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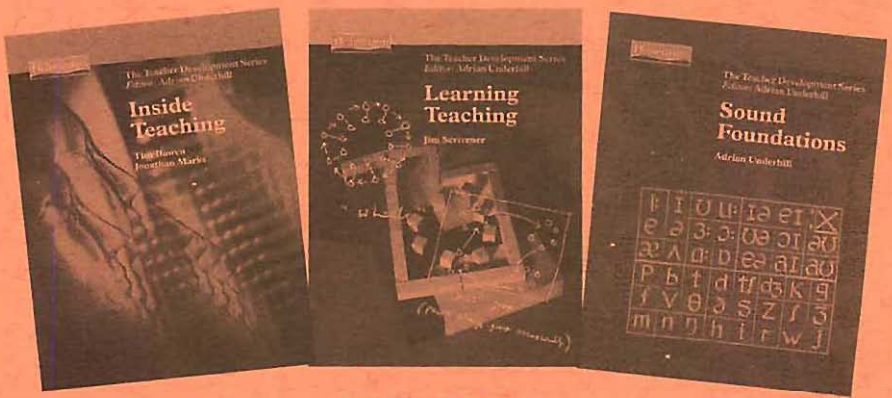
June 1994
Volume 16 • No. 1
JAPAN ASSOCIATION OF LANGUAGE TEACHERS

Inside this issue:

Negative feedback • Video-mediated testing
Learning styles • Modified close tests
Apologies in English • Using captioned movies

Dealing with professional topics in a personal way



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Submissions of full-length articles, short articles and reports (for the "Research Forum" section), reviews, and comments on earlier *JALT Journal* writings (for the "Point to Point" section) are encouraged. Articles should be written with a general audience of language educators in mind. Statistical techniques and unfamiliar terms should be explained or defined.

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In this issue

Articles

The importance of replication studies to confirm or refute studies in ESL/EFL is demonstrated by **Rod Ellis, H. Roderick Rosszell**, and **Hideyuki Takashima**. The replication of two studies on negative feedback which failed to provide support for earlier studies are reported in **"Down the Garden Path: Another Look at Negative Feedback."** Although the studies reported on indicate that the Garden Path treatment is effective, they also suggest that the traditional treatment of grammatical explanations works just as well with Japanese learners.

The practical concerns of and theoretical issues related to video-testing are discussed by **Paul Gruba** within the framework of communicative testing in **"Design and Development of a Video-Mediated Test of Communicative Proficiency."** The explanation of the ongoing development of the Kanda English Proficiency Test, begun in 1989, and its key design aspects are of practical benefit to those using or considering the use of video in language education.

Text appropriacy in selection of testing materials is examined by **Akihiko Mochizuki**. Texts used in C-Tests based on Narration, Explanation, Description, and Argumentation are examined and their reliability compared with the STEP test in **"C-Tests: Four Kinds of Texts, Their Reliability and Validity."** Narration-based C-Tests are considered to be the most promising measure of students' overall language proficiency.

Recent work on learning styles is discussed by **Ken Hyland** based on a questionnaire administered to 405 Japanese undergraduates. Results discussed in **"The Learning Styles of Japanese Students"** indicate that learners prefer the learning modalities of tactile, kinesthetic and auditory, to any major learning style. Teacher flexibility in dealing with a variety of learning styles is suggested.

Research Forum

Three reports relevant to Japanese learners use of English are offered in the *JALT Journal*'s Research Forum. In the first, **Sachiko Narita** and **Richard Young** investigate transfer of L1 Japanese apologies to English. **Sophia Shang-Ikeda** investigates the use of video captions to increase comprehension of English language movies. **Christopher Madeley** examines 15 junior high school student performance for length of turn and pause time during interview tests on three separate occasions.

Reviews

The Reviews section has descriptions and evaluations of eight current publications in language testing, with reviews from **Lauren Shapiro**, **Robert Baines**, **Jane Hoelker**, **Lowell Brubaker**, **William S. Bradley**, **Janet Dixon**, **Kimiko Ochi**, and **Greg Jewell**. The topics under discussion include linguistics, historical linguistics, psycholinguistics, discourse analysis, English verbs, professional development, writing, and Japanese culture.

JALT Journal 15 Year Index

A complete 15 year index to the *JALT Journal*, compiled by **Larry Cisar**, should be invaluable to those seeking articles on a variety of topics. For ease of use, the 15 Year Index has been separated into a variety of categories: Author Index, Books Reviewed and an extensive Subject Index by research interests.

