experienced just the opposite, meetings where decisions are made by acclamation or fiat, and in which discussion, never mind consensus, plays little part (see, e.g., McVeigh, 1997, pp. 90, 100-101).

A second common stereotype is that Japanese society is vertical and hierarchical (e.g., Hill, 1990, pp. 84-85; Kay, 1994, p. 5) although scholars have pointed out weaknesses in this view (e.g., Bachnik, 1994a, p. 8; 1994b; Sakurai, 1974; see also Rohlen, 1983, p. 208). We are told that Japanese students "are quite unaccustomed to challenging a respected superior" (Sharp, 1990, p. 208) and that for Japanese schoolchildren "life is order and order emanates from an authority figure" who is the sensei (Davidson, 1993, p. 42; see also p. 36). Exponents of these views might be surprised at ethnographic research showing that in some cases Japan's classrooms are less authoritarian than those in the United States: "in mathematics and science, Japanese teachers are more likely than American teachers to encourage the expression of disagreement . . ." (Lewis, 1995, p. 174; see also Sato, 1996, pp. 138-139; Stigler, Fernandez, & Yoshida, 1996, pp. 241-243; Tsuchida & Lewis, 1996, p. 196; Whitman, 1991, pp. 165-167). Nursery school teachers make great efforts "to keep a low profile as classroom authorities" (Lewis, 1989, p. 36; see also Lewis, 1995, pp. 108 ff.; Peak, 1991, pp. 77, 186) and delegate control to children; the result is to create in the children's minds the sense of a teacher "as a benevolent, though perhaps not quite indulgent, figure" (Lewis, 1989, p. 42), a far cry from the stern Confucian disciplinarian that appears in the stereotypes.

In elementary schools, too, the routines that have given foreign observers "an impression of tight authoritarian control" might be better seen as a means of giving students responsibility, which American students cannot have because their classroom routines are so unpredictable and teacher-controlled (Tsuchida & Lewis, 1996, p. 195; see also Shimahara & Sakai, 1995, p. 75). School clubs have authoritarian aspects, but Cummings found that middle school clubs "encouraged participation, expressiveness, and cooperation, and de-emphasized competition" (1980, p. 99). White (1993/1994, p. 89) sees American secondary schools as more authoritarian and hierarchical than those in Japan. At the college level, Hadley and Hadley's (1996) results suggest that vertical relationships are not necessarily authoritarian (p. 54).

Many writers characterize Japanese classrooms as "ritual domains" in Lebra's (1976, pp. 120-131) sense (e.g., Mutch, 1995), in which "norms of interaction tend to be defined by status differences between teacher and student . . ." (Cogan, 1996, p. 106). The first problem with this is that even if it is true it is not evidence that Japan's classrooms are different from those in other countries. The second problem is that these characterizations imply that all Japanese classrooms are the same, but ethnographic research has found a vast difference between elementary

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school classroom behavior and that in junior and senior high schools. While secondary-level instruction often, if not always (e.g., Wardell, 1995, pp. 45-46), consists of teacher-centered lectures with limited active participation by students, elementary classrooms are "characterized by a facilitative role for teachers and considerable student-student interaction" (Rohlen & LeTendre, 1996, p. 7; see also Fukuzawa, 1996, p. 295; Lewis, 1986, pp. 196-197; 1995, pp. 113-114, 176; Stevenson & Stigler, 1992, pp. 176 ff.).18 Cummings (1980) found that primary school teachers "make significant departures from the traditional approach" (p. 125); in middle school he notes "teachers lecture more and are relatively less likely to turn over time to subgroups in the class" (p. 135), suggesting a relative rather than an absolute difference. Research on science instruction shows that class management is not so different between Japan and the United States (Jacobson & Takemura, 1992, p. 156). Finally, Okano (1993) emphasizes the differentiation among high schools in Japan; her description of a technical school class (p. 198), if not exactly Blackboard Jungle, is not too far from many American high school classes (see also Sands, 1995).

The literature is filled with images of Japan's silent, authoritarian classrooms; Hyland claims that "the Japanese education system does not seem to value independence nor assign creative or imaginative tasks" (1994, p. 59). First, creativity, like other social constructs, is culturally determined; Lewis (1992) finds a high degree of creativity and selfexpression in Japanese schools. Further, there is an "extraordinary gap between the American media's portrayal of drill and memorization in Japanese elementary schools and the active, idea-driven learning that researchers have observed" (Lewis, 1995, p. 176; see also Lee, Graham, & Stevenson, 1996). Although Fukuzawa (1996) found that Japanese middle school classes are mostly lecture style and the instruction was "decidedly uninspiring and old-fashioned" (p. 302), Japanese teachers in the lower grades "seem to be more comfortable [than American teachers] with group discussions, mistakes, confusion, and other aspects of a discovery- oriented (or constructivist) approach" (Rohlen & LeTendre, 1996, p. 14: see also Duke, 1986, p. 160; Lewis, 1995, p. 95; Tsuchida & Lewis, 1996, pp. 210-211; White, 1987, pp. 67-68).

On the college level, teachers complain of "a wall of silence" (Helgesen, 1993) but also "disruptive talking" (Wadden & McGovern, 1993, p. 115). Helgesen's explanation is reasonable: students do not talk in English because they have not been taught to do so (p. 38) but for Wadden and McGovern, the misbehavior of Japanese students is "culturally determined" (p. 115); somehow only Japanese students whisper in class and only for-

eign teachers find this rude (p. 117)!¹⁹ Sasaki too finds that Japanese students "follow their cultural code of classroom conduct" (1996, p. 237), which includes "not doing homework" (p. 235); no wonder foreign teachers have trouble with this exotic species! Woodring (1997), struck with the "discrepancy between what had been read about the mythological Japanese student and what had actually been experienced with very real students in the classroom" (p. 158), used a survey instrument to examine teacher-student and student-student interaction; her results showed that her Japanese students were "surprisingly similar" to their American counterparts (p. 164), proving many of the stereotypes wrong.

Representing²⁰

Japanese society is represented as homogeneous and harmonious (e.g., Sower & Johnson, 1996), although there is a good evidence for the existence of both diversity (e.g., Clammer, 1995; Creighton, 1995, p. 155; Denoon, Hudson, McCormack & Morris-Suzuki, 1996; Kawamura, 1980; MacDonald & Maher, 1995; Maher & Yashiro, 1995; Ohnuki-Tierney, 1993, p. 82)21 and conflict (Moore, 1997; Mouer & Sugimoto, 1986, pp. 64-83, 106-115; see also Horio, 1988, pp. xii-xiv; Krauss, Rohlen, & Steinhoff, 1984; Najita & Koschmann, 1982). For example, in his recent survey of Japanese society, Sugimoto (1997) documents the existence of "regional, generational, occupational, and educational" diversity and stratification (p. 5), concluding that "Japan does not differ fundamentally from other countries in its internal variation and stratification" (p. 5) In education, Japan's "monocultural" classrooms have been contrasted to multicultural classrooms in the United States (e.g., Wright, 1996). This is true in one sense but ignores the evidence that in Japan "diversity is judged by different criteria" than in the U.S., so that Japanese teachers are conscious of marked diversity in their classrooms in terms of "varying regions, occupations, and social classes" (Sato & McLaughlin, 1992. p. 6). Davidson (1993) "explains" perceived problems in Japanese education by representing Japan as a machine-like culture: "English instruction reinforces the Japanese tendency toward precision, persistent and determined labor, rote memorization, and, I'm convinced, xenophobia" (1993, p. 38; see also Pennycook, 1994, p. 4).

Even fairly straightforward research can fall into Orientalism through facile representations of Japanese behavior rather than scientific explanation. For example, Robbins ends an excellent study on language learning strategies by explaining her results in terms of an unsupported representation of Japanese students as desiring "to passively absorb information provided by teachers" (Dadour & Robbins, 1996, p. 166).

Ryan (1995a), puzzled by the tendency of Japanese students to recommend less punitive sanctions for misbehavior than their Australian counterparts, "explains" this with reference to Doi's concept of *amae* although this idea has been discredited (see, e.g., Dale, 1986, pp. 121-142; Mouer & Sugimoto, 1986, pp. 130-132).²²

Kobayashi (1990, p. 25; see also 1989; 1994, p. 164) represents Japanese as illogical or creatures of intuition against logical Western reasoners. Mok (1993) too represents Japanese students as lacking Western logic and critical thinking skills (pp. 157-158), glossing over the fact that the American educational system devotes vast resources to redress these problems in students who happen not to be Japanese. Kelly and Adachi (1993, pp. 156-157) represent and speak for a fictional Japanese college English teacher and Nozaki (1993, pp. 30-33) represents "typical students" just as Said finds Flaubert representing the "typically Oriental" Egyptian courtesan Kuchuk Hanem (1978/1994, pp. 6, 186 ff). Wordell and Gorsuch (1992, pp. 8-9) represent "deep-bred Japanese cultural assumptions about employeremployee relationships" in their citation of an inane satire of foreigners' employment conditions at conversation schools; Said argued that "the idea of representation is a theatrical one" (p. 63) but even he probably did not imagine that the theater would be farce!

Essentializing

In most of this literature, "Japan," the "Japanese," "Japanese education," are presented monolithically, with no sense of variety or individual differences. Walko (1995), for example, has projected his experience of some junior high schools in Kumamoto Prefecture to absolutes; according to him, all such schools in Japan have wood floors (p. 364). Even research studies with careful descriptions of the subjects often lapse into sweeping generalizations such as "in Japan, role behavior is conditioned to a strong degree" (Busch, 1982, p. 130). Kobayashi (1991) talks of Japanese students as if they were all identical products of a "maternal society." Oxford & Anderson (1995) give a good survey of research on learning styles of non-American Anglos but most of their comments about Japanese students essentialize them beyond recognition; for example, "Japanese and Korean students are often quiet, shy and reticent in language classrooms" (p. 208; see also Oxford, Hollaway, & Horton-Murillo, 1992). The same essentializing of Japanese students appears in other learning style research (e.g., Hyland, 1994; Nelson, 1995, pp. 10-12; Stebbins, 1995, pp. 110-112) although Ozeki (1996) showed that "it is difficult to generalize learning styles of Japanese students as a group" (p. 121); this is noted by Oxford and Anderson them-

selves (1995, pp. 209-210). Redfield and Shawback (1996) found no great differences between the Japanese and American students they studied with respect to attitudes towards language teaching and learning.

Essentialist statements are by their nature not comparative although. as Befu (1992a) points out, cultural difference is a relative matter (pp. 31-32). Statements like "competition to pass entrance examinations . . . is fierce" (Sower & Johnson, 1996, p. 26) may be true but are presented as absolutes, so we have no way of knowing that such competition may not be as "fierce" as it is in Korea and Malaysia, or even France (see Frost, 1991, p. 293).²⁴ Likewise, "the homogeneity of the Japanese educational system" (Greene & Hunter, 1993, p. 11) is often pointed out; this is true compared to the United States, which happens to have a decentralized educational system. But how does Japan's system compare to that of Singapore, or Turkey, or Nigeria? In other words, Japan's educational system is not essentially homogeneous, it is more or less homogeneous than those of other countries (see Ichikawa, 1986, p. 255). Further, despite the centralized control of education in Japan "in practice, Japanese teachers are actually less controlled in matters of instruction then are most of their American counterparts" (Sato & McLaughlin, 1992, pp. 5-6). Ichikawa (1986) argues that "even in Japan . . . considerable differences exist at each level of education and also among school districts and individual schools" (p. 245; see also Sugimoto, 1997, pp. 118-119); Okano (1993, p. 252) found high school teachers resisting the administration. Statements like "an important difference from Western schools, then, is that wider societally-recognized concepts still dominate at schools in Japan, while in the West schoolgenerated requirements dominate over those from outside, which are redefined" (Reinelt, 1987, p. 8) not only essentialize Japanese schools but also reduce all schools in the West to one.

Essentializing leads to factual errors. Sower and Johnson (1996, p. 26) say that "most students from grades K-12 wear school uniforms" but this is not true of most public elementary school students (see Conduit & Conduit, 1996, p. 103) or many private secondary students. Durham & Ryan (1992) explain differences in survey results between Japanese and Australians on the grounds that most of the Australians surveyed lived off-campus, implying incorrectly that Japanese campuses are residential (p. 79). More serious, Gunterman (1985) claims that using physical force on high school students is not "taboo" (p. 131). While corporal punishment is not uncommon in Japanese schools, as Schoolland (1990) has documented in detail, Gunterman might have pointed out that in fact it happens to be against the law (Morimoto, 1996, p. 211; Schoolland, p. 56). Even such

unexceptional "facts" as "Japanese civilization began with the cultivation of rice" (Sower & Johnson, 1996, p. 27) turn out to be highly debatable assertions (see, e.g., Amino, 1996; Ohnuki-Tierney, 1993, pp. 30-36; for a more conservative view see Imamura, 1996, pp. 142-144, 217-219). Stapleton points out that the Japanese education system has "none of the gifted or remedial programs that are common in the West" (1995, p. 15); this may be true but fails to acknowledge that "much effort is expended [by teachers] . . . to feed extra material to the quick learners, and to give extra help to the slower learners" (Dore & Sako, 1989, p. 6).

Conclusion

The above survey shows that there is considerable Orientalism in the ESL/EFL literature on Japan. I want here to anticipate some objections that might be made to my argument and evidence. First, I do not mean to argue that there are no cultural differences among nations with respect to learning strategies, the role of the university in society, classroom management, student expectations, etc. For example, excellent work has been done on cross-cultural issues in Japanese classrooms (e.g., Ryan, 1993; 1995a; Shimizu, 1995). My quarrel is not with evidence that points out characteristics of Japanese learners or with advice that will help foreign teachers to overcome the cultural gaps they face in Japanese classrooms. My objection is rather to arguments that are based on Orientalism rather than evidence, and to advice that is grounded in assumptions, stereotypes, platitudes, and errors.

Some readers might complain that I seem to be claiming that groups do not exist in Japan despite the substantial evidence for their role in Japanese society. I have argued above not that groups do not exist in Japan but rather that the notion of Japan as a group-oriented society is not a useful explanation of Japanese behavior in general or of Japanese students' behavior in particular. Likewise, such characterizations are relative; after all, wasn't the theme of *The Lonely Crowd* (Reisman, Glazer, & Denny, 1950/1953) and *The Organization Man* (Whyte, 1957) just that the United States was a group-oriented society that discouraged individualism? Finally, as mentioned above, ethnographers like Lewis and Sato have found that school groups do not necessarily stifle individualism.

Another objection that might be made is that much of the ethnographic evidence on Japanese classrooms cited above comes from studies done in pre-school or elementary school settings, and not junior and senior high schools, which are more likely to be characterized by hierarchical relations between teachers and students, rote learning, etc. In

response I can say first that much of the Orientalist literature on teaching in Japan makes no distinction between K-6 and 9-12 classes, referring instead to essentialized Japanese classrooms, students, and so on. Further, as Rohlen and LeTendre (1996) point out, "the successes of Japanese high school students . . . rest heavily on a foundation of prior teaching and socialization that had nothing to do with the cramming and rote learning associated with high school instructional processes" (p. 8); "the basic routines established in K-9 . . . make possible the subsequent, rather dramatic change in academic teaching style at the secondary level" (p. 7). In other words, I do not dispute the claim that many Japanese high school classes use "rapid-fire instruction that emphasizes facts and procedures" (Lee, Graham, & Stevenson, 1996, p. 189; see also Fukuzawa, 1996, p. 302), but insist that generalizations about grades 9-12 education in Japan will be misleading if they ignore the context of Japanese students' entire school experience. Further, we cannot focus only on classrooms to understand our students' concepts of schools and learning; Fukuzawa argues that students are not alienated from high school because "an efficient, teacher-centered approach to instruction is separated from a variety of social, emotional and moral training activities" that emphasizes the whole person (p. 317; see also Sato & McLaughlin, 1992, p. 5). Schools in Japan, as in any country, form a complex system that cannot be explained or described in simple generalizations about classroom practice or club activities in isolation.

I have attempted above to show that much of the literature under review is characterized by Orientalism. My point is not that there are occasional stereotypes or factual errors; my claim is that these fictions have been woven into a pervasive discourse that shapes our descriptions and then our perceptions of Japanese learners and classrooms. Given this, how can we overcome the authority of the Orientalist discourse to attain a better understanding of the teaching and learning situation in Japan? First. foreign teachers have the responsibility to read the literature more critically, being constantly on the lookout for the stereotyping, essentializing, etc. that I have pointed out; at the same time, foreigners must become more sensitive to the actual conditions of their teaching environments and more knowledgeable about Japanese culture, resisting the tendency to reduce Japan to an unknowable Other. Second, researchers should be more careful about accepting the results of previous research uncritically, and of course should avoid explanations based on proverbs, stereotypes of national character, or facile representations. We need many more carefully done studies of Japanese learners and classrooms, and we need more critical syntheses of previously published research.

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Third, publishers and journal editors have the greatest responsibility because Orientalism is a discourse in Foucault's sense, in which, as Said explains it, a "textual attitude" is fostered when "the book (or text) acquires a greater authority and use, even than the actuality it describes" (1978/1994, p. 93). By publishing the kind of work I have criticized above, ESL/EFL publishers and journals have enhanced the authority of this discourse. It will not be easy for the journals to attain a balance between freedom of expression and a rejection of Orientalist Othering but, once aware of the problem, it should not be impossible. Said's work has taught us what we did not know about the way we see and comprehend; it is now our responsibility to rectify our perceptions of Japanese learners and classrooms.