Acknowledgments

Tamara Swenson is thanked for submitting the above Introduction, and for her suggestions during the production of this issue. In addition, all of the individuals involved in inputting and other production tasks are thanked for their dedicated, and timely, help. Finally, sincere appreciation is extended to **Charles Wordell** and **Malcolm Benson**, former Co-editors of the *JALT Journal*, and to **Kyoko Nozaki**, former Japanese-language Editor, for their many years of service to JALT publications.

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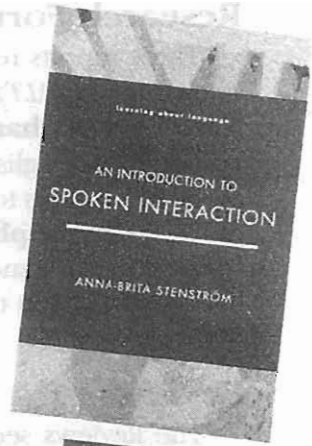

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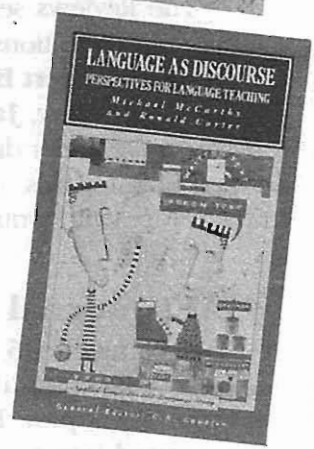

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LONGMAN

Articles

Down the Garden Path: Another Look at Negative Feedback

Rod Ellis
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Hidekuki Takashima
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This paper reports a replication of two studies carried out by Tomasello and Herron (1988, 1989), which provide support for a "Garden Path" instructional approach. In this approach, learners are led into producing errors of the kind that occur naturally in second language acquisition, and are then corrected. Tomasello and Herron found this approach more effective than a traditional Error Avoidance method of instruction. The two studies reported in this article, however, fail to show any advantage for the Garden Path approach. This paper demonstrates the importance of carrying out replication studies. It also suggests that in order for empirical studies of formal instruction to be effective it is necessary to define the instructional treatments as narrowly as possible.

ガーデンパス法による指導：
訂正によるフィードバックに関するもうひとつの視点

本研究では、Tomasello と Herron (1988,1989) によって提唱された「ガーデンパス」による指導法の有効性を検証したものである。この指導法では、第２言語学習者であれば言語学習の際に自然に生じてくる誤りを、教室で敢て引き起こすようにし、教師はそこで訂正を与えるというものである。Tomasello と Herron は、この方法が、伝統的な、誤りを生じさせない指導法より学習に効果があったと主張している。本論では、２つの追実験を行った結果、彼らの主張するような学習に効果が見られなかったことを報告する。追実験の必要性のみならず、教室における授業実験をする場合、その指導法を厳密に定義することの必要性をも強調する。

Empirical studies of the role of formal instruction in second language acquisition (e.g.. Ellis, 1984; Felix, 1981; Pienemann, 1984) focused initially on whether teaching learners specific linguistic items resulted in their acquisition. These studies were little concerned with the nature of the formal instruction provided. More recently, however, researchers have shown greater interest in the potential effect of different kinds of formal instruction (e.g.. Doughty, 1991; N. Ellis, 1991). Also, L2 acquisition theorists such as Long (1988) have advanced various arguments in support of the efficacy of particular approaches to formal instruction. Long argues that a focus on form (where learners receive negative feedback on specific linguistic features in the course of trying to communicate) is preferable to a *focus on forms* where learners receive regular grammar lessons directed at specific items.

This article seeks to contribute to the current body of work on the effectiveness of different types of formal instruction by reporting two studies based on earlier studies by Tomasello and Herron (1988, 1989). The Tomasello and Herron studies provided evidence to suggest that teaching which leads learners to make specific errors and which then offers them negative feedback (called the Garden Path approach) works better than more traditional teaching that seeks to prevent learners from making errors through the provision of explicit grammatical explanations. Tomasello and Herron's studies have subsequently been cited in support of the view that negative feedback is an important source of information in L2 acquisition (see, for instance, Carroll et al., 1992; Lightbown & Spada, 1990). The studies reported below, however, suggest that the Garden Path treatment offers no advantage over more traditional approaches.

Tomasello and Herron's Studies

Tomasello and Herron's studies investigated the effect of inducing and then correcting two kinds of error in English speaking learners of L2 French. One kind of error involved overgeneralization, for example the use of "*plus bon*" in place of the correct "*meilleur*," while the other involved L1 transfer, for example the use of an indefinite article before a profession ("*Je suis une actrice*") instead of the correct zero article ("*Je suis actrice*"). Altogether there were eight overgeneralization errors studied in the 1988 study and eight transfer errors in the 1989 study.

The subjects of both studies were adult students enrolled in two sections of a beginner-level French course at Emory University. Some of the learners were complete beginners (i.e.. had no previous exposure to French) while others had some previous classroom exposure

during high school. All the learners were native speakers of English. There were 39 subjects in the 1988 study and 32 in the 1989.

The designs of the two studies were almost identical. The learners were assigned to one of two sections alphabetically. In each study eight structures were investigated. Four were assigned to the Garden Path instructional treatment and four to the traditional, error-prevention treatment (the control) in one part of the course, and then to the opposite treatment ion the second part. In this way, a counterbalanced design was achieved, with all learners receiving some Garden Path and some traditional instruction over the whole course. The organizational structures were ranked according to expected difficulty by the teacher (one of the researchers) and then divided into four pairs: one structure of each pair was randomly assigned to each treatment. The transfer structures were randomly assigned to one or other of the conditions.

The traditional treatment involved giving examples and opportunity to practice the correct use of a structure followed by an explanation, supported by an example, of the potential error. The correct form was also demonstrated orally and in writing. The Garden Path treatment proceeded in the same way except that learners were induced to make the error, which was then written on the board and corrected. this was followed by an oral recitation of the correct form and a brief explanation. The structures were taught in different lessons, one or two weeks apart.

The learners' knowledge of the structures was tested three times using a fill-in-the blank format for the overgeneralization structures and a translation format for the transfer structures. In both cases, the tests tested "a variety of material other than that of current interest" and included only one item testing each potential overgeneralization or transfer error, although there were other items testing the unproblematic uses of these structures. The three tests were administered at three different points during the course. The time between teaching and testing varied for the different structures for both methods, but in each case the average gap was almost the same for the structures taught by the different methods.

The results were presented in terms of the average proportion of students answering correctly on the items in question, a procedure that took advantage of the counterbalanced design. The scores for the Garden Path and Control treatments were compared across all the structures using the Wilcoxon Signed Rank tests. In both studies and in each of the three tests the Garden Path treatment resulted in a significantly greater proportion of students answering correctly.

In their 1988 study, Tomasello and Heron offer two possible explanations for the apparent superiority of the Garden Path treatment. One is that the negative feedback provided by the Garden Path method induces learners to make "a cognitive comparison" between their own system and that of native speakers. The other is that disconfirming learners' expectations through error correction heightens motivation and or curiosity to discover the differentiating features of the rule and its exception. In the 1989 study, the authors mention only the first of these explanations.

A Critique of Tomasello and Herron's Studies

Tomasello and Herron's studies address an issue of central importance in L2 acquisition-the role of negative feedback. As they themselves point out, there have been no previous studies demonstrating that correcting L2 learners' errors promotes acquisition of correct target language forms. Their studies, then, together with a recent study by Lightbown and Spada (1990) constitute the first empirical demonstration that error correction may be beneficial. They also suggest that it is correction directed at errors that occur "naturally," as a product of normal interlanguage processes, that is important.

One of the points made by Tomasello and Herron is that whereas child L1 learners may be able to make use of the covert corrections that occur in caretaker's semantically contingent responses (e.g.. expansion),[1] adult L2 learners may require more explicit corrections of the kind provided by the Garden Path treatment. Their studies, however, do not address this key issue, as they provide no evidence to show that covert corrections, which occur in the course of message oriented communication, are ineffective in L2 acquisition.

Many of the doubts about the studies concern methodological issues. Beck and Eubank (1991) raise a number of objections, including the following:

1. The heterogeneity of the structures investigated.
2. The lack of a pre-test.
3. The variability in the amount of elapsed time between teaching and testing the different structures.
4. The use of tests (e.g., translation) that elicit data that may not be generalizable to other types of language performances such as natural communication.
5. The danger of "researcher expectancy," resulting from the fact that one of the researchers was responsible for teaching, contaminating the results.