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Notes

1. "Internationalization" (kokusaika) is in quotation marks because it "is a conservative policy that reflects the other side of a renewed sense of Japanese national pride, if not nationalism . . . instead of opening up Japan to the struggle of different nationalities and ethnicities, the policy of internationalization implies the opposite: the thorough domestication of the foreign and the dissemination of Japanese culture throughout the world" (Ivy, 1995, p. 3; see also p. 26; Creighton, 1995, pp. 150-155; Faure, 1995, pp. 266-267; Iwabuchi, 1994; McCormack, 1996, pp. 274 ff.; McVeigh, 1997, pp. 65 ff.; Mouer & Sugimoto, 1986, pp. 171, 377-404; for different views see Dougill, 1995, and Stefasson, 1994). Wada and Cominos (1994, p. 5) claim that the real purpose of the JET Program is to teach foreigners about Japan (see also Wada & Cominos, 1995, p. viii). White (1988/1992) points out various meanings of "internationalization" in Japan (pp. 50-52, 80), emphasizing that for the Ministry of Education and the business world internationalization may be good for Japan but internationalized individuals are not, so that Japan's emphasis on "internationalization" is merely rhetorical (p. 120). Concerning returnee children (kikoku shijo), she rejects Goodman's (1990b) thesis that returnees are not disadvantaged (p. 126); interestingly, Goodman (1990a) reports that he "ended up taking a position almost completely opposite" to his original view (p. 163).

2. This is not to say that the Japanese studies literature is free of error or Orientalism. One example is the wide-spread belief that "the Japanese public school has been able to achieve virtual total literacy of its graduates" (Duke, 1986, p. 79); even Lewis repeats this (1992, p. 238). However, much evidence shows that many Japanese children have problems reading their own language (Burstein & Hawkins, 1992, pp. 185-186; Hatta & Hirose, 1995, pp. 231-233; Hirose & Hatta, 1988; Rohlen, 1983, p. 29; Stevenson, Lee, & Stigler, 1986, p. 233; Taylor & Taylor, 1995, pp. 351-353; Unger, 1987, pp. 83 ff.; 1996, pp. 24 ff., 124 ff.). A second example is McVeigh's (1997) ethnology of a Japanese women's junior college. Although he specifically states that his study "is about a particular women's junior college" (p. 17), he often discusses Japan's junior colleges in general (e.g., pp. 85 ff., 177) and in effect essentializes and represents all Japanese students (e.g., p. 79), not to mention characterizing English as "the language of the Other" (p. 65; see also pp. 73 ff.). Ichikawa (1986, pp. 253-256) lists several causes of error in U. S. studies on Japanese education.

- 3. Evans (1990; 1991) is the first to my knowledge to apply Orientalism to language teaching in Japan. Honey's (1991) response is instructive because of its assumption that a reassertion of stereotypes of Japanese learners constitutes an effective rebuttal of Evans' argument.
- 4. Said's concept has generated a tremendous literature; see the web pages devoted to Said at http://sun3.lib.uci.edu/indiv/scctr/Wellek/said; visited December 23, 1997. For a recent review see MacKenzie (1995, pp. xi-19). On Said's work, see Habib (1996) and Rossington (1995).
- 5. Said (1978/1994) refers to Japan infrequently and only in passing; his apparent reference to the Shimabara Uprising (p. 73) is, as Massarella points out, "nonsense" (1990, p. 372, note 11). Miyoshi (1993) claims that in Japan "Orientalism has been read principally as a part of the Middle East discourse and is viewed as having little to do with Japan or cultural understanding generally" (p. 284). On the applicability of Said's thesis to the English-language literature and scholarship on Japan, see, e.g., Befu (1992a, pp. 22-24); Dale (1996), Minear (1980), Morley and Robins (1992), Mouer (1983), Williams (1996, pp. 140-154), and the discussion on H-ASIA (March 2-11, 1996; http://h-net2.msu.edu/~asia/threads/ thrdorientalism.html; visited December 23, 1997).
- 6. Nibonjinron (see, e.g., Befu, 1992b; Dale, 1986; Kawamura, 1980; Mabuchi, 1995; Manabe, Befu, & McConnell, 1989; Mouer & Sugimoto, 1995; Yoshino, 1992) is best described as a program of disseminating "the essentialist view of 'Japaneseness' not only among the Japanese but also throughout the world, so that 'Japaneseness' would be 'properly' recognized by Others" (Iwabuchi, 1994; see also Ivy, 1995, pp. 1-2, 9). This has lead to Japan's "reverse Orientalism" (Borup, 1995; Faure, 1995; Miller, 1982, p. 209; Moeran, 1990, p. 9; Moeran & Skov, 1997, pp. 182-185; Ueno, 1997), "self-Orientalism" (Iwabuchi, 1994), or "auto-Orientalism" (Befu, 1997, p. 15), stereotyping and essentializing Japan while creating an ideal West "for purposes of self-definition" (Gluck, 1985, p. 137). Creighton (1995) argues that "Japanese renderings of gatjin [Caucasians] are occidentalisms that stand opposed to Japanese orientalisms about them-

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selves" (p. 137), and Goodman and Miyazawa (1995) see the Japanese concept of the Jewish people as a "kind of reverse Orientalism" that "reifies a particular Japanese cultural history" (p. 13 n.). In the end, the *Nibonjinron* may be parallel to the Melanesian *kastom*, "the concern to preserve and perhaps recreate what people see as their traditional ways" (Carrier, 1995, p. 6), or perhaps to "Occidentalism," a term that Chen (1995) uses for China, "a discursive practice that, by constructing its Western Other, has allowed the Orient to participate actively and with indigenous creativity in the process of self-appropriation, even after being appropriated and constructed by Western Others" (pp. 4-5). See Carrier (1992) on the relationship between "Occidentalism" and "Orientalism."

- 7. Foucault himself defines discourse as "the possibilities and the rules for the formation of other texts" (1979, p. 154), as "a group of rules that are immanent in a practice, and define it in its specificity" (1969/1972, p. 46), as "practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak" (p. 49), and as "a space of exteriority in which a network of distinct sites is deployed" (p. 55); see also Macdonell, 1986, pp. 82 ff.). However, I need to enter three caveats. First, Foucault states that his use of the term "discourse" varies in meaning (1969/1972, p. 80). Second, Said modifies Foucault's definition on the important point of the "determining imprint of individual writers" (1978/1994, p. 23). Third, as Bové (1995, p. 53) argues, it is impossible to ask or answer questions about the meaning of "discourse" in Foucault's sense at all because to do so "would be to contradict the logic of the structure of thought in which the term 'discourse' now has a newly powerful critical function" and "would be, in advance, hopelessly to prejudice the case against understanding the function of 'discourse'" (p. 53).
- 8. See Johnson (1988) for a survey of American images of Japan; she too concludes that "popular stereotypes are greatly influenced by immediate events" (pp. ix-x).
- 9. Perhaps Stern's (1992) complaints about foreign teachers in Japan belong in this category.
- 10. The literature on Japanese education in English alone is immense; Beauchamp and Rubinger's (1989) annotated bibliography lists about 1,000 items, although it is now almost a decade out-of-date.
- 11. Foreman-Takano (in press) finds stereotypes, essentializing, etc. in another body of literature, reading textbooks produced in Japan.
- 12. Bolitho (1996), in a brilliant riposte to the view of early modern Japanese society as Confucian, shows that the characteristics attributed to Japan's "Confucian" society are just those that describe pre-modern societies in general (p. 199). Nosco (1984) points out that elements of Japanese society attributed to Confucianism may have existed prior to the introduction of Chinese thought (p. 5). Gluck (1985, pp. 102 ff.) shows how many different ideologies were masked by the term "Confucian" in the planning of Meiji educational policy. Further, some historians have argued that "Confucian harmony" was a tradition invented in the Meiji period to enhance political control (see Maher & Yashiro, 1995, pp. 8-9).

13. Stevenson, however, reports that Japanese fifth graders spend twice as much time in mathematics classes as Americans (1989, p. 94; see also Stevenson, Stigler, & Lee, 1986, pp. 208-210; Stevenson & Lee, 1990, pp. 30-31). Ryan (1995b, p. 71) states that Japanese teachers spend about the same number of classroom hours as their British counterparts teaching their subject matter.

- 14. The same point is made of classroom behaviors and expectations; see, e.g., Greene and Hunter (1993) and Ryan (1995a, 1996). For research on what Japanese students expect from foreign teachers, see Durham and Ryan (1992), Fensler (1988), and Redfield (1995).
- 15. Note Finkelstein's (1991, p. 138) critique of the U. S. Department of Education's study *Japanese Education Today* (1987, esp. pp. 2-4) as perpetuating these stereotypes (see also Horio, 1988, p. xiii).
- 16. Inevitably this literature stereotypes the West as well, as Said claims: "the Oriental becomes more Oriental, the Westerner more Western" (1978/1994, p. 46). Wordell cites Yoshida/Mizuta's reductionist summaries of Americans and Japanese (1985, p. 12, 1993, p. 147).
- 17. Mouer and Sugimoto (1986) point out that a proverb is not evidence of anything because 1) "like many languages, Japanese contains numerous pairs of opposites" (p. 135); here they suggest "lone wolf" (ippiki okami) (p. 135); 2) all proverbs do not have the same degree of currency; and 3) they can often be interpreted in different ways so that there is no agreement on meaning (p. 151). In another example of proof by proverb, Williams (1994) explains that Japanese students are silent because of a cultural tendency toward a reflective personality (p. 10); as proof, he cites a Japanese proverb meaning that mouths are to eat with, not speak with. By this argument, a culture with the proverb "silence is golden" has the same cultural tendency. Klopf (1995) quotes ten proverbs that "suggest that speaking is the root of all evil" (p. 171) and concludes flatly: "The desire not to speak is the most significant feature of Japanese language life" (p. 171)! Lebra (1987) gives a balanced study of the role of silence in Japanese communication, but even she is not above citing the same proverbs (p. 348). A quick glance at Buchanan's (1965) compilation of Japanese proverbs shows not only that English has ready equivalents for many of these (e.g., p. 75) but also that Japanese has proverbs praising eloquence (e.g., p. 75).
- 18. Anderson's recent research (1993b, in press) shows that "the Japanese teacher appears to be not so much a conversation partner as a facilitator of student interaction" (1993b, p. 87); he argues that the students are engaged in "group consensus building" (p. 87) but an alternative reading of the data he presents suggests that students are expressing themselves individually.
- 19. To add to the confusion, Miyanaga argues that "to the Japanese, to be quiet and to listen is active, not passive" (1991, p. 96), while for McVeigh, students' quiescence results from their encounter with the "Other" (1997, p. 79) or from bullying to maintain social harmony (pp. 180 ff.).
- 20. Parallel in a sense to Japan's "self-Orientalism" mentioned above is a kind of "self" representation, —described humorously by Stewart (1985) as "an especially virulent disease" (p. 89).

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21. In contrast, Lewis (1995, pp. 172-175) points to a lack of diversity in class-rooms.

- 22. Japanese are not the only ones to be represented. Durham & Ryan (1992) argue that Australians, as compared to Japanese, "value a certain degree of uniformity" because of their "convict heritage" (p. 78).
- 23. Honey (1991, p. 45) cites Kobayashi (1990), claiming that because she is Japanese, her conclusions are correct. I would argue that the works by Japanese nationals that I criticize as Orientalist are similar to what Pratt (1992) calls "autoethnographic expression": "instances in which colonized subjects undertake to represent themselves in ways that *engage with* the colonizer's own terms" (p. 7).
- 24. Grove (1996) shows that critical statements made about entrance tests for Japanese schools often reflect prejudices and ignorance of the situation in Japan. In addition, both popular and academic studies of Japanese education emphasize the influence of the entrance tests; Shimahara (1979), for example, sees Japan as a "group-oriented society" and the entrance tests as "a powerful means employed by this [Japanese] society to determine individual group membership" (p. 93). Unfortunately for his theory, "most Japanese students have little to do with the widely publicized 'examination hell'" (Sugimoto, 1997, p. 10; see also Ichikawa, 1986, p. 250).

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Point to Point

A Reaction to MacGregor's "The *Eiken* Test: An Investigation"

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This paper represents a critique of the *Eiken* test investigation by Laura MacGregor (Volume 19, No. 1, May 1997, pp. 24-42). MacGregor provides detailed background information on the *Eiken* test explaining its origins, importance, and contents. In order to investigate what kind of test the *Eiken* is, explanations of the purpose and goals of the two types of tests used in language teaching, criterion-referenced tests (CRTs) and norm-referenced tests (NRTs), are given. Through evidence found in the nature of the *Eiken* test, it is correctly judged to be a hybrid CRT/NRT. However, there are a number of difficulties with her methodology which call into question her conclusions. Discussions that follow will be limited due to word restrictions.

The test used in this study is the pre-second level test, originally developed for second and third year high school students (16- and 17-year-olds). In this study, however, the test subjects were 182 first year junior college students (aged 18 to 20). Because this study was not aimed at the correct target population, the results cannot be compared with those provided by STEP or even utilized in a valid analysis of the test. If a test was developed for a certain group, investigating its validity and reliability should be done using the target group.

The reliability of the test was measured using both descriptive and item statistics. Descriptive statistics revealed that the test performed like a true NRT, though since the author classifies the test as a hybrid CRT/NRT it seems strange to apply purely NRT standards when analysing the results. Item statistics, according to guidelines set out in Brown regarding items on an NRT (1996, p. 69), showed that 60% of the test items needed refinement or improvement. As above, MacGregor failed to ei-

ther defend her use of NRT standards or present an alternative system for the analysis of the items. Four general questions were posed to help determine the validity of the test. Answers revealed that:

- 1) The items were suitable for senior high school students.
- Two items were found to be invalid where content validity was concerned.

The argument against one of the items is presented using anecdotal rather than empirical evidence. It is also difficult to determine which items the author was referring to since items and sections were not clearly and consistently outlined from the beginning.

3) STEP claimed successful examinees are able to converse, read and write about everyday topics.

MacGregor challenges this, stating that *Eiken* only tests reading and listening skills. However, neither provides evidence to support their claims.

4) There were some poorly constructed items on the test.

However, there is some incongruity as to the problems with items. For example, the first example MacGregor (1997, p. 38) presents is not necessarily problematic because of the structures but, instead, because of the length of the distracters. Though poorly constructed items were found, investigations into their nature were subjective rather than methodical, systematic, and empirical. A framework by which items might be analyzed less subjectively might, for example, be based on Chapter 4 of Henning (1987).

The results of the examination of scoring revealed that passing percentages were actually much lower than those stated by STEP. This again suggests that the test group employed by MacGregor was not representative of the STEP population.

The above discussion has examined the relevance and usefulness of this investigation into the *Eiken* test. It found that though the investigation took on some detail and identified strong and weak areas within the test, it failed to determine the validity and reliability of the test adequately and accurately. A more thorough investigation, using more appropriate tools for measuring and analyzing test components, is clearly required.

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The Author Responds: A Brief Clarification

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Nigel Henry presents some valid concerns about the test subjects, reliability measures, and validity findings in his critique of "The *Eiken* Test: An Investigation" (MacGregor, 1997). I will address them briefly here and attempt to clarify my purpose.

First, Henry correctly pointed out that the subjects for my study were older than the group the test was originally developed for. Eikyo stated that the pre-second level test was for high school level students; however, it also stated that it was "appropriate for a wide range of ages, from high school students to adults in Japan" (Nihon Eigo Kentei Kyokai, 1994, p. 8). In my paper, I reported that the majority of the pre-second level test-takers in June 1996 were high school students (227,666 or 75%). However, this number represents only 38.2% of the high school students who took the Eiken test during that test administration (.11% took the first level, .88% took the pre-first level, 16.8% took the second level, 37.1% took the third level, 6.3% took the fourth level, and .55% took the fifth level) (Nihon Eigo Kentei Kyokai, 1996, p. 11). Therefore, there is a disparity between Eikyo's ideal level of difficulty and the reality of the test-taking population. Following the above trend, I attempted to reflect the reality of the student population at my college, the subjects used in my study. The results of my student survey showed that, based on their test-taking experience, the presecond level was the best choice (MacGregor, 1997, p. 28).

Second, Henry questioned my choice of reliability measures and implied that there should be CRT (criterion-referenced test) standards as well as the NRT (norm-referenced test) standards presented. This, however, would be impossible, because test reliability is based on test scores, and the *Eiken* test is scored as an NRT (i.e., it converts raw test scores to standardized scores) not as a CRT (in which test scores are interpreted as absolute).

Where test scores are concerned, NRTs and CRTs are completely different: NRTs aim to spread test scores over a wide continuum, and thus have a normal distribution and a high standard deviation. CRTs, on the other hand, aim to produce test results which have little variance,

that is to say, a low standard deviation. Since the Eiken test is administered to test-takers with wide ranging abilities and levels (high school, junior college, university, and post-university adults) and the relative scores follow a normal distribution pattern, it must be treated as an NRT, at least from a scoring point of view. To apply CRT reliability criteria would therefore be incorrect.

Henry's final area of inquiry questioned my validity study. He noted that *my discussion of poorly constructed items was* subjective, not empirical. It was my understanding that test validity *was* largely judgmental (Brown, 1996, pp. 231-239), and, therefore, I based my findings on a combination of the facts at hand: the aims of the test (as stated by *Eikyo*), current usage (Swan, 1995), and interpretations of the language as a native speaker of English.

Although the study has some shortcomings, I hope it will serve a larger purpose of alerting the people at *Eikyo* that there is some dissatisfaction with their public relations services and will encourage them to provide more information in the form of regular reports on the research and development of the *Eiken* tests.