6. The tests tested each potential error only once per subject. The data on individual learners' knowledge of the correct structures are very meager.

To these criticisms we would add another:

7. Tomasello and Herron provide no information on individual learners' performance, relying entirely on group statistics. It is not possible, therefore, to examine to what extent there were individual differences among the learners.

As Tomasello and Herron (1991) point out in their response to Beck and Eubank's methodological criticisms, their studies constituted an attempt "to perform an experimental investigation of negative feedback in the context of a naturally functioning classroom" (p. 514), and this "required a number of compromises in the experimental design" (p. 515). We are sympathetic to this response, not least because the studies reported in this article are also subject to "compromises" brought about by similar attempts to investigate a "naturally functioning classroom." However, we believe that the criticisms raised are sufficiently important to warrant further research. In particular, we consider it desirable to ensure that (a) there is a pre-test, (b) the target structures are tested more thoroughly, and (c) results for individual learners as well as groups are reported.

The two experimental studies reported below were carried out by different researchers independently, in different teaching contexts. For this reason, they will be reported separately. However the results of the two studies will be discussed together.

Study One: Subject-Verb Inversion Following Adverbials

The first study, conducted by Rosszell, focused on word order following adverbials such as "hardly" and "seldom." In this structure, an auxiliary is placed immediately after the adverbial, sometimes necessitating the introduction of a dummy-do:

Seldom does she go to Roppongi.

Main verb inversion never occurs:

* Seldom goes she to Roppongi.

This structure was chosen because of the potential for learner errors through analogy:

Often she goes to Roppongi.
* Seldom she goes to Roppongi.

The above structure was chosen because pre-testing of learners similar to those involved in the study had demonstrated that it resulted in the expected word errors. It is an English example of the type of over generalization structure investigated by Tomasello and Herron.

The subjects were two groups of Japanese adults (six males and 17 females) at a private language school in Tokyo. They were false beginners, in the sense that, although they had received six years of English instruction at high school and had developed a grounding in grammar, their ability to use this knowledge in communication was very limited. Intact classes had to be used for this study as it was impossible for the researchers to assign students randomly to control and experimental groups. The researchers recognize that this is a limitation of the study but believe that the use of a pre-test helped to overcome it. The experimental group (i.e., Garden Path) consisted of 13 students and the control (i.e., "Error Avoidance") group of 10. There were a further 13 subjects initially involved in the study, but these had to be excluded because they were missing for one or more of the following: the pre-test, the treatment, or the post-test.

The study addressed the following research questions: Does a Garden Path treatment result in more effective learning of subject-verb inversion following adverbials than an Error Avoidance treatment?

A standard pre-test, treatment, post-test design was employed. The tests required the subjects to sort out sets of jumbled words into sentences. They were required to begin each sentence with the word underlined:

* *Rarely* mountains to the have I gone.

Two forms of the test, each consisting of 24 jumbled sentences (four directed at the target structure and 20 distractor sentences), were devised. An initial test, which served as a basis for the two tests used in the study, was piloted on a similar group of students. One form of the test was administered as a pre-test, the other as a post-test.

The two treatments were identical to those used by Tomasello and Herron. Both began with a review of adverb placement in English, pointing out that the position of adverbs like "suddenly" and "sometimes" does not affect word order. In the Error Avoidance lesson the teacher wrote up on the board five adverbials which when placed sentence initially require subject-verb inversion and explained that these were exceptions. He cautioned the students not to overgeneralize the usual word order. He then asked the students to construct a sentence using one of the adverbs and wrote a sample sentence on the board. finally,

he gave the students a sentence to write out twice, once with the adverb ("hardly") at the beginning and once with it following the auxiliary verb. The teacher moved around the class to ensure the students produced the sentence correctly. In the Garden Path lesson, the teacher introduced the target adverbs immediately after the general review of adverb position, inducing the learners to make the expected word order error. The incorrect sentences were written on the board and corrected. finally the teacher listed the target adverbials on the board and completed the lesson in the same way as the Error Avoidance lesson. Thus, the two lessons differed in only one respect: whether the learners were given the opportunity to make the word order error. The researcher served as teacher in both lessons.

Scores for each learner (out of a possible 4) were computed for pre- and post-tests. The results for the individual students are shown in Appendix 1. Table 2 gives the descriptive statistics for the experimental and control groups. The learners manifested no knowledge of the target structure in the pre-test. However, on the post-test, all the learners except two in the experimental group achieved perfect or near-perfect scores (i.e., three or four). A *t*-test indicated that the difference between the two groups on the post-test was not significant (t = -0.77).