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A Reaction to Ito's "Japanese EFL Learners' Test-Type Related Interlanguage Variability"

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The article by Akihiro Ito (Volume 19, No. 1, May 1997, pp. 89-105) reported on a survey as to the effect of different three test-types—Cloze Procedure, Grammaticality Judgment, and Sentence Combining—on the accuracy rates in interlanguage performance of Japanese EFL learners and examined the reliability and validity of the Grammatical Judgment test. He concluded: 1) the accuracy rate changes according to the expected order-Cloze Procedure > Grammaticality Judgment > Sentence Combining; and 2) unexpectedly, the Grammaticality Judgment test had fairly high reliability, showing moderate correlation with the other two test-types; however, since its discriminative ability seems limited, it should be used with extreme care (p. 98).

As Matsukawa (1987) says, any test serves as a "hidden curriculum" and has much influence on the way students learn English as well as the way teachers teach English. In Japan, entrance examinations serve as the hidden curriculum, especially at the senior high school level. I think the primary reason for this is that most students learn English (especially reading, writing, and grammar) in order to pass the entrance examinations for senior high schools or universities. If English were taught as a second language, entrance examinations would not serve as a hidden curriculum. It is not an exaggeration to say that the types of tests universities give determine what the students learn and how they learn English. Nowadays, test types given by universities are changing, but, many poorly designed tests still exist. In order to better English education in Japan, we have to improve the quality of test types used in entrance examinations. The most fundamental thing in test design is for tests to have a positive backwash. Ito's research may aid in this. However, I would like to raise the following concerns.

First, according to the study's results, the accuracy rate changes according to the expected order (Cloze Procedure > Grammaticality Judgment > Sentence Combining). This means, I think, that the higher accuracy rate a test type shows the easier the task. In relation to this, I'd like to ask: 1) What happened to the relative order of each subject? If the

purpose to give a test is to know the relative order of each student, as in entrance examinations, change in each test's accuracy rate doesn't matter unless the relative order for each student changes. 2) How can these results be applied to English language teaching?

Second, it is often said that showing students incorrect sentences is not educational. This is because incorrect sentences in the test can serve as intake for students, as all tests can also be i+1 input (Krashen, 1985). However high the reliability of the Grammaticality Judgment test is, I think this type of test should be avoided. What is the justification for using incorrect sentences within a test?

Third, in the last part of the article (p. 99), the author posed three general research questions, and in question number one said he planned to reexamine the data to investigate the effects of proficiency level on accuracy rates in participants' inter-language performance based on the results of a multiple choice test. If this analysis is done, please report the results.

The number of English teachers who have an interest in language testing is increasing. However, in reality, there seem to be few reliable test methods available to measure learners' real English ability. Accordingly, I hope researchers will design valid and reliable language test methods as rapidly as possible.

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The Author Responds: More on Test-Types

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A few *JALT Journal* readers of my article "Japanese EFL learners' test-type related interlanguage variability" (Volume 19, No. 1, May 1997, pp. 89-105) have raised questions. One, Takao Imai, has made his opinions public.

Let me begin with the issue of the relative order of the participants. The results of rank order correlations between the tests showed moderate to relatively high correlation between each pair of the three tests. Spearman's rank order correlation coefficients (rs) among the three tests! (N = 41) are: 1) CP-GJ, rs = 0.571, p < 0.001; 2) CP-SC, rs = 0.702, p < 0.001; and 3) GJ-SC, rs = 0.734, p < 0.001. I cannot conclude that the correlation coefficients were high enough to ignore the variability of test scores manifested by the difference of test-types. Even though the relative orders were moderate to high, the orders were not totally in accordance. If the purpose of a placement test is to determine only the relative order of our students, we can accept the correlation coefficients as sufficiently high. In my study I did not discuss the purpose of the relative clause tests. I think that people can use the tests according to their needs such as placement, achievement, proficiency, or diagnosis.

Second, I think it's common to assert that grammaticality judgment tests are effective for measuring subjects' linguistic intuition and metalinguistic knowledge if the test requires correction of grammatical errors. Like Imai, I think it's possible for subjects to take in ungrammatical sentences. However, as I explained (Ito, 1997a, pp. 94-95), after reviewing recent articles on the acquisition of relative clauses, I selected "typical errors in relative clause formation." Therefore, I would like to think that some students might raise their grammatical awareness in comprehending and forming sentences with relative clauses. However, I have found one problem with the use of the Grammaticality Judgment test. In Ito (1997b), I describe how higher level learners performed better in Sentence Combining than Grammaticality Judgment, possibly due to *hypercorrection*.

Third, I have re-examined the data of the participants' overall English language proficiency (Ito, 1996). In this study, I measured subjects' overall

English proficiency level through the 50-item multiple-choice cloze test used in Shimizu (1991), administered to the participants a week before the research reported in *JALT Journal* (Ito, 1997a) was conducted. According to the results, as the proficiency level increases, the magnitude of variability is smaller because subjects at a higher level mark high accuracy rates in every test-type. In this regard, the Ohba's (1994) hypothesis, which I reviewed (Ito, 1997a), seems reasonable.²

Finally, while I would like to undertake a discussion of the validity of the test types, this is beyond both the scope of the questions raised and the space available to comment.

As a concluding remark, I would again like to emphasize the importance of research on test-type related interlanguage variability. We should pay attention not only to the variability of interlanguage performance but also the quality of tests utilized in order to: 1) evaluate our students more accurately in an educational evaluation sense; 2) construct more reliable and valid language tests in a language testing sense, and 3) to improve second language acquisition research methodology.

Notes

- 1. CP: Cloze Procedure, GJ: Grammaticality Judgment, and SC: Sentence Combining.
- 2. Off-prints of the article in *CeLeS Bulletin*, 26 (Ito, 1996) and copies of a yet unplublished replicative study with a larger number of participants under more controlled conditions (Tests as a second language research method: Their types, reliability, validity, and variable research results) are available on request. E-mail: akito@ipc.hiroshima-u.ac.jp

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Research Forum

Conversational Turn-taking Behaviors of Japanese and Americans in Small Groups

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This study examined conversational turn-taking behaviors between Japanese and American participants in small groups. Because of cultural differences, it was hypothesized that Americans would employ self-select turn-taking procedures proportionately more often than Japanese and that Japanese would employ other-select turn-taking procedures proportionately more often than Americans. These expectations were tested in eight groups; two comprised all Japanese participants, two comprised all American participants and four comprised an equal number of Japanese and American participants. Each group contained four members. Results supported the expectations outlined above in the culturally uniform groups. However, in the culturally diverse groups, Japanese and Americans did not differ in the proportions of self and other select turn-taking behaviors. In these groups, though, the Americans took significantly more turns than did the Japanese.

本研究は、小人数グループにおける日本人とアメリカ人の会話の順交替 (turn-taking) を分析した研究である。文化的相違を根拠にし、「アメリカ人は日本人と比較しより頻繁に自己決定に基づいた順交替を行い、日本人はより頻繁に他者決定に基づいた順交替を行う」との仮説を立て、検証を行った。被験者は各4名からなる次の8グループである。日本人のみからなる2グループ、アメリカ人のみからなる2グループ、日本人とアメリカ人各2名からなる4グループ。結果、日本人またはアメリカ人のみからなるグループの比較で仮説は検証されたが、混合グループにおいては、自己決定:他者決定の比率は日本人とアメリカ人との間に差が認められなかった。ただし混合グループにおいては、アメリカ人がより多くの発話行為を行った。

ntercultural exchanges are becoming more and more common as a world economy emerges, and this globalization has brought with it an increasing presence of international students on campuses in many North American universities (Zikopoulos, 1990). However, many

instructors, having had limited exposure to students from different cultural backgrounds, lack the cultural knowledge necessary to understand their foreign students' communication patterns and, in turn, have little idea of how to respond to the needs of these students.

Because theories of intercultural communication involve a myriad of concepts, investigation into such communication processes might run the gamut from broad macroscopic studies (Kim, 1991), to microscopic studies that examine one aspect of one of these concepts. Zimmerman (1995), at a macroscopic level of analysis, reported that the intercultural communication competence of international students at one university was related to their being satisfied with their interaction skills but that "talking with American students was the single most important factor in perceptions of communication competence and adjusting to American life" (p. 321). This finding suggests that the nature of interaction between American and international students is of critical importance for foreign students` perceived communication competence and successful cultural adaptation.

Given the relationship between enculturation and verbal communication (Samovar & Porter, 1991), differences in conversational patterns may inhibit effective communication and lead to misunderstandings. Kitao (1993), examined Japanese students in an ESL classroom setting to determine sources of communication problems they faced. She reported that hindrances to "sociolinguistic competence" included "transfer of sociocultural patterns from Japanese to English" (p. 148). This study exemplified an approach midway between the macroscopic and microscropic.

Believing that microscopic examination of one aspect of verbal communication should further serve to demonstrate the significance of cultural differences and their effect on the communication process, we examined turn-taking behaviors between Japanese and American students because turn-taking is a fundamental aspect of face to face encounters (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1978). If people engaged in conversation cannot coordinate their turn-taking, they will be unable to communicate effectively. At the same time, we felt turn-taking might be influenced by cultural expectations in predictable ways, but that such predictions would vary depending upon the cultural background of the students involved (Klopf, in press). That is, students from some cultures, such as Japan, might expect others to invite them to participate in a conversation while students from other cultures, such as Canada. might simply expect to take part without waiting for an "invitation." Prior research into the turn-taking process has shown that cultural influences affect turn-taking patterns in conversations. Shimura (1988) as noted by Johnson (1995) demonstrated that Japanese ESL learners take

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fewer turns in conversation than other Asians. To further evaluate the relationship between culture and conversational styles, we examined turn-taking processes in Japanese, Americans, and mixed groups of Americans and Japanese.

Communicative patterns of Japanese and Americans suggests differences in conversational styles. For instance, Barnlund (1975) compared Japanese and American verbal and nonverbal self-disclosure and concluded: "The communicative consequences of cultural emphasis upon talkativeness and self-assertion among Americans may cultivate a highly self-oriented person, one who prizes and expresses every inner response no matter how trivial or fleeting." Of Japanese people he says, "The communicative consequences of cultural encouragement of reserve and caution among Japanese may produce an other-oriented person, who is highly sensitive and receptive to meanings in others" (p. 160). Such norms and rules influence how people form and process messages (Gudykunst & Ting-Toomey, 1988) and will also affect conversational styles.

According to Okabe (1983), "The cultural assumptions of interdependence and harmony require that Japanese speakers limit themselves to implicit and even ambiguous use of words" (p. 36). Ishii and Bruneau (1994) note that "Japanese people are oriented to nonverbal intuitive communication while Americans want to emphasize individualism and self-assertion" (p. 249).

In addition, Ishii and Bruneau (1994) cite significant differences between American and Japanese views of silence. They state, "The Western tradition is relatively negative in its attitude toward silence and ambiguity, especially in social and public relations" (p. 247). This somewhat negative orientation may lead to Americans feeling uncomfortable when there is silence in conversation. Japanese, on the other hand, highly regard silence. Ishii and Bruneau (1994) report, "It may be safely said that Japanese culture nurtures silence, reserve, and formality, whereas Western cultures place more value on speech, self-assertion, and informality" (p. 248). Furthermore, these differences are also clearly reflected in the education systems of the respective cultures. American students are encouraged and rewarded for being outgoing and expressive in the classroom. Japanese, on the other hand, come from an education system that discourages this type of behavior. Starting with junior high school, most Japanese classrooms do not have the interactive relationship between students and teachers that is the norm in North America. In most cases, the teachers instruct, and the students sit quietly and attempt to absorb the information. These orientations may very well lead to variations in turn-taking patterns.

Specifically, Americans may employ relatively more self-select turn-taking procedures in conversation, while the Japanese may employ relatively more other-select procedures. It would be expected that Japanese would use "other-select" turn-taking procedures more whether in all-Japanese groups or in mixed Japanese/American groups. On the other hand, Americans would be expected to employ more self-select turn-taking procedures in solely American groups or in mixed American/Japanese groups.

The Study

Method

Verbal interaction among participants in conversations obviously involves turn-taking behaviors. A current framework among conversation analysts for studying turn-taking behaviors was developed by Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1978). In this normative system, turns consist of different types of "Turn Construction Units," which can be identified as: words, phrases, clauses, and sentences.

Participants use these units for building turns. "Turns can be projectedly [sic] one word long, or for example, they can be sentential in length" (Sacks, et al., 1978). A potential end to a turn is labeled as a "Transition Relevance Place" or TRP.

There are three ways to determine who the next speaker can properly be. The Speaker Selection Practices are:

- 1. Current Speaker Selects Next—at any time before the first TRP, the current speaker may select someone else to be the speaker by a question or other direction.
- Listener Self-Selects—at the first TRP, if the current speaker hasn't selected another, any listener may self-select by beginning to speak.
- Current Speaker Continues—at the first TRP, if neither of the abovementioned selection processes has been used, the current speaker may take another turn.

These three practices follow the above listed priority order and continue to apply at the subsequent TRPs (Sacks, et al., 1978). Procedures two and three in the above list are "self-select" procedures, while item one is an "other-select" procedure. The verbal and non-verbal cues associated with these procedures were identified by Wiemann and Knapp (1975). For instance, turn yielding cues of note were "completions" (finishing a declarative statement with no attempt to continue), questions, and "buffers" (short words or phrases which are 'content free' like "um"

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or "uh"). The procedures employed for coding "self and other" select behaviors are detailed in the data coding section of this report.

Subjects: Sixteen undergraduate students (eight Americans and eight Japanese) enrolled in a mid-sized western U.S. university all volunteered to participate in this study. The American sample consisted of four males and four females, as did the Japanese sample. All American participants were born and raised in the United States. The Japanese participants were born and raised in Japan but had been studying in the United States for various periods of time. All sessions were conducted using the English language.

Data Collection: Data were collected from eight small groups according to the following procedures. Two groups were comprised of all Japanese students, two groups were comprised of all American students, and four groups contained two Japanese and two American students. Each group was asked to have a ten minute conversation about a specific topic (e.g., what they would do if they won ten million dollars in a lottery.)

With the permission of the participants, all interactions were videotaped. The researcher turned on the videotape recorder, left, and returned in precisely ten minutes. Participants were debriefed and thanked for their participation.

Data Coding: Two coders, one of the authors (an American) and a Japanese coder, analyzed the data tapes with regard to the "self-select" and "otherselect" turn-taking behaviors of all participants. The researcher oriented the other coder to observe, identify, and record self-selecting and otherselecting behaviors of the participants. In order to minimize potential coding bias, this second coder was not aware of the hypotheses. Coding was accomplished by observing the videotaped data, identifying self- or otherselecting cues, and recording observations. The observations were operationalized according to the following criteria: a) identifying which speaker engaged in self- or other-select behavior, b) indicating whether the observed behavior was self- or other-select, and c) noting when the utterance occurred by recording the first word of the turn in which the behavior occurred. (This enabled the data to be unitized.) One-eighth of the data set was double coded in order to determine inter-rater reliability. Inter-rater reliability achieved the .93 level (Holsti, 1973). For the doublecoded data, the native rater's observations were used in the analyses.

Analyses: A series of t tests were used to test the hypotheses advanced in this investigation. The independent variable in these tests was nationality (Japanese or American); the dependent variable was turn-

taking behavior (either self-select or other-select). Raw data were converted to proportions prior to analysis (i.e., the numbers of self-selects and other-selects for each subject were divided by the total number of turns to form proportions).

Results

The first analysis involved testing whether Americans in their in-groups would self-select proportionately more often than Japanese conversing in their in-groups. A significant effect for nationality on self-selecting behaviors (t 14 = 6.66, p < .05, r2 = .32) was found. The mean proportions of self-select were .84 for the American participants (SD = .24) and .60 for the Japanese (SD = .24) As expected, the Americans used self-select turn-taking behavior proportionately more often. A significant main effect was also found for nationality on proportional other-selecting behaviors (t 14 = 6.66, t < .05, t = .32). The Americans used other-select behaviors (t = .16, t > t > t = .10 proportionately less than the Japanese (t = .40, t > t = .24).

The second analysis examined whether the American participants would employ relatively more self-select procedures in mixed groups than the Japanese with the reverse pattern being in evidence for the other-select procedures. This pattern did not emerge (t 14 = .69). The Americans self-selected 77% of the time in the mixed groups while the Japanese self-selected 76% of the time in these groups. The most significant aspect of these groups was the turn dominance by the Americans. Of the 256 turns recorded in these groups, Americans took 213 (83%).

Discussion

As anticipated, this study found that Japanese and Americans use different turn-taking mechanisms. Specifically, Americans self-select proportionately more than Japanese while the Japanese use more otherselect procedures than do Americans in culturally uniform groups. It appears that cultural background contributes to these patterns. As noted earlier, mainstream American culture reinforces the importance of individualism and freedom of expression, while Japanese communication norms are designed to maintain harmony and avoid conflict. These differences could account for Japanese tendencies to other-select proportionately more often than Americans in conversations. The pattern may not hold true for other international students (e.g. Germans). Research into the turn-taking mechanisms in operation with regard to students from a variety of countries and cultures would seem warranted (as would research into other conversational skills).

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The results obtained in culturally diverse groups did not conform to expectations. Here, Japanese and Americans did not differ from one another in their self- and other-select tendencies. The most striking finding in the culturally diverse groups is that Americans took the vast majority of the turns (83%). Perhaps the Japanese tendency to prefer "other" selection procedures kept them from participating more freely in these conversations. The dynamic appears to be straightforward: Americans expect others to take a turn when an opportunity appears and have an aversion to silence. Japanese, on the other hand, tend to expect to be invited to participate in the conversation and see silence as perfectly acceptable. Americans rush to fill the "gap" more often than not with self-selecting behaviors. Thus, Americans dominated exchanges in these small groups.

There are, of course, a number of limitations to this investigation that require acknowledgment. First, this study was videotaped in a controlled environment which may have affected subjects' behavior. Although videotaping may distort behavior, Wiemann (1981) found that behaviors usually out of conscious awareness are not affected by observation procedures. Since these subjects were not aware that turn-taking was being examined, the presence of a video camera may not have significantly affected the results.

Another limitation is fluency in the oral use of the English language. Although the Japanese subjects, enrolled as undergraduates at an American university, should have had a good command of English, the fact that they weren't native speakers may have limited their participation. That is, their turn-taking behaviors might have been significantly different had they engaged in conversational Japanese.

It would be interesting to discover how the results would vary if conversations across all groups were carried out in Japanese rather than English. Conducting a similar study using American subjects who had acquired conversational fluency in Japanese would be useful for determining the effects of linguistic fluency on turn-taking patterns. The cultural adaptations of Japanese participants studying in the U.S. may well have affected the generalizability of these data. Japanese living in America for any length of time may be socialized into adopting American patterns of communication. If this is the case, then Japanese participants in the United States may not accurately reflect the greater population in Japan.

Another potentially informative study would therefore be to measure how cultural adaptation may affect turn-taking differences between Japanese and Americans. An instrument designed to determine the degree of cultural adaptation of subjects would be useful for further understanding the effect of culture on turn-taking behaviors. If subjects indi-

cating high degrees of cultural adaptation to an out-culture displayed turn-taking behaviors similar to members of that culture, then the assertion that culture affects turn-taking would be strengthened.

Yet another limitation is the small sample size. Since the way we take and yield conversational turns is generally outside our awareness, a small sample ought to reflect turn-taking procedures from the larger group, hence the data patterns in evidence here should hold in a larger sample. Nonetheless, the generalizability of these findings should be verified using a larger number of participants from diverse backgrounds from both cultures.

Assuming the present data patterns obtained here are an accurate reflection of turn-taking behavior, these data have direct implications for participation-oriented classrooms involving Japanese students. Japanese students are likely to be silent unless they are invited to participate. In small group assignments, they are likely to let others participate, though from their perspective they are contributing to the facilitation of discussion by remaining silent. Teachers and students should be aware of these tendencies, not necessarily to change them but to understand and appreciate their significance.

It is difficult to say whether this pattern extends to other international students. Anecdotal evidence suggests that such behavior is not uncommon among Asian students. Certainly research ought to examine conversational practices of various international students. A database of this nature will enable us to more readily serve the needs of this segment of the student population. It will also provide us a foundation to construct and test theories of intercultural communication.

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The Need to Teach Communication Strategies in the Foreign Language Classroom

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In this article we argue for the need for instruction in lexical communication strategies in foreign language classes. After comparing opposing views on communication strategies and instruction, we recommend instruction in second-language-based lexical communication strategies ("recommended strategies") for students who do not use them. We then report a study about the manner in which our first year Japanese university students of English as a foreign language conceptualized their communicative options in two situations in which they lacked specific vocabulary. Since results suggest that many of our students think of using first-language-based or non-linguistic strategies, we argue that these students would benefit from instruction in the use of second-language-based strategies.

本論文では、外国語授業において語彙のコミュニケーション・ストラテジーを教える有効性・必要性を論じる。まずコミュニケーション・ストラテジーと教授法について、対立するこれまでの見解を比較・検討した後、「第2言語に基づく語彙のコミュニケーション・ストラテジー」を教授すべきとの議論を展開する。大学1回生である日本人英語学習者を被験者にし、未習得の英単語に直面する2つの状況を与え、それぞれの状況において被験者がどのようなコミュニケーションの方法を用いたかを分析した。結果、被験者の多くが、第2言語語彙に基づくストラテジーではなく、第1言語を利用したストラテジーや非言語的ストラテジーの利用を考えていることが判明した。この結果を基に、第2言語に基づく語彙のコミュニケーション・ストラテジーを教授することが、円滑なコミュニケーション能力の習得に有効であることを議論する。

onsidering the issue of instruction in communication strategies from our perspective as teachers of English as a foreign language to Japanese university students, we assessed our students' need for such instruction by asking several classes what they would do in two target-language communication situations in which they lacked

specific English vocabulary items. Below, we explain the rationale for our study by examining research on second language (L2) communication strategies and their instruction. Then we report how our students responded to the two situations and give our interpretation.

What are Communication Strategies?

The concept of "communication strategies" (CS) reflects the idea of communicative competence proposed by Canale and Swain (1980), who viewed it as comprised of three specific types: grammatical, sociolinguistic, and strategic. Strategic competence is the ability of a speaker to manage a breakdown in communication. In L2 production, our focus here, strategic competence has been considered largely a matter of a speaker's ability to use CS (Swain, 1984, p. 189). Nonetheless, defining CS has been problematic. Numerous papers have offered definitions (see, particularly, Bialystok, 1983; Faerch & Kasper, 1983; Poulisse, Bongaerts, & Kellerman, 1984; Tarone, 1977; Tarone, 1983). Faerch and Kasper noted that all previous definitions contained two key elements: consciousness and problem-solving. However, they also noted that CS could include production plans that were not necessarily conscious, and finally hedged by describing CS as "potentially conscious" (p. 31). Questions as to the necessity of both consciousness and problem-solving in CS were raised by Bialystok (1990). Nevertheless, we concur with Poulisse (1990), whose definition of CS (like Faerch & Kasper's) includes two key features: 1) speech planning difficulties, and 2) some speaker awareness of those difficulties. Regarding the first feature, it is clear that CS are useful when there are breakdowns in communication, and therefore speech planning difficulties are at least a sufficient condition for the occurrence of CS. Second, by "awareness" we mean, specifically, that the speaker is attending to his/her speech production. The degree of attention to a mental process is closely related to both its degree of automaticity and to task difficulty (Shiffrin & Schneider, 1977; Cohen, Dunbar, & McClelland, 1990; Posner, 1994). L2 learners who have not automatized speech in the target language must use controlled attentive processes (McLaughlin, Rossman, & McLeod, 1983) and when difficulties arise, such as the inability to retrieve a needed lexical item, L2 learners are forced to pay even more attention. Thus, while attention is not necessary for the occurrence of CS, the probability of attending to CS production is extremely high for L2 learners.

Should CS Be Taught?

The Case Against Teaching CS

It is agreed that CS help speakers to communicate, but there is contention concerning the teaching of strategies to second or foreign language learners. The case against instruction is espoused by Kellerman and colleagues at Nijmegen University in the Netherlands, particularly in the Nijmegen Project (see Bongaerts & Poulisse, 1989; Poulisse, 1987; Poulisse, 1990; Poulisse, et al., 1984; Poulisse & Schils, 1989). The Nijmegen studies claim to show that the general cognitive processes involved in both native language (L1) and L2 CS are identical. Since the processes are the same, CS use is fundamentally the same whichever language is used. Thus, there is no need to teach CS in an L2 classroom. Kellerman (1991) concludes, "teach the learners more language, and let the strategies look after themselves" (p. 158).

Kellerman (1991) even implies that strategy use interferes with vocabulary learning, quoting an anecdote (from Faerch & Kasper, 1986) in which a teacher said his students could paraphrase to compensate for unknown words but still needed to learn vocabulary. However, there is no hard evidence of a negative relationship between CS use and L2 acquisition.

The Case For Teaching CS

There is a movement supporting the teaching of learning strategies to L2 learners (see Oxford, Lavine, & Crookall, 1989). The authors' typology of learning strategies includes a category termed "compensation strategies" (Oxford, et al., 1989), seemingly influenced by Tarone's (1977) early CS typology. The authors claim that teachers should teach, explicitly, not only learning strategies, including compensation strategies, but also how to transfer these strategies to other learning situations.

The authors, however, do not address the argument against instruction from the Nijmegen group. For those who take this criticism seriously but still want to argue for CS instruction, the more limited stance developed earlier by Faerch and Kasper (1983) is appealing. If there is no need to teach language learners new behavior, they argue, a teacher can nonetheless remind them of what they already do in their L1, and urge them to use it in their L2, not only for communication but also for learning the target language.

Even among those who believe that CS have value for L2 learning there is a question as to whether all strategies are equally beneficial. Oxford, et al. (1989) seem to claim learning value for all of their compensation strat-

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egies. Dörnyei (1995) speculates that strategies are not equally desirable in a language course, and surmises that the preferable ones are those that associate naturally with certain vocabulary and grammatical structures (p. 62), though this idea is not developed in detail. Faerch and Kasper (1983) make the most thoughtful argument regarding the learning value of different types of CS. A learner develops L2 ability, they claim, by forming hypotheses about the target language and producing utterances to test these hypotheses. Through positive and negative feedback, hypotheses are strengthened, weakened, or revised. As a learner uses language forms repeatedly, the forms are automatized.

Faerch and Kasper (1983) argue that only those CS which involve these three aspects of language learning—hypothesis formation, hypothesis testing, and automatization—are useful for learning. The strategies employed for hypothesis testing and/or automatization are those strategies which require L2 production. We designate these strategies as "recommended strategies"; that is, strategies we recommend for classroom practice, and relegate other strategies, such as those using the L1 or non-verbal means, as non-recommended strategies. (See Method, below, for category details.)

While there is little research focusing on whether or not attention to strategies in the classroom increases strategy use, some studies suggest that such attention does have benefits. Faerch and Kasper (1986) reported on a course in Denmark, which included a pre-test, three months of strategy training, and a post-test. The course did not seem to change the habits of the most or the least accomplished L2 learners, but those learners at the middle level improved in strategy use. Dörnyei (1995) describes a sixweek course of strategy training in Hungary which also used pre- and post-tests. Dörnyei's study compared a treatment group with two control groups, one taking the usual course at the particular school involved and the other receiving instruction in conversational techniques. Included in the treatment group training was practice in giving definitions, of interest to the present study. Dörnyei found that the CS instruction group showed greater improvement in making definitions than did the normal instruction group; the comparison with the conversation instruction group was not significant. As Dörnyei admits, however, the curriculum for the conversation instruction group may have included activities helpful for forming definitions, thus narrowing the difference between this group and the treatment group. Most recently, Kitajima (1997) reports on an experiment in strategy training in Japan very similar to Dörnyei's. A control group given traditional English instruction focusing on linguistic forms performed significantly more poorly on two communicative tasks than did two experimental groups, one given instruction in expressing meaning and the

other specifically instructed in CS use. The two experimental groups did not differ from each other. This situation, however, compares with that of Dörnyei's study; the meaning-instructed group could have performed activities that facilitate CS use.

The Study

We view our study as consistent with principles espoused by proponents of action research (see Crookes, 1993; Nunan, 1992; Sagor, 1993). Specifically, we were motivated by our perception of a problem among the Japanese university students we were teaching. Both of us observed that many of our students did not seem to realize their L1 strategic competence was also applicable to their L2, and, further, for many, the strategies they did use (L1-based or non-verbal) were not beneficial to language learning. We assessed the arguments regarding communication strategies and instruction with these observations in mind, and collaborated on this study as working teachers sharing information to overcome a problem we had in common. Our added hope was to persuade other teachers of the same type of student population to consider the need for CS training in their classrooms.

In order to understand more clearly how our students conceptualized their L2 communicative potential and to determine students' conceptions of CS use in different situations, especially as certain situations allow for more L2 avoidance than others, we proposed the following research questions:

- When faced with the problem of not knowing an English word, will our students first consider using those strategies that have a positive potential for the development of their language proficiency? and
- 2. Will students' responses differ between situations in which they can easily avoid using their L2 and situations in which they cannot? If so, how?

Method

Materials: We asked our students to imagine themselves in two situations in which they lacked, in L2, a certain low frequency noun. In the first situation, a student practicing English in a classroom wants to describe fixing a faucet but does not know the word "valve." In the other, a student traveling in Los Angeles calls a drugstore to ask for a nail clipper, but does not know that English word. The first situation—a typical English as a Foreign Language classroom situation, hereinafter "the classroom

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situation"—allows students to avoid their L2 by using their L1 or non-verbal communication. In the second—in a foreign country, on the telephone, hereinafter "the telephone situation"—they are more dependent on their L2. (See Appendix A for copies of the two situations and their English translations.)

The subjects both read the situations and wrote what they would do in Japanese. We had them use their native language to ensure that they would express themselves precisely.

Some readers may criticize our method of data collection as indirect, and argue that observation of actual CS use yields more valuable data. While we recognize the value of elicited speech data, we feel data such as those we collected are valuable within certain constraints. First, as noted earlier, we consider speakers' attention to their language production to be an important component of CS use. With attention comes the potential for introspection. In this case, we wanted to know which strategies our students would think of using when they encountered an L2 communication problem. Such ideas could later be addressed through explicit instruction. Further, time and personnel constraints would permit us to tape, transcribe, and analyze the data from only a few students using CS, while our survey obtained a broad view of the beliefs about strategies of a large number of our students.

Subjects and Data Collection: All 161 subjects participating in this study were Japanese university freshmen taking non-major English courses. Of these, 141 were economics, business or law majors at Nanzan University and 20 were science majors at Kyushu Institute of Technology.

The two situations were handed out in the students' English classes, and were counterbalanced to discourage students from copying. Each student wrote about one situation. Half the students in each class (n = 80) wrote about the classroom situation, and the other half (n = 81) wrote about the telephone situation. Both researchers read all of the writings and classified the strategies reported, checking each other's work and discussing discrepancies until we could agree.

Before describing the strategy classifications we used in this study, we must acknowledge that there are many typologies (e.g. see Bialystok, 1983; Faerch & Kasper, 1983; Paribahkt, 1985; Poulisse, et al., 1984; Tarone, 1977), a phenomenon criticized as a weakness in the field of CS because it hinders comparisons across studies (see Poulisse, et al.). Globally considered, our typology uses that of Faerch and Kasper as a framework, since we have used their ideas concerning strategies and language learning in arguing for instruction. However, our subcatego-

ries are largely adopted from Poulisse, et al. (1984) (though changing some terms for ease of understanding), because they offer a simple set of categories intended for cross-study comparison.

Faerch and Kasper's (1983) chief distinction is between achievement strategies, in which a speaker attempts to communicate a message despite language difficulties, and reduction strategies, in which a speaker reduces a message (or part of it) due to lacking language or a concern for formal correctness. The largest category of achievement strategies is compensatory strategies, classified according to the resource used: L1, interlanguage together with L1, interlanguage, interaction with the hearer, and non-linguistic resources (Faerch & Kasper, 1983, pp. 36-55).

Poulisse, et al. (1984) accept Faerch and Kasper's (1983) division of reduction and achievement, and identify the latter with compensatory strategies. In our study, we also adopted Poulisse, et al.'s distinction between first and second language (L1 and L2) based strategies. Of the strategies classified as *L1-based*, we adopted two categories: *L1 switch*, where the speaker uses an L1 word or phrase in the midst of L2 production, and *direct translation*, where the speaker translates, word for word, an L1 word or phrase into L2. As for the L2-based strategy categories, we adopted five (using their terms): "approximation," "word coinage," "description," "mime," and "appeals." However, since the distinction between L2-based strategies and others is important to our argument for instruction, we reclassified mime and divided appeals.

"Mime" is the use of hand or body movements to convey a meaning. We put this category into a larger set, separate from both L1- and L2-based strategies, using Faerch and Kasper's (1983) term *non-linguistic strategies*. We distinguished between using gestures to give the impression of an object (*mime*) and pointing to an object (*point to object*), and included drawing a picture of an object (*picture*) as a third category in this set.

Two factors were involved in classifying "appeals": (a) to whom the speaker appeals, and (b) how the appeal is made. First, the speaker could appeal to the hearer (appeal to interlocutor) or to someone or something else (outside appeal). Second, an appeal to an interlocutor could use L1-based, L2-based, or non-linguistic strategies, and an outside appeal could be made by using a dictionary (dictionary) or asking a third person (appeal to other). We categorized those appeals to interlocutor which use L2-based strategies as a subset of the overall category of L2-based strategies, and listed appeals using L1-based or non-linguistic strategies separately.

As for the categories we have kept intact, approximation is the use of a target language word or phrase which does not exactly express the

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speaker's intended meaning but is close enough for the listener to understand. An example (from our data, as are all examples) is "water pipe" used for "valve." In word coinage, the speaker creates a new word or phrase from elements in the target language, such as "waterstopper" for "valve." In description, the speaker describes an object or an idea to convey an impression, such as describing a valve as "the thing that stops water." Finally, we added the category of general L2-based strategies, a catchall category used when subjects reported that they would use their English, but did not say specifically how.

As for reduction strategies, we used two categories from Faerch and Kasper (1983): *avoidance*, where the speaker avoids a topic because of a language problem, and *abandonment*, where the speaker abandons a topic when a language problem is encountered.

Table 1 displays our categories. We list L2-based strategies in the left-hand column, with the heading "Recommended Strategies," and all other strategies in the right-hand column, with the heading "Non-recommended Strategies."

Table 1: Categories of CS

Recommended Strategies	Non-recommended Strategies
L2-Based	L1-Based
1. approximation	1. L1 switch
2. word coinage	2. direct translation
3. description	appeal to interlocutor:
4. appeal to interlocutor:	A. L1 switch
A. approximation	B. direct translation
B. word coinage	Non-linguistic
C. description	1. mime
D. general	point to object
5. general	3. picture
	appeal to interlocutor:
	A. mime
	B. point to object
	C. picture
	Outside Appeal
	1. dictionary
	appeal to other
	Reduction
	 avoidance
	abandonment

Recommended and Non-recommended Strategies: We categorize L1based and non-linguistic strategies as non-recommended because we believe they do not need attention in an L2 classroom. We want to encourage our students to start solving communication problems by using their L2, since we believe that L2 develops through use. We realize that non-linguistic strategies (e.g., mime) may be necessary for communicative purposes when L2-based strategies fail, but we suggest to our students that they resort to them only after trying L2-based strategies. As for L1 use, Faerch and Kasper (1986) note that in some cases a strategy such as L1 switch may have communicative value. Words from popular culture, such as "disco," are used internationally, while Indo-European cognates, such as "idealism," are found in a variety of related languages. Our Japanese students may know the popular culture words, but since Japanese is not an Indo-European language, they do not have access to the cognates. Thus, for Japanese learners of English, L1 switch is not useful for communicative purposes. The strategy of direct translation is similarly problematic. While a Japanese student in an English class may successfully convey a meaning to another Japanese student directly translating from L1, this strategy may not be helpful in communicating with a person unfamiliar with Japanese. For example, the meaning of "faucet" will not be communicated by directly translating ja-guchi as "snake-mouth." Because L1-based strategies are not likely to be generalizable to interactions with English speakers who do not speak Japanese, we do not recommend them.