Study Two: Dative Alternation

The second study, conducted by Takashima, focused on dative alternation. English permits two patterns with many monosyllabic dative verbs of Anglo-Saxon origin:

Hanako gave a ride to his friend. (...V + NP + PP)
Hanako gave his friend a ride. (...V + NP + NP)

However, many polysyllabic verbs of Latin origin permit only one pattern:

Hanako explained the issue to his friend. (...V + NP + PP)
* Hanako explained his friend the issue. (...V + NP + NP)

In the case of polysyllabic verbs such as "explain" the potential exists for overgeneralization of the NP + NP pattern found with more common monosyllabic verbs, as a number of studies have shown (e.g. Hawkins, 1987; Mazurkewich, 1984).

The subjects were Japanese adults from two intact second-year English classes at a national university. Like the subjects in Study One they could be considered false beginners. One class consisting of 28 students (nine males and 19 females) served as the experimental group receiving

the garden path treatment and another consisting of 33 students (nine males and 24 females) served as the control group receiving the Error Avoidance treatment.

The study addressed the following research question: Does a Garden Path treatment result in more effective learning of the NP + NP pattern with dative verbs like "explain" than an Error Avoidance treatment?

Again, a standard pre-test, treatment, post-test design was used. In this case a single test was constructed, requiring learners to judge the grammaticality of sentences containing dative verbs. The test contained a total of 30 sentences, five of which consisted of ungrammatical sentences involving dative verbs that allow only the NP + PP pattern.

* The woman reported her husband the truth.

The other sentences consisted of correct dative verb sentences and distractor sentences (i.e., correct and incorrect sentences involving other grammatical structures).

The treatment for the two conditions began in the same way. The teacher (the researcher) explained and illustrated the us of NP + NP and the NP + PP patterns with monosyllabic verbs (e.g., "give" and "throw"). A pair of sentences was written on the board. He then introduced a number of polysyllabic verbs (e.g., "offer" and "promise") which can also take both patterns and asked the learners to make sentences again writing one pair on the board as an example. The treatments then diverged. For the experimental group, the teacher wrote on the board five verbs that take only the NP + PP pattern and asked the students to use them in sentences, which they wrote in their notebooks. The teacher then asked the students to read out their answers, wrote incorrect responses on the board and showed the students how to correct them. For the control group, the teacher wrote the same five verbs on the board and then wrote pairs of sentences for each for each, one correct and one incorrect. He pointed out the incorrect ones and explained that some verbs allow only the NP + PP pattern, warning the students that they must take care when using these verbs.

Scores on the five ungrammatical sentences on the pre- and post-tests were calculated for each learner. The scores for the individual students can be found in Appendix 1. The descriptive statistics for the experimental and control groups are shown in Table 2. In this case, many of the learners were able to judge the grammaticality of the key sentences (i.e., those requiring the NP + PP pattern) successfully on the pre-test. However, a *t*-test indicated that there was no statistically significant difference between the experimental and control groups at the commencement of the study (*t*

= 1.47). An inspection of the individual scores shows considerable variance in the ability of students to benefit from either form of instruction. In both the Garden Path and the Error Avoidance groups there were students whose performance on the grammaticality judgment test deteriorated markedly as a result of the instruction they received as well as students whose performance improved considerably.[2] Overall, both groups showed some improvement, the Garden Path group more son then the Error Avoidance group. However, this difference was not statistically significant (t = -1.47)

Discussion

Tomasello and Herron found that inducing and then correcting errors resulted in more effective learning of a range of structures than did instruction aimed at preventing the errors. However the two studies by Rosszell and Takashima reported above found no difference in the two treatments in post-tests administered shortly after the instruction in the case of structures that lent themselves to overgeneralization errors. In the Rosszell study both treatments were equally effective in enabling the students to avoid overgeneralizing the standard English word order with adverbials like "scarcely." In the Takashima study, neither treatment was entirely effective in enabling the learners to make accurate judgments of the grammaticality of sentences containing verbs that require the NP + PP pattern, nor was one treatment more effective than the other.[3]

What explanation can be given for the difference in results obtained by Tomasello and Herron on the one hand and Rosszell and Takashima on the other? One possibility is the learners involved. Tomasello and Herron investigated learners who were mainly complete beginners and who may have had little experience in classroom learning. Such learners may have found it difficult to benefit of the kind of formal explanation employed in the Error Avoidance treatment. In contrast, the Japanese learners had experienced many years of grammatical explanation during high school, therefore, may have been better placed to benefit from them.

The different results may also reflect the different designs used. It is possible, for example, that when learners' attention is focused on a single, thoroughly taught grammatical structure, as in Rosszell and Takashima's studies it makes no difference whether the instruction is of the Garden Path or Error Avoidance type. Conversely, it is possible that when learners are receiving regular instruction directed at a large number of different structures, teaching that encourages learners to make a

cognitive comparison is more effective than instruction based on grammatical explanation.

A third explanation is that any advantage for the Garden Path treatment over the Error Avoidance treatment instruction only becomes apparent some time after the instruction. It is possible that providing learners with negative feedback on their errors leads to long term retention of the correct forms, whereas traditional instruction directed at error avoidance has only a short term effect. If this were the case there would be no differences in a post-test administered shortly after the instruction but differences would emerge subsequently. This is a possibility which we have been unable to consider as no follow-up test was included in the design of the two studies.[4] It should be noted, however, that the result of Tomasello and Herron's studies do not support a latency effect. Their first test was administered between one and four days after the students were taught the structures and showed an immediate, statistically significant advantage for the Garden Path treatment. This advantage neither grew nor diminished in subsequent testing. Thus, the result of Rosszell and Takashima's post-tests contradict those of Tomasello and Herron test 1, where all the tests were administered within the same time frame. Given the pattern of results in Tomasello and Herron's later tests, there would seem to be no good reason to expect a sudden shift in favor of the Garden Path treatment over time in the case of Rosszell and Takashima's studies.

The most likely explanation is that the results obtained by Tomasello and Herron are spurious, a product of design flaws which have already been noted. Although Rosszell and Takashima's studies are also not without problems (e.g., the nature of the tests which shed no light on the learners ability to use the structures in communicative language use, and possible researcher bias).[5] The use of a pre-test and the availability of results for individual learners produced greater confidence than does the Tomasello and Herron design.

It is also possible that the two treatments are not as different as Tomasello and Herron have assumed. The Garden Path treatment induces learners to construct incorrect hypotheses, but it does not follow that all learners actually do so. The Error Avoidance treatment seek to prevent learners from making errors, but it does not follow that at some stage of the lesson the learners did not construct a mental representation of the erroneous sentences. The problem here is the general one of knowing what goes on in the mind of the individual students when confronted with a particular instructional experience.

Conclusion

Tomasello and Herron's studies have showed that inducing learners to make errors and then correcting them led to more successful learning than trying to prevent them from making errors. Consequently, they argued that overt negative feedback may facilitate L2 acquisition by encouraging learners to undertake "cognitive comparisons" of the same kind that children are believed to make in L1 acquisition. The two experimental studies reported above failed to replicate Tomasello and Herron's results, finding no difference between the two instructional treatments.

Does leading learners down the garden path, then also lead them up the creek? The answer is "no." Both Tomasello and Herron's studies and the study by Rosszell and to a lesser extent by Takashima indicate that the Garden Path treatment is effective in teaching learners difficult grammatical structures. In all the studies, learners receiving this treatment demonstrated improved knowledge of the target structures in formal language tests. Rosszell's and Takashima's studies, however, suggest that a more traditional treatment, where the teacher seeks to prevent errors by means of grammatical explanation and examples, works just as well, at least where Japanese college level learners are concerned.

It is pertinent to ask why the Garden Path treatment was successful. Was it the provision of negative feedback that enabled learners to learn the structures? If so, then Tomasello and Herron's studies can still be considered of importance for L2 acquisition researchers, given the current lack of clear evidence that negative feedback helps rule acquisition (see Carroll, Swain & Roberge, 1992). However, no such conclusion is possible. The Garden Path treatment, as described by Tomasello and Herron, included *both* negative feedback and explicit grammatical explanation. It is impossible, therefore, to decide which of these types of information the learners made use of, or in what way. One might add that the same holds for Rosszell's and Takashima's studies, which sought to replicate the instructional treatment used by Tomasello and Herron.