While dictionary use helps students learning new words, it breaks face-to-face communication, perhaps requiring repair (e.g., "I don't know how to say. . . . Excuse me while I check my dictionary."), which may be stressful for an L2 speaker. Further, a dictionary may yield a word which is not the best for the specific context, and a pocket dictionary, in fact, may not even contain the word. Because such problems may occur with a dictionary, L2-based strategies are often more effective for communication.

Having distinguished recommended and non-recommended strategies, we argue that implementing a CS training program should depend upon whether students already use the recommended strategies or not. Each teacher first needs to assess his or her particular student population. This paper reports our assessment, and results suggest that our students do need strategy training.

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Results

Many students listed more than one strategy that they would use. We decided to consider the strategies in the order listed, assuming that the order represented which strategies were thought of first, next, and later. Indeed, many students indicated an order of preference with phrases that may be translated as "First I would. . . . If that didn't work, I would . . ." Others seemed to list strategies as equivalent choices, but nonetheless given in a particular order. In these cases, students used language translatable as "I would. . . . Another possibility is. . . . " We analyzed only the strategies they listed first.

Although students were not randomly assigned to the two situations (but, rather, were interleaved) we took the liberty of violating this statistical assumption and performed a Chi-square analysis of our data. The

Table 2: Chi-square Analyses of Recommended Versus Non-recommended Strategies in Two Situations.

The Telephone Situation					
Strategies	Obs	Exp	О-Е	2	2/E
Recommended	42	40.5	+1.5	2.25	0.05
Non-recommended	39	40.5	-1.5	2.25	0.05
χ^2 (1, N=81) = 0.1, n.s.	The Classro	oom Situs	ation		
Strategies	Obs	Exp	О-Е	2	2/E
Recommended	26	40	-14	196	4.9
Non-recommended	54	40	+14	196	4.9

 $[\]chi 2$ (1, N = 80) = 9.8, p < .005

Situations Compared				
Strategies	Telephone	Classroom	Both	
Recommended	42	26	68	
Non-recommended	39	54	93	
Total	81	80	161	

 $[\]chi^2$ (1, N = 161) = 6.178, p < .025

statistic allowed us to determine if the difference in responses between students in the two situations was reliable or not. We set the criterion for statistical significance at p < .05.

For the telephone situation, the number of students who first said they would use a recommended strategy was nearly equal to the number of those who first said they would use a non-recommended one. As shown in Table 2, an analysis using a one-way Chi-square statistic revealed no significant difference between the types at the p < .05 level $(\chi 2 \ (1, n = 81) = 0.1, \text{ n.s.})$. On the other hand, for the classroom situation, we found a preponderance greater than 2:1 of non-recommended to recommended strategies, a significant difference $(\chi 2 \ (1, n = 80) = 9.8, p < .005)$. Thus, students' responses to the two situations appeared to vary. A two-way Chi-square shows that the difference between selection of recommended or non-recommended strategies across the two situations was statistically significant $(\chi 2 \ (1, N = 161) = 6.178, p < .025)$.

In the telephone situation, most students first said they would (a) use an L2-based strategy (mostly description, 22 of the 42 L2-based strategy choices), or (b) abandon communication (31 of the 39 non-recommended strategy choices). In the classroom situation, the largest group said they would use a non-linguistic strategy (primarily mime, and secondarily drawing a picture, together comprising 30 of 38 non-linguistic strategy choices). The second largest group said they would use an L2-based strategy (again, mostly description, 19 of the 26 L2-based strategy choices). Finally, a third group said they would use a dictionary (11 of 12 outside appeals).

Discussion

Students' Strategy Choices in Two Situations

The different responses to the two situations suggest that if these students know that they can use a non-verbal CS (e.g., in face-to-face communication) nearly half of them (the largest single group) will list one as their first choice. When they have no such recourse to the non-verbal channel (e.g., over the phone), the number of students who first choose to abandon the conversation dramatically increases. The students seem to avoid a perceived weakness in L2 competence, relying, whenever possible, on other perceived non-linguistic strengths. At least in the case of concrete nouns (and probably many basic verbs and adjectives as well), it seems easier for them to communicate by non-verbal means than to use the L2. As we argued earlier, we doubt if strategies such as gestures, drawing, or pointing at objects do much to develop students' linguistic abilities.

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We designed the telephone situation to force students either to use their L2 or to abandon communication. Students never listed mime as a first-choice strategy, since mime cannot be done over the phone; the person in the situation has to abandon the telephone conversation and then seek face-to-face contact with the pharmacist (indeed, the students who listed mime second or later described what they needed to do before they could use mime). In the telephone situation, about half the students take a chance and speak in English while the other half hang up the phone. Should the evidence that about 50% of our subjects already have L2-based CS in mind compel us to say that such strategies need not be taught, or should we say that since about 50% do not have these strategies in mind, some classroom work devoted to strategy use may be beneficial? Pedagogically, a passing grade for only half of one's class is unacceptable. Furthermore, we see that as other, seemingly easier, options are made available in class, our students are less likely to use L2-based strategies.

The number of students who opted to abandon communication or use either non-linguistic or L1-based strategies might suggest that the situations were too difficult for our students' L2 abilities. However, looking at the L2-based strategies described by other students in our data, we do not think so. For example, two students wrote, in English, "the thing to cut off my nails," and "I need to cut my nail. Do you have something to?" We would like to take classroom opportunities to encourage learners to use these kinds of strategies and to give them relevant structures to increase their range of expression.

Conclusion

We accept Faerch and Kasper's (1983) proposal that L2-based CS are involved in a speaker's hypothesis testing and automatization of an L2, and therefore can help the speaker learn the language. Our students' responses to our two situations suggest that quite a few students do not first think of using an L2-based strategy to counter an L2 communication problem, especially when they can choose a non-verbal strategy. Therefore, we need to encourage our students to use those strategies which benefit language learning. While the relationship between strategies and learning and/or proficiency needs further study, we believe our work supports the idea that CS training is valuable for foreign language learners if the following conditions are met: (a) the strategies practiced in class are chosen for learning as well as communication value, and (b) the learners in question do not yet realize the value of using L2-based strategies.

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Appendix: The Two Situations, English and Japanese Versions

The Classroom Situation

あなたは大学の英語の教室にいます。英会話の練習のために、もう一人の学生と英語で話しています。話題は土曜日や日曜日のできごとです。「土曜日の朝は大変でした。水道の蛇口から水がもれたから、二、三時間も栓を直していました。」と言いたいです。しかし、「栓」と英語で言う方法がわかりません。その時、あなたはどうしますか。

You are in a college English classroom. To practice English conversation, you are speaking in English to another student. The topic of conversation is what you did over the weekend. You want to say, "Saturday morning I was really busy. Because water was leaking out of a faucet, I spent two or three hours fixing the valve." However, you do not know how to say the word "valve" in English. In this situation, what would you do?

The Telephone Situation

ロスへ海外旅行にいった。ロスに着いた後、指の爪が割れて爪切りが必要になった。しかし、自分の爪切りは日本の住宅においてきた事に気付いた。買い物の時間を無駄にしないように、イエローページを使って、ある薬局に 電話した。薬局にかけると、爪切りは英語で何と言うか知らない事を思い出した。その時、あなたはどうしますか。

You are on a trip to Los Angeles. A fingernail breaks and you need a nailclipper. However, you realize that you have left your nailclipper at home in Japan. To avoid wasting time shopping, you check the yellow pages and call up a pharmacy. When the pharmacist answers, you remember that you do not know how to say "nailclipper" in English. In this situation, what would you do?

Perspectives

Classroom Self-Assessment—A Pilot Study

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Student self-assessment is of great interest to teachers who want their students to take more responsibility for learning by judging their own progress. This exploratory study compares self assessment, teacher assessment and peer assessment in a Japanese university EFL class. Nineteen students gave oral presentations and each student rated her own performance in terms of eight categories (loudness, eye contact, etc.). The other students also assessed the talk, as did the teacher. The three types of assessment scores were added, averaged and then compared. The results suggest that student and teacher assessment scores were similar and the scores of the higher proficiency students were more similar to the teacher scores than the lower proficiency students' scores. There was no difference in the way the male and female students judged themselves, and the self-assessment scores tended to be similar to the teacher scores.

学習者に自らの英語能力や学習状況を評価させ、学習により積極的な責任を負わせたいと 願う教師にとっては、学習者の自己評価の妥当性・信頼性は重要な問題である。本研究で は、学習者の自己評価を、他の学習者が行なった評価、教師が行なった評価と比較した。ま ず。被験者である19名の学習者に英語で口頭発表させ、自らの発表を、声の大きさ、アイ・ コンタクト等の8項目で評価させた。同時に、同じ8項目について、他の学習者にも評価さ せ、それらの評価得点の平均値を求めた。さらに教師も同様に評価を行なった。

これらの3 種類の評価を比較分析した結果、1) 学習者による評価が教師の行なった評価 に近似していること、2) 英語能力の高い学習者は、英語能力の低い学習者に比べて、より 教師に近い評価を行なったこと、3) 学習者による自己評価に男女差は認められなかったこ と、が判明した。

学習者が自ら行なった評価は、教師の行なった評価と大きく異なることはなかった。

In many educational settings, a close relationship between assessment and curriculum has developed over the past twenty years (Fradd & McGee, 1994, p. 281), and it is now commonly accepted that the learner should have a role in classroom assessment (Griffee, 1995; LeBlanc & Painchaud, 1985; Nunan, 1988). Nevertheless, student self-assessment (SSA) is still not common in the field of teaching English as a second or foreign language. This report presents the results of a

limited investigation of the effectiveness of self-assessment of an oral presentation activity in a Japanese university EFL classroom compared with peer-assessment and teacher assessment.

Classroom Research on the Use of Learner Self-Assessment

Self-assessment is also known as self-report, self-rating or self-evaluation and has been defined as checking one's own performance on a learning task after it has been completed (Richards, Platt, & Platt, 1992, p. 327). Wesche, Paribakht and Ready (1996, p. 199) state that "self-report procedures usually require candidates to rate their ability to do certain things using their L2, or their knowledge of particular elements or patterns of the L2."

Current trends now favor communicative language teaching. This pedagogy brings the learner to center stage (Graves, 1996, p. 24) and supports autonomous learning and the learner-centered classroom, formats which favor the use of SSA. For example, Dickinson (1993, p. 330) lists five characteristics of an autonomous learner: The autonomous learner can identify what has been taught, can formulate his own learning objectives, can select and implement his learning strategies, and can self-assess. In discussing the learner-centered classroom, Nunan (1988, p. 116) argues that both the learner and the teacher should be involved in evaluation, and Griffee's review (1995, p. 3) identifies SSA as an important characteristic of learner-centered classrooms.

Proponents of SSA offer wide-ranging justifications for its use, some of which are supported by empirical studies and some of which remain working hypotheses. These can be reduced to nine general arguments.

- 1. Self-assessment raises self-consciousness by focusing learner attention on performance (Nunan, 1988, p. 116; Oskarson, 1989, p. 4).
- Self-assessment increases learner motivation (Rolfe, 1990, p. 169); a review of the literature (Blanch, 1988, p. 82) cites eight studies supporting this suggestion.
- 3. Self-assessment promotes learning by giving learners training in evaluation (Oskarson, 1989, p. 3). This occurs when learners address questions such as "What am I learning?" and "How well am I learning?"
- 4. The criteria for self-assessment can be directly related to course goals and objectives allowing the learner to better understand course organization (Brindley, 1989, p. 60).
- 5. Self-assessment can result in learners becoming more goal-oriented (Rolfe, 1990, p. 169), thereby exerting more effort to achieve their

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goals, and even formulate goals themselves (Oskarson, 1989, p. 4). Within the context of given course objectives, SSA can show both learner and teacher new ways to accomplish those objectives (Legutke & Thomas, 1991, p. 243).

- 6. Self-assessment can help learners identify preferred materials as well as learning styles and strategies (Nunan, 1988, p. 130).
- 7. Self-assessment helps promote a cooperative classroom (Brindley, 1989, p. 60).
- 8. Self-assessment frees the teacher from being the only person in the classroom concerned with evaluation (Brindley, 1989, p. 60; Oskarson, 1989, p. 4; Rolfe, 1990, p. 169).
- Self-assessment can continue after the course is finished. This is an
 important consideration since no single teacher or course can teach the
 entirety of a language. Therefore, learners must continue to acquire
 language through their own effort (Dickinson, 1987, p. 136; Oskarson,
 1989, p. 5).

On the other hand, there have also been objections to wide-spread use of SSA. These can be summarized by the following three arguments. The first is that many learners lack the ability to self-assess and cannot do it reliably (Oskarson, 1989, p. 2). Citing Blanch and Merino (1989), Cohen (1994, p. 199) lists five factors that can threaten the validity of self-assessment, including the fact that learners may not be able to accurately report or assess what is often subconscious behavior. Second, learners may lack motivation to self-assess because of culturally-based expectations of appropriate classroom behavior and activities (Cohen, 1994, p. 199; Lynn, 1995, p. 37). Additional problems come from subjectivity and the natural desire of students to inflate their ratings, whether this is intentional or not (Brindley, 1989, p. 61; Dickinson, 1987, p. 134). A third obstacle to SSA is the lack of shared valid criteria for the learners and the teacher to use in assessment (Blanch, 1988, p. 82; Cohen, 1994, p. 199). This situation occurs when the teacher asks student to assess their work without clearly explaining the criteria which must be used. The lack of learner training in assessment (Cohen, 1994, p. 199) is related to this lack of criteria and probably results from unwarranted teacher assumptions that learners have the tools for self-assessment (LeBlanc & Painchaud, 1985, p. 675).

Such objections account for teacher skepticism (Brindley, 1989, p. 60) and, when combined with the natural fear of change (Rojas, 1995, p. 32), may account in part for the lack of SSA in many classrooms today.

However, many of these objections are based on teacher supposition rather than actual research findings. For example, a study using confirmatory factor analysis and a multitrait-multimethod design (Bachman & Palmer, 1989, p. 22) reports that self-ratings can be a reliable and valid measure of communicative language ability.

Regarding the question of consistent agreement between individual selfassessments and other sources, a review of 16 articles (Blanch, 1988, p. 81) reported a pattern of consistent agreement between SSA and a variety of external criteria. However, other research findings are less positive. A study of adult learners of various linguistic backgrounds in Australia (Rolfe, 1990, p. 177) reported that students consistently rated themselves lower than their peers' ratings. Whereas Dickinson (1987, p. 150) suggested that learners are biased in their own favor, Rolfe (1990, p. 178) concluded that learners are more critical of themselves than their teachers are; thus SSA was not a reliable indicator of oral ability as compared to teacher-assessment (TA). In comparing SSA to peer-assessment (PA), Rolfe reported that the PA may therefore be more reliable. Falchikov and Boud (1989, p. 398) investigated whether fourth year university students were more accurate in their SA than first year students and concluded that they were not. This is in accord with the findings of Griffee (1996, p. 32), who reported on a classroom SSA project in which there was no major difference in selfevaluations among first-year, second-year, and third-year oral conversation classes at a Japanese university. Relative to possible differences in male and female responses to self-assessment, Falchikov and Boud (1989, p. 396) concluded that gender differences are under-researched and that no conclusions can be drawn. They also question whether learners overestimate or underestimate themselves relative to teacher assessment, and stress the need for further research investigating the reliability of self-assessment among different groups of learners as well as the development of methods to improve the learners' ability to accurately estimate their performance.

The Study

Research Questions

The purpose of this exploratory study is to examine the operation of SSA in a Japanese university EFL classroom setting. The specific research questions are:

- 1. To what extent will SSA, PA, and TA test scores agree?
- 2. Will there be a higher level of agreement between more proficient

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students and the teacher than between less proficient students and the teacher?

- 3. Will there be any gender differences in self-assessment?
- 4. Will SSA be higher or lower than TA?

Methods

Subjects: The students who participated in this study were enrolled in the second semester of a first-year required English oral conversation course at a small liberal arts university in Japan. The total class enrollment was 24, with 12 females and 12 males, but only 19 students were present during the two class periods when the study was conducted. The majority of the students were 18 or 19 years old. The subjects' Secondary Level English Proficiency (SLEP®) test scores averaged 42.0, which is equivalent to 400 on the TOEFL®. The SLEP® test scores were used to divide the students into high-proficiency and low-proficiency groups in the following way: The four subjects with scores of the mean value 42 were eliminated, leaving 10 students with scores over 42, eight of whom gave oral presentations and 10 students with scores under 42, seven of whom gave oral presentations. The presentation theme for all students was "How I study vocabulary."

Materials: A short score sheet (see the Appendix) was constructed which asked students to evaluate each oral presenter on eight points within three categories—voice, body language, and content. Under the category of "voice," the points to be rated were loudness, clarity, and speed; under "body language," the points were eye contact and gestures; under "content," the points were introduction, interesting talk, and conclusion. Each point could be rated on a Likert-type scale with values from one to three, with three as the highest score.

Procedures: A 45-minute training session was conducted by a Japanese native speaker and an English native speaker. Each category was explained in some detail in both Japanese and English, then each of the eight evaluation points was illustrated by the English native speaker in all three conditions and discussed by the Japanese native speaker.

The students were then assigned the oral presentation topic and two class sessions were spent making the oral presentations. When making the oral presentation, the student came to the front of the room and stood behind the teacher's desk. The talk had no time limit, although most talks were completed in under five minutes. After the oral presentation, the teacher, the student giving the talk, and the rest of the students completed their score sheets.

Analysis

Pearson product-moment correlations were used to analyze the individual self-assessment, the PA, and the TA scores, with the alpha level set at .05. Use of the Pearson correlation procedure assumes the presence of interval scales, equivalent reliability, independent data, a normal distribution, and a linear relationship (Hatch & Lazaraton, 1991, p. 549). To check these assumptions, descriptive statistics were generated by StatView 4.5 for the Macintosh (1992). Correction for attenuation was done using the formula from Guilford and Fruchter (1973, p. 439). The non-parametric Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test was also used to determine if there was any difference between the SSA scores and teacher scores. Cronbach's alpha, a measure of reliability, and the standard error of measurement (SEM) were calculated on a spreadsheet from the formula provided in Brown (1996, p. 196).

Results

The descriptive statistics reveal similarities between the SA and the TA scores (Table 1), with a mean assessment score of about 1.8 for each group. However, the mean PA score of 2.28 was higher than both SA and TA scores. The SLEP® scores formed a fairly normal distribution. Therefore, a Pearson correlation was calculated for both groups of students between their SA scores and the teacher scores to determine which group's ratings was closest to the ratings of the teacher. The correlation between the higher proficiency students' scores and the teacher scores

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics,	Alpha Reliability,
and SEM for SSA, PA	, and TA

	SSA	PA	TA
Mean	1.85	2.28	1.80
Standard Deviation	.63	.34	.74
Minimum	1.00	1.20	1.00
Maximum	3.00	3.00	3.00
Median	2.00	2.30	2.00
Skewness	.12	62	.33
Kurtosis	53	.63	-1.10
Chronbach's alpha	.84	.77	.79
SEM	1.12	.56	1.63

was .241 (p < .0547), whereas the correlation between the lower proficiency students' scores and the teacher scores was .187 (p < .695). To determine whether there was a significant difference between all SSA scores and TA scores, a Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test was performed. The results (z = -.575, p < .5653) indicate that there was no significant difference between the two sets of scores.

Pearson correlations between the total scores for student assessment, PA, and TA were calculated and corrected for attenuation (Table 2). A low correlation was found between SSA and TA, a slightly higher correlation was found between SSA and PA, and a relatively strong correlation was found between PA and TA. R square, which is the Pearson correlation coefficient squared and expressed as a percentage, gives an indication of the magnitude of the relationship. The figure of six percent for the relationship between the SSA scores and the teacher assessment scores indicates that only six percent can be accounted for by the correlation, whereas 13% of the relationship between SSA and PA is explained, and 42% of the relationship between SSA and TA is accounted for by the correlation, as shown below.

To investigate the existence of gender differences in assessment score values, the scores were totaled for each student and the number of student scores that were higher and lower than TA scores was counted (Table 3). To account for standard error, if the difference between higher than TA and lower than TA scores was plus or minus one, these values were eliminated and the resulting scores are referred to as adjusted scores.

There were 12 students who rated themselves higher than the teacher's ratings, and seven students who rated themselves lower. After eliminating the scores with values of plus or minus one from the teacher's scores, there were ten students who rated themselves higher than the teacher and six students who rated themselves lower. Of the ten who rated themselves

Table 2: Pearson Product-Moment Correlations (r)
Between SSA, PA and TA

	r	p	C/A	R ²
SSA and TA	.207	.0104	.254	.06
SSA and PA	.285	.0003	.354	.13
PA and TA	.508	.0001	.651	.42

SSA = student self-assessment, TA = teacher assessment, PA = peer assessment, C/A = correction for attenuation

	Higher	Lower	Adjusted Higher	Adjusted Lower
Males	7	3	5	3
Females	5	4	5	3
Totals	12	7	10	6

Table 3: Individual Student Scores Higher than TA and Lower than TA

higher, five were males and five were females. Of the six who rated themselves lower, three were males and three were females. Thus, there were no gender differences in scoring in the restricted sample used here.

Discussion

The first research question asked whether the SSA, PA, and TA test scores agreed. The descriptive statistics show that the SSA scores were similar to the TA scores. The correlations in Table 1 indicate a low correlation between the SSA and TA, a modest agreement between SSA and their peers, and a higher agreement between PA and TA. On the face of it, this would seem to suggest that students did not agree with the teacher in their assessment of themselves, whereas, as a group evaluating each other (PA), their scores were similar to their teacher's scores. However this result should be interpreted cautiously. The SSA and teacher scores suffered from restriction of range, suggesting that the correlation coefficients were very likely depressed. The use of a limited Likert scale, with values of only one to three, produced the low variance. The relationship between SSA and TA therefore requires further investigation using a larger number of subjects and an instrument with a greater number of choices, permitting more variance.

The second research question asked whether higher proficiency learners would exhibit better agreement between their self-evaluations and the teacher evaluations than the lower proficiency group. The answer to this question was inconclusive. The correlation between the teacher scores and the higher ability students scores (r = .241; p < .05) was higher than the correlation between the lower ability students and the teacher (r = .187; p < .70), but was not statistically significant.

The third research question involved the impact of gender on the evaluation process. As shown in Table 3, the number of male students who rated themselves higher or lower than the teacher was exactly the same as the number of female students who scored themselves higher

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or lower. In this limited study, gender was not significant, but it should be noted that the number of subjects was low.

Research question four asked whether the SSA scores would be higher or lower than the teacher scores. The results indicate there was no difference between SSA scores and teacher scores. This suggests that students were assessing themselves in a manner similar to the teacher and provides some support for the validity of SSA, keeping in mind the limitations of this pilot study.

Conclusion

Problems with the present study include the restricted Likert scale which produced a narrow band of scores, the small number of subjects, and the use of a data collection instrument which was not validated. Therefore the findings reported here are not generalizable. Nevertheless, this preliminary study is encouraging in that the student peer-assessment appears to be similar to teacher assessment in the group studied. Suggestions for future research include use of a validated data collection instrument, a much larger number of subjects and a five-point Likert scale to increase the score range. There is also a clear need for longitudinal studies which examines the effect of experience and training on student assessment.

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Notes

Attenuation is a correction for reliability applied to a correlation coefficient. Correlation assumed perfect reliability. If the reliability is .70, this means that 30% of the score is error which lowers the correlation coefficient. Attenuation takes this into account.

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Appendix
Oral Presentation Score Sheet Used by Students and Teacher

Speaker	Date		
	needs work	ok	great
VOICE			
loudness	1	2	3
clear	1	2	3
speed	1	2	3
BODY LANGUAGE			
eye contact	1	2	3
gesture	1	2	3
CONTENT			
introduction	1	2	3
interesting talk	1	2	3
conclusion	1	2	3

Intensifying Practice and Noticing through Videoing Conversations for Self-Evaluation

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This paper describes an innovative configuration of video cameras and VHS recorders which allows teachers to videotape students' short conversations and give them their video cassette copies immediately to take home and view. A preliminary analysis of questionnaire data suggests that students benefit from the procedure through repeated negotiated practice, multiple opportunities for "noticing" learnable material (linguistic items, communication strategies, beliefs, attitudes, etc.) in their own and their classmates' output, and control over the construction of extended discourse. We suggest that the procedure helps teachers create an acquisition-rich environment for their students to focus on the forms they need to improve their fluency and accuracy while enhancing their metacognitive awareness and autonomy. This procedure also offers a potentially rich source of data for teachers and researchers wishing to study SLA synchronically and diachronically.

本論文は教師がビデオカメラとビデオデッキを使って学生の短い会話をビデオに扱り、学生はそのビデオテーブを持ち帰り分析するというこれまでに無い使い方を論じる。集まったデータを分析すると、学生はこのやり方を次の三つの分野で高く評価していることが分かる。1. 学生間でのナゴシエイションの練習の繰り返しをする。2. 自分、また同級生のビデオを見て、習得事項(言語事項、コミュニケーションの仕方、信条、姿勢等)に「注目する」機会が増す。3. 会話をどういうふうにするか。年者は、この方法は教師が学生にとって取得の面で豊かな状況を作るのを助け、学生が自分のレベルで改善する必要のある事項に焦点を当て、メタ認知認識と自立を高めると結論する。これはまた学習というものを時を限り、また越えて研究しようとする教師、研究者に豊かなデータとなるものである。

This article introduces a procedure that seeks to stimulate EFL/ESL students' desire to practice the target language and also to increase the number of opportunities they have for "noticing" their own and others' negotiated output. These increases are achieved when students regularly videotape and analyze their own conversations, a procedure called "videoing conversations for self-evaluation" (VCSE). Here self-evaluation refers not to the giving of grades but rather to the conscious act of examining one's performance as compared to previous performances, the performances of one's conversation partners, and language goals which are both predetermined and nascent. Noticing is defined by Ellis (1997, p. 55) as the process of consciously attending to linguistic features in the input. We use it here to refer not only to linguistic features, but also to noticing paralinguistic, discourse, and communication features and strategies, as well as beliefs and attitudes.

First we review the background of video use and highlight some second language acquisition (SLA) and communicative language teaching (CLT) supporting frameworks. Then we describe the VCSE procedure as we have used it. We provide preliminary questionnaire data supporting its effectiveness and describe the ways in which the procedure intensifies practice and noticing among students.

Background

The medium of video has gained wide popularity among CLT enthusiasts for its ability to model language in context and to serve as a focal point for many different communicative activities (Cooper, Lavery & Rinvolucri, 1991; Lonergan, 1984; Stempleski & Arcario, 1991; Stempleski & Tomalin, 1990). However, the use of video cameras for taping students is not often mentioned in the literature, and when it is, it most often refers to video projects (Miller, 1996; Stempleski & Tomalin, 1990) or short activities to which video might add another dimension (Cooper, Lavery & Rinvolucri, 1991). Directly videoing student conversation is seldom suggested (Lonergan, 1984, 1991), and then usually as a process in which only a few students are videoed and the conversation analyzed by the class.

However, much SLA research highlights the importance of negotiation of meaning (see Pica, 1996 for a review of the research) for the construction of comprehensible input (Krashen, 1985). Complementary research highlights the need for "pushed" output (Swain, 1995), the idea that the displayed competence of students needs to be stretched repeatedly so that students "increase in control over forms that have already been internalized" (Nobuyoshi & Ellis, 1993, p. 210).

The degree of control that learners exercise over the discourse is also important (Ellis, 1994, p. 594). Cathcart (1986) found that student-controlled discourse was characterized by a wide variety of communicative acts and syntactic structures, whereas teacher-controlled situations produced single-word utterances, short phrases, and formulaic chunks. Schneider (1993) also found that students who merely taped audio conversations with each other in the target language four times a week for 20 minutes "had a significant improvement in fluency (p < 0.001) over the year that was more than double that of the control group of those using a pair work text in the regular class" (p. 55). Simply saying "practice makes perfect" is too simple an explanation; the success of these students may owe much to the fact that they were in control of the content and in extended discourse.

More recently, some researchers, not content to wait for open-ended negotiated interaction to present certain structures, have advocated form-focused communicative interaction (Celce-Murcia, Dörnyei & Thurrell, 1997; Loschky & Bley-Vroman, 1990; Nobuyoshi & Ellis, 1993; Williams, 1995; 1997). Recognizing also that students need multiple meaningful encounters with information to acquire language more deeply (i.e., many examples of target forms in communicative negotiation) other researchers are looking into ways to do input flooding (Trahey & White, 1993) and output flooding (Goto & Murphey, 1997), where output flooding refers to the "pushed" repeated production of targeted forms in communicative interaction, as when students have to repeatedly tell different partners a story using some new vocabulary or grammar structure.

Schmidt & Frota's seminal article on noticing in 1986 and the more recent research in developing learners' metacognition, their ability to think about how they learn (Flavell, 1979), call for more involvement of the conscious mind in support of second language acquisition (Schmidt, 1990). When noticing and metacognition are encouraged within a framework of repeated meaningful negotiation among peers, there is even greater potential for learners "pushing" one another's development as they interact within and expand one another's zones of proximal development, or ZPD (Murphey, 1996c; Vygotsky, 1962). In Vygotskian sociocultural analysis, the ZPD is that potential domain of graspable learning that lies dormant for learners who are alone and without interaction. However, when learners are in interactive social situations where they can negotiate meaning with peers, the ZPD becomes actualized as the playing field for successful learning. This concept is in stark contrast to traditional descriptions of learning, a teacher-led process which is usually not "owned" by the learners. Learners within the same zones, more

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than merely modeling linguistic items for one another, also become holistic "near peer role models" (Murphey, 1996b) as they display, try on, and borrow one another's attitudes, beliefs, and learning strategies.

Additional SLA support for the VCSE procedure comes from the five communicative language teaching macrostrategies proposed by Kumaravadivelu (1993). These five strategies for teachers are proposed to help the CLT teacher create a genuinely communicative class:

- 1. Create learning opportunities in class
- 2. Utilize learning opportunities created by learners
- 3. Facilitate negotiated interaction among participants
- 4. Activate intuitive heuristics of the learner
- 5. Contextualize linguistic input

In the following section we will show how the VCSE procedure creates numerous learning opportunities in class, how students can use these to create more, how the teacher facilitates the interaction, how the learners' own data can activate their metacognition, and how their input and output are contextualized into short conversations repeated meaningfully with different partners (see also Kenny, 1997). It will also be clear that the VCSE procedure provides a macrostructure that encourages meaningful negotiated repetition of targeted language forms (targeted by teachers or learners) in and out of the classroom. The procedure also "pushes" output (Swain, 1995), encourages a focus on form, and supports the noticing of linguistic items and performance features that are within the ZPD of the students.

Procedure

In light of the above SLA and CLT processes and frameworks, we wanted to devise a way for Japanese university EFL class members to regularly negotiate interaction in extended discourse which they controlled. We also wanted them to have their own VHS cassette so they could evaluate their performance and learn from it. These are the essentials within which teachers can explore numerous other options. The following details of our situation are meant to serve as an example for a procedure open to practically any topic or linguistic focus.

Our weekly VCSE procedure has been refined over a three-year period. It is used with first- and second-year Japanese university English majors, 18 to 21 years old, who meet three times a week for 45 minutes per class. During the first two meetings each week, about half the time

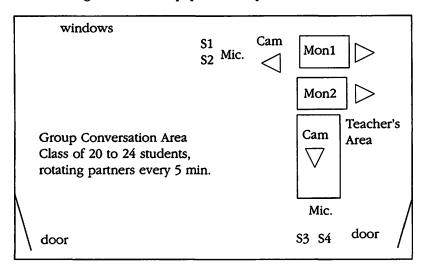


Figure 1: VCSE Equipment Setup in a Classroom

is spent presenting and practicing new target material (e.g., conversation strategies, vocabulary, and certain grammatical structures) within certain topic areas (sports, culture, music, language learning, etc.) to be used during the third meeting, "video day." The rest of the time is spent on other learning activities that may or may not have direct relevance to their video performance.

On video day, each student brings a VHS video cassette wound to the end of the last conversation (to prevent old conversations from being erased). Students place their cassettes on the front desk at the beginning of class and the teacher chooses cassettes at random to make partners for the recordings. While four students are recording, two in front of one camera and two other in front of another (see Figure 1), the rest of the students remain in the group practice area, practicing for their turn at the video or simply honing their skills after being videoed. Because everyone is talking at the same time, no one is "on stage," being watched by the others. After four or five minutes, the four students finish their video conversation, get their videotapes from the teacher, and return to the conversation area to find new partners. Then four new students are called up to be videoed. In this way, each student is videoed for five minutes. Each week a new conversation is added to the previous conversations on their videotape. At the end of a twelve-week semester, every student has a videotape with about ten or eleven conversations.

Our video equipment consists of two cameras (Hi8 Handycams) attached to two VHS recorders, each system on a trolley so that it can be moved to the appropriate classrooms on video day (see Figure 1). Since the equipment allows four students to be videotaped in a five-minute period, videotaping 22 students requires only about 35 minutes, with changeover time included and a warm-up conversation at the beginning of class. (Note: A 23-minute semi-professionally produced video for teacher training purposes made after the first year of this project is available from the authors.)

The students receive their videotapes immediately, when they are especially curious and motivated to see it. They can go home or to the school's media center to watch it the same day. In order to focus the students on noticing even more, we have experimented with several activities to perform while viewing and analyzing their conversations:

Evaluation form: Students respond to a set of questions concerning their conversations: What did you notice that you said/did well? What mistakes did you make and how would you correct them? What did your partner say that you might like to use? How about your partner's mistakes? What are your goals for next week's videotaping?

Transcriptions: Students transcribe their conversations correcting as many mistakes as they can find and also answer questions similar to those above.

Watching a partner's video: After a few weeks have passed and several conversations are recorded on their tape, the students take their partner's tape and watch all the conversations, including the last one they just did with each other. They are asked to notice conversational elements which they want to borrow (e.g., strategies and language items) and are asked to write short letters encouraging and giving advice to their partners.

A synopsis of the whole procedure is shown in Figure 2, starting with students' preparation for the recording, videoing it, viewing it, and then, on the basis of the viewing, planning goals for the next performance, practicing for it, and performing the cycle again.