The lessons to be gained from all of this are primarily methodological. The most obvious is the importance of replicating studies. The field of L2 acquisition has seen too few attempts to replicate studies and too great a readiness to accept published results as evidence for theoretical positions. Another lesson is the need for care and precision in defining the instructional treatments to be examined. The warnings that followed the failures of the early comparative method studies (see Long, 1980) still do not seem to have been sufficiently heeded. The instructional

treatments in Tomasello and Herron's studies are not distinguished narrowly enough. A third lesson is the need to recognize that what ultimately counts where acquisition is concerned is not the instructional practices themselves but what individual learners make of them. We need ways of finding out what learners do mentally when they are exposed to different kinds of instruction. Only in this way can we be sure that the treatments are really different

This article also points to the dangers of attempting to apply directly the results of empirical studies of classroom instruction to language pedagogy. Tomasello and Herron's original research points to the potential usefulness of a Garden Path approach; this article suggests that such an approach may not be so effective after all. It is, of course, still not possible to decide one way or other. Perhaps the real value of empirical research lies not in the identification of techniques that "work," but rather in the preliminary investigation of techniques with the potential to work. Teachers can then try these out in their classrooms and decide for themselves whether they have any value. In so doing, of course, they can contribute to the fund of research that is necessary before we can confirm any hypothesis about instruction.

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Notes

1. The claim that children make use of covert corrections in the form of expansions is itself controversial, as Beck and Eubank (1991) point out. However, the role of negative feedback in L1 acquisition is not essential to the main point of Tomasello and Herron's studies, namely that overt negative feedback can contribute to L2 acquisition.

2. Some doubts exist regarding the reliability of grammaticality judgment tests, as there is evidence to suggest that Japanese learners at this level of proficiency do not produce consistent judgments, perhaps as a product of the fact that their knowledge of the structures is uncertain (see R. Ellis, 1991). The main point, however, is that neither the Garden Path nor the Error Avoidance treatment was entirely successful in eliminating this uncertainty, nor was one treatment better than the other at doing so.

3. One possibility raised by the Takashima study is that the ability of individual learners to benefit from a specific instructional treatment depends on learner factors such as aptitude or learning style. However, as no data was available on the subjects' learning style this possibility could not be examined.

4. Ideally, the design of these studies should have included a follow-up test. However, this was not possible as the intact groups used in the two studies dispersed shortly after the post-test, making it impossible to locate the students to administer a follow-up test.

5. Researcher bias, however, ought to have produced results favoring the Garden Path treatment, as both Rosszell's and Takashima's studies were undertaken with a view to providing support for this instructional option. Both researchers were surprised, even dismayed, to find no difference between the two instructional conditions.

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Appendix: Results for Individual Students in the Two Studies

Study 1
Number of Correct Subject-Verb Inversions
in the Garden Path and Error Avoidance Groups

Experimental Group (n = 13) Garden Path Treatment			Control Group (n = 100) Error Avoidance Treatment		
Student	Pre-test	Post-test	Student	Pre-test	Post-test
1	0	4	1	0	4
2	0	0	2	0	4
3	0	4	3	0	3
4	0	4	4	0	4
5	0	4	5	0	4
6	0	4	6	0	4
7	0	4	7	0	4
8	0	4	8	0	3
9	0	4	9	0	4
10	1	1	10	0	4
11	0	4			
12	0	4			
13	0	4			

Table 1
Descriptive Statistics for Study 1

Group	N	Mean	SD	SE
Experimental				
Pre-test	13	.077	.277	.007
Post-test	13	3.462	1.330	.369
Control				
Pre-test	10	.000	.000	.000
Post-test	10	3.800	.422	.133

Table 2
Descriptive Statistics for Study 2

Group	N	Mean	SD	SE
Experimental				
Pre-test	28	1.929	1.359	.257
Post-test	28	3.464	1.774	.335
Control				
Pre-test	33	2.455	1.416	.247
Post-test	33	2.788	1.816	.316

Study 2

Number of Correct Judgments of Sentences requiring NP + VP Pattern in the Garden-Path and Error Avoidance Groups