The teachers keep the master tapes from the cameras and have several options. They can view them and comment to students individually, watch the taped conversation together with the student, have a counseling session, and/or stockpile the copies for eventual research. While extremely valuable for both teacher and learner, viewing and comment-

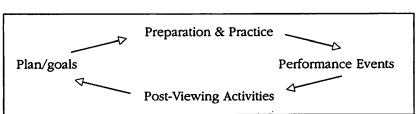


Figure 2: The VCSE Student Action Cycle

ing on each student's conversation can be an overwhelming task if done each week. One author asks his students to do transcripts and to self-correct the errors in the left-hand columns. Then he checks those corrections which theoretically represents the material that students are dealing with within their ZPDs and are therefore ready to address. The other author watches all conversations and writes comments on self-evaluation forms, approving (or correcting) the student self-corrections and pointing out useful language items.

An overview of the three periods of the process (before, during, and after videotaping), the student behaviors, and the corresponding theories are given in Figure 3 below.

Results

Student feedback was solicited through questionnaires and reports written after students reviewed the videos they had done for a semester (ten or eleven 5-minute conversations each semester; see Appendix 1 for the instructions). Feedback was also received weekly through self-evaluation forms, transcriptions and journals.

The authors have previously reported (Murphey & Kenny, 1995; 1996) that many students say they are uncomfortable during the first few weeks. They especially notice their silences, awkward movements, and the lack of questions. However, they soon find the videoing to be highly useful and even fun. In the students' end-of-semester reports, in which they do word counts comparing their first and last conversations as well as reviewing all their conversations, they confirm their developing ability to fill silences, continue conversations, and notice pronunciation and grammatical problems, and they are pleased with the obvious improvement. For example, in the spring semester of 1995, out of 40 first-year students reporting on the procedure, 22 said they had noticed the advantages of "shadowing" (i.e., regularly repeating parts of a partner's utterance; see

Figure 3: The Three Periods of the VCSE Process

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Period	Activity	Theoretical correlates
1. Pre-Videoing *Monday Tuesday *Wednesday Thursday (*class days)	present input select input target items practice output recycle	comprehensible input (Krashen, 1985) learner training (Wenden & Gruben, 1987; O'Malley & Chamot, 1990) performance events (Murphey, 1996) facilitative anxiety (Alpert & Haber, 1960) Notice (Schmidt & Frota, 1986; Ellis, 1995) Awareness (Flavell, 1979) Goals (Nunan, 1997)
2. Video Day	talk to lots of partners	multiple performance events pushed output (Swain, 1995)
•Friday	videotaped with random partner notice and note items from partners to learn	collaborative learning recycling
3. Post-Videoing	multiple viewing &	intensifying:
Saturday Sunday	pausing transcriptions of conversations focused observations & feedback with forms or logs or take partner's video home write self-progress report review partner's progress set goals for next time	Notice Awareness Goals action research loop bottom up/top down making input comprehensible "Grabbing the i+1" (Krashen) "within the ZPD" (Vygotsky, 1962) reflection (CLL) (Curran, 1997) learner autonomy
	compile a "noticing list"	(Holec, 1981)

Murphey, 1995), 20 reported they looked more relaxed in later videos, and 15 said they were now really enjoying speaking English. They mentioned there were no longer any silences (13 students), that the word count increased (12 students), their sentences were longer (10 students), and they had longer turns (5 students) (Murphey & Kenny, 1995). They also noticed that they had begun to use gestures and could express their feelings and manage a conversation more easily. An increased ability to help their partners was mentioned as well.

Students appreciate that other students are engaged in similar conversations while they are being taped. Initially one of their great fears was that everyone would be watching while they talked. The relative privacy of the event goes a long way toward relaxing them, yet students still seem to retain the appropriate amount of facilitative anxiety (Alpert & Haber, 1960) to get them to prepare for the videoing event.

Students also commented that they were not only learning language items from one another, but in more holistic ways they were also learning and appreciating their partners' attitudes toward English, effort in studying, speaking in a "loud clear voice," using an assertive style of talking and questioning, and making appreciative responses. In sum, they were getting the "big picture" of communication, and the videoing allowed them to look at it repeatedly and model it.

That students can see their progress over time is perhaps one of the greatest benefits of videoing. They find examples of their improvement, and that appears to motivate them to want to improve more. Not only does weekly analysis of their videoed conversations encourage metacognitive awareness, but writing semester reports also intensifies this awareness by allowing them to view their progress over time, something that is impossible to do without a record of their language performance.

The feedback instructions initially asked the students to count words and turns, as we thought that increased counts would indicate more fluency gains. However, we suggest that such increases were only indications of gains in fluency for lower-level students. The length of the turn is a more accurate indication for intermediate and advanced speakers, as one student noticed: "In the first conversation, I said only one sentence each time. But in the last one, I talked a lot and my partner also talked a lot. I think that's why the number of turns decreased." Thus, while word-counts did increase for 36 first-year students from 34 words per minuteper partner to 45 words per minute per partner in four-minute conversations with each partner (1995 data, student transcribed and counted), we have since found that the number of words and turns may level off in the low 40s as students tend to take longer turns and ask for details which elicit more elabo-

rate replies from their partners, necessitating greater time for formulating responses. For example, a preliminary examination of our most recent data (January, 1997) shows that 36 second-year students used an average of 42 words per minute.

The most obvious change over time was in the students' attitudes toward speaking English, as evidenced in the following quotes:

"Now, I have no hesitation to speak English in front of other people. This is the greatest thing for me through the videoing!!"

"In V-2 [the last video] we were talking like foreigners! I think the videoing helped us a lot. The best way to learn English is by using it."

We also suggest that the noticing process motivated learners to set clear, attainable, short-term goals. These explicit goals "set mostly by the learner" have become part of the classroom routine and appear to enhance student motivation (Nunan, 1997). As one student wrote in July 1997:

Watching my videos, I noticed several differences between them. First in V1 [the first video conversation], I didn't prepare anything to talk, so I haven't had any target words. And I didn't know much of shadowing, so my replies are often "yeah" and "oh . . .!". When I saw this, I felt ashamed. Shadowing is much better in V2 [the last videoed conversation in the semester]. . . . Second, in V1, I was very nervous. So I couldn't talk very much. but in V2, I was very relaxed. I laughed with my partner and had a good time. Relaxing is very important. I think I learned many things from videoing. . . . I am a little bit proud!

Discussion

While the VCSE procedure can potentially change the learning environment, there are certain obstacles to its implementation. The first is the cost of the equipment. Although prices of video cameras and VHS recorders are decreasing, the initial expense, not to mention the upkeep and repairs, may be beyond many school budgets. Storage and placement of the machines may also be a problem because of space and security restrictions. Then there is the question of the "teacher as technician," a role which some teachers may feel uncomfortable with due to their unfamiliarity with the technology or with the change in teaching style that it necessitates. Finally, the students themselves often find the recording procedure uncomfortable at first. They may be shy about "being on TV" and feel uncomfortable speaking to other nonnative English speakers in the target language. They may also be unused to collaborating with another person because of cultural expectations regarding the format of the traditional EFL

classroom. Thus, it is natural for students to be a little reluctant at first, but that their objections are overcome within a few weeks only adds more support for the VCSE procedure. Students overwhelmingly wish to continue with the procedure after the first year.

While some preliminary data seems to support the effectiveness of the procedure (Murphey, Matsunaga, & Sasaki, in progress), more research is required. The preliminary data from the student weekly and term-end reports, follow-up questionnaires, and regular teacher observations supports the VCSE procedure as an effective CLT activity. Undeniably, language practice is increased by regular performance events (Murphey, 1996a) which provoke appropriate amounts of facilitative anxiety (Alpert & Haber, 1960). In addition, noticing is greatly facilitated by recording language which is otherwise "hear" and gone. Ellis (1995,p. 90) proposes that students need to be able to perform a comparative operation, a cognitive comparison, comparing what they have noticed in the input with what they are presently able to produce in their own output. Such noticing and cognitive comparison becomes easier to do when students can replay their conversations and study not only their own output but their partners' as well.

In reference to affect, students can do these cognitive comparisons with little risk of losing face with VCSE since they can watch their conversations privately. Learners can then plan to use noticed language items in future conversations and make future goals. It is suggested that metacognitive awareness (Flavell, 1979) of "How am I doing?" greatly increases the degree of control learners have over their learning. Creating such opportunities for noticing, cognitive comparisons, and the exercising of control seem to be the greatest advantages of VCSE. However, more research is needed to see to what degree the opportunities are taken.

It is further suggested that providing opportunities for noticing can train learners to be their own teachers and can promote learner autonomy (Holec, 1981; Karlsson, Kjisk & Nordlund, 1997; O'Malley & Chamot, 1990; Wenden & Rubin, 1987). The students are actually engaged in action research on their own learning as they plan conversations, practice them, are videoed, and then observe and reflect on their performance and make new plans for better results.

The VCSE procedure is also a way for teachers to get an "inside view" of what students are doing, to determine specifically what different students need, and to monitor improvement (instead of guessing as to the impact of instruction). Teachers are thus able to individualize feedback and conduct their own action research, seeing the result of their instruction from their students' actual performance. Involving the students in

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action research through regularly soliciting feedback has also been useful in discovering ways to improve the process. For example, when a few students watched their conversations with their friends or family members, this seemed to increase the importance of the videoing for them. Thus, this assignment has become a regular part of the course activities, and students are periodically asked to report on the feedback given to them by friends and family.

Finally, the procedure is an inviting subject for SLA research, generating a large amount of material for analysis. For example, from each semester there is over 6 hours of video material for each class and about 55 minutes (eleven 5-minute conversations) on the students' individual VHS cassettes. There are a host of ways to use the material for student and teacher research addressing various facets of SLA.

Conclusion

This article has described a procedure for videoing conversations for self-evaluation. We suggest that this activity intensifies preparation and practice for regular performance events and allows students to notice otherwise fleeting language input and output through replaying their own conversations on video. This form-focused input and output flooding that is appropriately negotiated among peers within their ZPDs theoretically allows for noticing to occur and creates authentic comprehensible input while at the same time encouraging "pushed" output .

In terms of the CLT teacher macrostrategies proposed by Kumaravadivelu (1993), the VCSE procedure clearly enables teachers to "create learning opportunities in class," to "utilize learning opportunities created by learners," to "facilitate negotiated interaction between participants," to "activate intuitive heuristics of the learner," and to "contextualize linguistic input." All of these are believed to contribute to effective language acquisition.

While the technology may seem expensive, the potential benefits are considerable. As VCSE is increasingly used for teaching and research, equipment makers may very well develop cheaper, more user-friendly configurations for educational purposes. However, we feel it already is an extremely useful pedagogical procedure adaptable to a wide variety of situations, as well as a potentially rich field in which to conduct SLA studies.

Acknowledgments

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Reviews

Grammar in Mind and Brain: Explorations in Cognitive Syntax. Paul D. Deane. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1992. 355 pp.

Reviewed by Charles Adamson Miyagi University

Grammar is a fascinating subject for most language teachers. Formal grammars, Chomsky's Transformational Grammar or the newer Government-Binding Theory or Halliday's Systemic grammar, for example, claim to present a formal abstraction of the structure of the language. There is, however, a problem here that is seldom mentioned. Logically, language exists in three places: [1] in the brain and mind of the speaker, [2] in the physical modifications of the space between speaker and listener, and [3] in the brain and mind of the listener. The formal grammars are based on a study of the language at [2]. This language is obviously more limited in scope than the language at [1] or [3], simply because it is only a sample of the language that could be produced or understood. Theoretically there could be an almost unlimited number of different grammars [1], each of which could generate the language at [2]. The same sort of relationship applies between the language at [3] and that at [2]. Grammar in Mind and Brain (GMB) changes this situation. GMB presents the first full-fleshed grammar based on the possibilities at [1] and [2]. The author calls the results Cognitive Syntax.

GMB is written for linguists and assumes a general knowledge of the field, especially Government and Binding. A reader without this knowledge would still find much interesting material but most of the arguments supporting the ideas would have to be taken on faith.

Deane begins by arguing that there are only two basic positions that we can take on the relation of grammar to the mind and brain. One position, that of cognitive and functional linguistics, is that language acquisition is a learning process and differences between linguistic processes and non-linguistic process are assumed to be a matter of degree. The second position, that of transformational linguists, is that there is a discontinuity between linguistic abilities and other domains. Deane calls this second position formalism or Chomskyan rationalism and says that the only way to refute it is to produce a working counter-example, a

grammar that is based on general cognitive principles and directly related to specific aspects of brain function. Deane uses the remainder of the book to produce, explain and justify just such a counter-example.

Deane's discussion is fairly technical but straight forward. He begins by showing that at least some of the problems experienced by the formalist position in dealing with island constraints can be attributed to a need to account for the influence of attentional states and other general cognitive variables. He also develops the idea that syntactic processing is done by cognitive structures and processes that were originally applied to visually understanding physical objects. He then expands this idea into a general theory, The Spatialization of Form Hypothesis, which incorporates insights concerning image schemas, conceptual metaphors, natural categorization, cognitive understandings of the processes of memory and recall, and the theory of relevance. Specifically he employs the schemas of link, center-periphery, and part-whole which are used by the mind to characterize objects as integrated wholes.

After a long and finely detailed discussion. Deane uses the schemas to develop the outline of a grammar, a syntax, that uses four types of links between words/phrases. In c-links, or co-occurrence links, the subcategorized element can not appear as a phonological realization unless another grammatical element also appears. P-links, predication links, represent the dependency of the predicate on its arguments and thus show semantic relations. S-links, or identity of sense links, indicate that access to the sense of one lexical item presupposes access to the sense of the other. R-links, or referential links, show that one linguistic unit refers to another. The grammar consists of diagrams in which variables are linked to other variables in one or more of these four ways. He then applies the concept of activation and shows how activation will spread across links, labeling the finished network a schema. Finally the question of interaction between schemas is addressed, producing the outline of the full grammar. The value of the grammar is then demonstrated by a long series of detailed analyses in which the answers to previously unexplainable problems become obvious.

After developing the grammar, Deane returns to his proposal that human linguistic abilities are dependent on processing in brain structures whose primary function is the analysis of spatial structure. An examination of the literature locating the brain's ability to process spatial information provides a basis for the prediction that grammatical structure will be processed in the Inferior Parietal Lobe. Deane then uses aphasia studies to show that Cognitive Syntax conforms to the actual processing that is taking place in the brain.

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Although still a hypothesis and not yet a theory, its potential value for language teachers is clear. A fuller specification of the grammar will present us with new, and hopefully more effective, opportunities for organizing our lessons. Detailing this is beyond the scope of this short review, so a single example will have to suffice. The schema which shows the subject relation in a sentence and the schema for possessives are the same, only the morphemes and grammatical categories are different. An enterprising teacher or text writer might be able to find some way of presenting the language to the student so that the once-learned schema could be cognitively reused, reducing the amount the student has to learn.

In conclusion, Deane's *Grammar in Mind and Brain* contains a ground breaking study that has the potential to become a classic. Anyone with a deep interest in linguistics, cognitive psychology or cognitive approaches to language learning will find this book, although extremely technical, well-worth the time needed to understand it.

Social Literacies: Critical Approaches to Literacy in Development, Ethnography and Education. Brian V. Street. Harlow, Essex: Longman, 1995. 184 pp.

Reviewed by William Bradley Ryukoku University

For anyone interested in questions of literacy, both from a theoretical perspective and when applied in research and education, Brian Street's work over the past fifteen years or so has been instrumental in pushing debate on important issues such as the relation of oral and written language and how school practices mold consensus on what exactly it means to be literate in a particular society.

An earlier book, *Literacy in Theory* and Practice (1984), introduced Street's distinction between autonomous and ideological models of literacy, which is central in this book as well. The autonomous model, one that has been prevalent in many approaches to literacy, promotes a firm distinction between non-literate communities and societies where communication is achieved primarily through oral means and modern literate societies. In contrast, Street proposes an ideological model, one which places literacy (along with language and education) in the context of the social relations of a given community. He argues for the

practice(s) of literacy being defined singularly with regard to features ly written and originally published between 1987 and 1990, Street covers a lot of the same territory as his earlier work. While Street is an anthropologist, this work is also important for sociolinguists and those interested in issues in education.

The book is organized into four sections, each containing two chapters. The four sections are: 1) Literacy, Politics, and Social Change, 2) The Ethnography of Literacy, 3) Literacy in Education, and 4) Towards a Critical Framework. While each chapter is a self-contained paper, there are brief linking introductions to each of the four sections, as well as a general introduction which guides the reader to understanding these developments in literacy studies or "New Literacy Studies," as Street has called certain strands of work, including his own as well as writers James Gee, Shirley Brice Heath, and Allan Luke among others.

Street's main theoretical argument stands in contrast to writers such as Ong (1982) and Olson, Hildyard, and Torrance (1985) who have advanced claims about the cognitive effects of literacy. These are referred to by Street as theories of the "great divide." Simply put, they consist of a set of associated claims that focuses on the effects of reading and writing on the cognitive structures and processes and which rewards literacy and literate people(s). Literacy is seen as following "a single direction [and its] development can be traced, and associate[d] with 'progress', 'civilization', individual liberty, and social mobility" (p. 29). Street acknowledges that earlier sweeping claims have been superseded by those that "now recognize that what is often attributed to literacy per se is more often a consequence of the social conditions in which literacy is taught" (p. 22). Nonetheless, he argues, there is still a strong tendency for illiterate and semi-literate individuals and communities to be associated with deficits of higher level cognitive abilities and powers of abstract conceptualization.

To begin to see the complications of this distinction, one can look at the pockets of illiterate communities that exist within many modern societies. They often go about their daily lives without, as Street shows using multiple examples from other studies, facing any major debilitation as great as that of the stigma which is placed on them by being categorized as "illiterate." Ironically, in some ways, this is the partially the result of campaigns to improve literacy skills and help the downtrodden.

Lack of Literacy (with a capital "L" as opposed to the plural conception of literacies promoted by Street and others) is often assumed, moreover, to be the unidimensional cause of economic backwardness. Such approaches are apparent in policy statements, exemplified in UNESCO during the 1990 International Literacy Year and by other development-

oriented organizations. But they are so much part of the commonsense notions, according to Street, that even a radical educational theorist such as Paolo Freire is taken to task for work that is based on "similar assumptions about the ignorance and lack of self-awareness or critical consciousness of 'non-literate' people" (p. 20).

In contrast to these points of view, Street marshals an impressive amount of empirical evidence to argue that literacy is first and foremost embedded in complex social contexts. This is no less true of highly educated people in 'modern' societies than it is for those living in 'traditional' ones. Street emphasizes that, similar to the findings in Heath's (1983) research on three rural North Carolina communities, oral and written language are often inextricably bound together.

Street critiques the work of Deborah Tannen as an example of the way that more recent work has rejected simple dichotomies in oral and written language but "tend[s] to reintroduce the notion, albeit in a 'softer' guise" (p. 167). He follows this with specific examples of the kind of discourse analysis done by Tannen (1982) which associates speech with "involvement" and writing with "detachment." Similarly, Michael Halliday's distinction between spoken and written language on the basis of functional differentiation is questioned (p. 4). These are examples of how Street's work, while focused specifically on literacy, has broader implications for linguistics and education.

In the first chapter, "Putting literacies on the agenda," Street links some of the campaigns for greater literacy in industrialized countries to the problems of underemployment that exist in many of these societies. In the second chapter, several examples of case studies of literacy in changing societies are introduced and Street contrasts the unproblematized assumptions about the spread of literacy with attempts to understand how participants themselves see the meaning of literacy for their own lives. This section is followed by more detailed accounts in chapters three and four, beginning with his own studies in Iran in the 1970s and then addressing problems in cross-cultural studies. What is suggested in this chapter and throughout is that such a cross-cultural perspective in inevitably fraught with consequences that anthropology and cultural studies have been addressing for at least the past three decades. Richard Hoggart (1957), who later founded the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) in Britain, is cited here as part of another tradition which has studied how popular culture has been the site of a continuing struggle to control values through mass communications. Street, using his research in Iran, suggests that "not only does modern literacy foster uncritical belief in specific 'modern' renderings of

the world, it also contributes to a weakening of the kinds of sensibility and skepticism that have been fostered in the oral tradition" (p. 66).

Street argues that anthropology, and cultural studies as a later hybrid development, have come to see notions of "a" culture, "the" culture and so forth as extremely problematic. They are the source of questions as to how power comes to be invested in their meanings as opposed to being evidence for defining societies unambiguously. Such a view is outlined by Street (1993) in detail elsewhere, however he implies that applied linguistics and second language education, while having assimilated the lesson that culture is attached to language (i.e. language can not be taught without referencing notions of culture), still retains much of the functional and essentialist logic in notions of a unitary culture which anthropologists have largely moved away from.

In chapter five, "The schooling of literacy," Street begins to address a more important area of concern for many who are involved in education, especially of language. How is it that single varieties of literacy become dominant and reproduced? How is it that language is often treated as a thing? Street suggests that the autonomous model of literacy is at work when writing and reading is privileged over speaking, rules for using language are handed down to students in forms of competencies to be mastered and language is disguised as neutral (p. 114).

In chapter six, Street addresses problems of a critical approach to literacy practices, referring to work by Fairclough (1992) as a similar attempt at locating language practices. In this chapter, he does address the problem of how educators can teach critical literacy, arguing against a "skills first" approach. It is probably significant that this is the last chapter written (based perhaps on an article with a similar name published in 1993 but for which there is no acknowledgment). Street raises this issue in a particularly blunt question, "when exactly will most students revise and criticize their school learning if not during the process of experiencing it?" (p. 140) On the other hand, those looking for specific advice may be disappointed that the chapter stays at the relatively theoretical level.

Chapters seven and eight basically recapitulate much of the argument that has been put forward in previous chapters. I would have preferred to read a broader attempt at a synthesis, especially since this section is described as a "critical framework." It is an overall strength of Street's work that he combines a robust theory with detailed examples from his own and others' work. It is slightly less convincing that he concludes this book with a framework which is less framework than critique. That is partially the result of assembling a set of separately published papers into a collected edition.

Another quibble, but it does seem redundant to have separate bibliographies at the end of each chapter, especially since many of the references are the same. Similarly in the acknowledgment section, two of the papers are referenced without their year of publication, information which is available in the other citation sections. Even Street's own work is cited with multiple publication dates. This edition could have profited from a little more editorial overview.

I found myself thinking of the relevance to teaching in Japan at many stages in this book. First, the assumptions of language tests, particularly those drawn on in making university English entrance exams, are well critiqued using the model of literacy that Street outlines here. In fact, Hill and Parry (1992) have done exactly this in proposing a different model of testing for TESOL.

Second, the way that reading is generally taught as a way of decoding text with little attention paid to alternative constructions of meaning is brought under scrutiny by Street's work. Many other perspectives, some associated with neo-Vygotskyian or constructivist models, others with whole language, have utilized oral communication in learning processes as a way of deepening understanding. Street's contribution is to show that dichotomies of oral and written language are lacking in many ways when compared to empirical evidence gathered across a broad range of societies. Finally, the arguments here leave little doubt that educators need to probe more deeply to uncover assumptions about how learning is constructed in school and the ends towards which it is directed. It should not be surprising to anyone who is familiar with using computers in classrooms that traditional models of literacy as, for instance, acquiring skills of decoding are being challenged by new forms of communication such as e-mail and the Internet, to give familiar examples.

I think this book will be of great value in helping those interested in framing the practices of teaching and learning languages in larger contexts. It is time, I think Street would say, that we look more closely, not only at literacy practice across the school system here in Japan, but also as it is constructed in the contexts of our teaching, and how it hinders many of our students from seeing their own acquisition of that language as more than simply the building of skills and grammatical competence, no matter how important one considers those to be.

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Translating by Factors. Christoph Gutknecht and Lutz J. Rölle. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996, xvi + 346 pp.

Reviewed by Andrew Jones Impex, Inc.

Translation is one of the world's oldest professions, and one of the most abused—misused by those who do it and scorned by those who rely on it. Abuse directed at translators and their products frequently stems from translation clients not knowing what they have actually requested or failed to request. Clients may assume a "communicative" (free) translation and be bewildered when they get a "semantic" (literal) one, and then blame the translator for not elucidating the full meaning of the text. Abuse by translators comes in any number of forms, but often derives from the infirm foundation of translation studies—including not learning to ask clients what they expect and believing the often taught notion that grammatical analysis alone can be used when transferring the meaning, style, and feeling of one language into another. Many translation courses, in other words, continue to set up the would-be translator for more abuse.

The book under review offers some practical solutions to these problems. "Translating by factors" means approaching the translation process with a method that can be applied both in rendering source language (SL) into target language (TL) and understanding the relation between translator and client. Although their reference model is German and English modals (auxiliary verbs), the authors provide tools that can be used for REVIEWS 149

translating between any languages and any form of language. Factors are indicators of interlingual similarities and differences, and 21 are covered in the book, including "blocking factors," which make specific TL renditions impossible, "disambiguation factors," which signal ambiguity in SL items, "divergence factors," which indicate where the TL has more forms than a corresponding SL item, and "change factors," which force translators to make changes because of variances between languages.

The authors show how to apply factors in terms of classical semiotics (Chapters 2-4), differences between spoken and written language (Chapter 5), translation units (Chapter 6), the translation situation (Chapter 7), and translation theory (Chapter 8). Because Gutknecht and Rölle progress systematically through these major problem areas confronting the translator or translatologist, the book is relevant for work and courses involving Japanese and other languages besides English and German. Furthermore, by covering a full range of techniques required in translation, the text provides a rich assortment of tools for research on factors, and so is an excellent resource to develop a "factor approach" for translation projects or training courses.

In addition to detailing factors in various situations, the work provides other important devices such as ingenious flowcharts, diagrams, and tables. In most translation books, the most one can hope for are matrices and scalar diagrams for componential analyses (CA), which are used to identify the components of SL word senses for "redistribution" in the TL (Newmark, 1988, p. 27). However crucial they may be to translation, CA only enlighten about individual words, not what to do with them. By explicating steps in the overall process—including how to create and apply CA—the authors have shown a way of making translation systematic. Diagrams 3.9-3.14 and 8.1 are of particular value since they present translation flowcharts showing how to apply factors in the areas of syntax, meaning, SL context, SL styles, TL styles, and TL lexemes, and the differences that can result when emphasis on these points is changed.

The book is also an antidote for the continued presence of grammartranslation and its manifestation in so many "writing" texts in Japan. When a sentence or larger text unit is analyzed using factors, it is hard to stop at grammar since many factors can only be fully exploited if the actual intent of the SL creator is seriously approached with pragmatic and other features in mind (p. 254). Take as an example the spoken sentence "He can hear her." This is quite clear grammatically, but considering the context (previously the speaker, a female, did not believe the man could hear her comatose daughter, and thus stressed the word "can"), the full intention conveyed

by "can" and the cultural factors of the sex of the speaker, the relationship of the speaker to the hearer, and so on, would not be adequately conveyed if some compensation factors were not included.

In rendering "He can hear her" into Japanese, for example, translators would have to be aware that the simple "potential non-past" form of the relevant verb (kikoeru) does not convey the communicative force of a stressed "can" nor indeed does it indicate the factuality of hearing, and they would have to know (or infer) whether the sentence were spoken or written, the sex of the speaker, and who knows whom in the situation. All of these factors must be identified and compensated for, and this usually plays no part in a grammar-centered translation. Based on these and other factors, something like Hontoni kikoerunda wa might result for our example since it conveys all the information necessary for the Japanese. The translation works because of the use of a feminine emphatic particle (wa) and because it allows the speaker to sound refined by saying bontoni ("Really") rather than putting a more literal male-ish stress on the verb, and since all participants in the scene know of the existence of the others (as does the audience), the translation does not need the pronouns "he" or "she." On the other hand, if these factors are ignored and the grammar alone is carried across, the result would probably be an unidiomatic but "faithful" *Kare wa kanojo ga kikoeru (* "She he hears") or the misleading Kare wa kanojo no yutteiru-koto ga kikoetteiru ("He can hear what she is saying"). The former non-idiomatic version sounds as though there were a question of who could hear whom and leaves vague whether he has been, is, or will be able to hear her, and the latter misleading rendition incorrectly assumes she is speaking words—since she is in a coma it is not known that she is "speaking" in any conventional sense.

Although the techniques discussed can be applied to languages that have many differences, there seem to be areas in German-English translation that are less important than when translating languages that do not share many communication traditions. In case of such "foreign" languages, more research is necessary to use the methods properly. One important area is ambiguity, which is obviously present in any interpretation situation, but apparently not as significantly in German or English as in Japanese, where ambiguity can be a signal of a request for further contemplation, a compliment to the intelligence of the receiver, and so on. Furthermore, in their discussion of translation units (Chapter 6), the authors stress that it is "sentence by sentence that the translator translates" (p. 233), and thus do not delve very deeply into the issue of what happens in paragraphs that do not follow any order to which the TL reader is accustomed. Discussing translation units larger

than the sentence, the authors concentrate instead on why redundancy should be maintained (p. 235ff), seemingly unaware of the extraordinary degree and implication of repeating the same word in Japanese. On the other hand, their general advice that translators can make changes to enable understanding but not to facilitate it (p. 266) is universally sound because, among other reasons, the facilitation can easily go against intentions of the SL author to be vague, diplomatic, or simply difficult.

Finally, one of the best sections is Chapter 7, in which the authors show the factors involved in the translation situation, especially the power of the client. In most cases the translator works at the behest of some client (including teachers), and the client tends to rule. Thus, if a client wants a certain kind of result, the translator will usually work toward that end. Such requests act as a control on the range of factors that can be applied, in other words, the decisions the translator makes in rendering the text. For example, disambiguation factors must be considered if the client has demanded a communicative translation to get ideas in the SL across clearly to TL readers. This dependency on the client is one of the primary reasons for adaptations rather than translations—for reasons of survival if nothing else, translators tend to be more faithful to the client than the text (p. 267), and clients usually at least demand error-free, idiomatic, and stylistically superior renditions even when the SL is far from those ideals.

The authors suggest that the book is a "voyage of discovery in the human mind" (p. 10), and although Translating by Factors does function as a working guide to translating, one would have to say that discovery is more complex than knowing and applying factors to sentences. which is almost exclusively the area covered. The authors also propose (p. 10) that the study of modals involves the study of worldviews. This subject, which they never develop, is even more tempting in terms of the discoveries involved in the translation process, where views of life can and should be fully explored and brought over in the rendition. This type of study would be particularly relevant in Japan, where people are commonly taught negative consequences of such discoveries (loss of identity, for example) and thus often rest content with group tours through the boring but innocuous grammar byways of the language world. A focus on worldviews in the translation process could be a chance to see how one learns to appreciate and be adaptive to different cultures. Although the authors did not pursue these topics, they did provide excellent navigation tools to begin the voyage.

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New Ways in Teacher Education. Donald Freeman, with Steve Cornwell, Editors. Alexandria, Virginia: TESOL, 1993. xxvii + 206 pp.

Reviewed by Amy Peyton Daiei Education Systems, Inc.

New Ways in Teacher Education, one volume in the New Ways in Teaching series, presents teacher educators in academic environments with practical workshop suggestions which encourage trainees to "develop their own independent, reflective practice as classroom teachers" (p. xi). This useful addition to any reference library contains 46 tried-and-trusted activities for teacher education workshops, authored by professionals from North America, South America, Asia, and Europe. The insightful introduction, penned by Donald Freeman, articulates the philosophy as well as the rationale of the text, and recounts how this mosaic of teacher education activities came to be. Both beginning and experienced teacher educators will find readable, innovative workshop suggestions applicable in many academic contexts.

New Ways in Teacher Education joins two editors and more than 40 contributors in the creation of a book that embraces the current, holistic trends of English language education: experiential learning, cooperative groupwork, learner-centered education, and reflective teaching. The purpose of the book is to help teachers "come to make sense of what they do" (p. xiii), and through activities that encourage learners-of-teaching to discover their own teaching belief system, the goal of the text is artfully realized.

The two main strengths of the book are in its variety and format. Since the book concentrates on workshop activities and not on theory, the editors have selected ideas to fit nearly every training possibility in university-style settings. The table of contents outlines training suggestions for single session, multi-session, preservice, inservice, and graduate school contexts. Furthermore, workshop activities listed in the table of contents are grouped under such engaging topics as: encouraging teacher as researcher, observation of teaching, developing awareness, addressing cultural issues, and structuring discussions. Other practical topics include: drawing upon a shared experience, using collaborative work, and interpersonal dynamics. By providing such innovative springboards, the text assures teacher educators of finding a suitable idea or framework for many training sessions.

New Ways in Teacher Education presents each activity in a logical, readable four-step layout: Narrative, Procedure, Rationale, and Caveats and Options. Beginning with the Narrative, the author gives readers a personalized summary of how the activity unfolds in the training ses-

sion. This is followed by the Procedure, which articulates each step of the exercise in detail. Next, the Rationale gives the contributor the opportunity to briefly state his or her reasons for conducting the activity in that particular way. Lastly, Caveats and Options supplies the teacher educator with hints and adaptations to round out the experience, plus warnings to circumvent potential problems. In addition to this four-step pattern, most activities also include a bibliography of suggested readings and copies of necessary handouts.

The only criticisms of this text are that there isn't more of it—a double volume or Part II perhaps—and that it lacks the global perspective needed in a TESOL publication. More diverse sections would be advantageous: creating a chapter exclusively on training non-Western teachers, including a segment for use in public schools, or incorporating training suggestions from more non-native English trainers would truly make this text a staple for any backpack. Although the introduction states that the editors have "chosen not to focus on differences in context, experience or background," and claim that "the majority [of the activities] can be used in or adapted to different settings and groups of learners-of-teaching" (p. xii), the truth is that most of the workshop suggestions are geared towards teacher educators who have training contexts mirroring the book's Western-style logic, thought patterns, educational styles, and personality assumptions.

For example, the majority of the activities ask the workshop participants to delve deeper within themselves and reflect on their teaching. One activity in particular asks a group of teaching assistants to self-evaluate their mini-lectures, answering questions like: "What did I do well?" "Where could I have improved?" and "How could this improvement be implemented?" If the trainees' cultural background and academic knowledge prepare them to handle such tasks, this activity would successfully serve to activate awareness. However, if certain skills such as giving feedback and reflecting on one's abilities is unnatural or goes against cultural and social norms, the trainer will have to adapt this activity to ensure a comfortable environment for all involved.

In conclusion, in my present position as an instructor of English and teacher educator for Western teachers, I find this book to be an innovative, incredibly readable text which serves me well in my current teaching context. I often use it as a source of inspiration when I am in need of practical workshop suggestions which aim to stir awareness and build skill. Despite the reservations I raised above, if I ever have the opportunity to train those whose first language is not English, I will certainly take New Ways along, for the expertise contained in its pages and the possibilities it creates will only heighten the experience of all involved.

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Today, you can take advantage of our tradition and contact us by telephone or fax, using the information box at the bottom of this page. We would also like to draw your attention to our new online teachers' magazine - *ELT Spectrum* - featuring downloadable resources, as well as articles and reviews designed to appeal to EFL teachers.



Sir James Murray (1837-1919), the first editor of the Oxford English Dictionary

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