Experimental Group (n = 13) Garden Path Treatment			Control Group (n = 100) Error Avoidance Treatment		
Student	Pre-test	Post-test	Student	Pre-test	Post-test
1	0	5	1	3	0
2	3	5	2	1	4
3	1	2	3	1	3
4	1	4	4	1	4
5	5	2	5	3	5
6	5	4	6	1	3
7	0	3	7	3	4
8	2	5	8	5	4
9	1	5	9	2	5
10	3	4	10	2	4
11	2	2	11	4	0
12	1	5	12	1	2
13	2	5	13	3	5
14	2	4	14	4	3
15	1	0	15	4	4
16	2	3	16	4	2
17	4	5	17	2	0
18	2	5	18	4	5
19	2	0	19	0	1
20	2	0	20	3	3
21	2	5	21	3	3
22	0	4	22	5	0
23	2	4	23	2	1
24	0	4	24	5	4
25	2	0	25	1	0
26	1	3	26	2	1
27	4	5	27	0	5
28	2	2	28	2	4
			29	2	1
			30	3	1
			31	3	1
			32	1	5
			33	1	5

Design and Development of a Video-Mediated Test of Communicative Proficiency

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This paper discussed the development of the Kanda English Proficiency Test (KEPT) as a communicative test of English as Foreign Language for Japanese university students. The paper first considers the framework of communicative testing, examines each section of the test, and discusses issues related to the role of video in testing.

コミュニケーション能力測定のための
ビデオを使用したテストのデザインと開発

本稿は日本人大学生の為のコミュニケーション重視試験として開発されたKEPT(神田英語学習習熟度テスト)について論じる。先ず、コミュニケーション重視テストの枠組みを述べた後、KEPTの各項を検討し、試験におけるビデオ教材の役割に関する焦点を論ずる。

In McLuhan's (1964) phrase "The medium is the message" lies a challenge for language teaching and testing personnel: does the manner in which information is presented truly affect the way it is understood? Benson (1993) seems to think so, and calls on those using video for teaching to use the same medium to test student progress. For Benson, alternative learning styles are activated by visual media and video presents a range of information (such as sociolinguistic markers and views of the target culture) not available in any other form. Despite a range of materials on *how* to use video in the classroom (e.g., Cooper, Lavery & Rinvolucri, 1991; Stempleski & Tomalin, 1990), Tatsuki (1993) points out, "basic research into how learners learn language and how specific media affect language learning is needed" (p. 24). Gruba (1993) notes that, particularly in language testing, there is a need to explore the applications of video for evaluation purposes.

Established in 1989, the Kanda English Proficiency Test (KEPT) project aims to create a video-mediated, Japan-based communicative test of English proficiency. Though still in a developmental phase, the KEPT has been administered ten times. Following each administration, it has been revised. In order to look at the use of video in testing, this paper provides an overview of communicative language testing, explains key design concepts of the KEPT, and discusses issues of the use of video in language testing.

Toward a Definition of Communicative Proficiency Testing

Overview. Regarding communicative tests, Heaton (1988) writes that they should result in a profile of the learner's abilities and be adapted for specific purposes, while not losing sight of purposeful applications of language use. Further, Heaton argues that communicative test content must be "totally relevant for a particular group of testees" and that test tasks "should relate to real-life situations, usually specific to a particular group or culture" (p. 20). Test developers ignorant of the examinees' culture may unintentionally introduce cultural bias and reduce test reliability, Heaton points out. A recognition of student needs, important in curriculum development (Nunan, 1988), should also figure prominently in communicative test development, according to Heaton.

To better distinguish communicative tests from exams that use language in a decontextualized framework, Bachman (1991, p. 678) noted four distinct points that set then apart:

1. An "information gap" is created that requires test takers to process information from several sources.
2. The successful completion of tasks in one section builds upon the content and completion of tasks in earlier sections.
3. Test tasks and content are integrated within a given domain of discourse.
4. A broad range of language abilities are measured, including knowledge of cohesion, functions, and sociolinguistic appropriateness (as opposed to tests which focus on grammar, vocabulary, and pronunciation).

Definition of KEPT

Definitions of tests are difficult to frame and may not capture particular attributes of a given instrument (Henning, 1987). In order to set the

boundaries of the KEPT, however, key design concepts of the test are:

1. It is based on communicative principles of language learning, in that responses are meant to show a purposeful *exchange of information* in a specific domain of language.
2. Awareness of student needs is recognized in its design and development within the context of Japan.
3. Test content is integrated throughout, and only seen as a whole can it be fully understood.
4. Information is video-mediated.

To sum up, the KEPT is intended to be a video-mediated, integrated proficiency test of communication in English as a foreign language, based on preferences and needs of Japanese students, and is intended for use by Japanese students at universities and comparable foreign language institutions.

Structure of KEPT

Overview: Following a number of modifications to the original series of developmental prototypes, the KEPT now has six sections: (a) an introductory video; (b) a reading section that has both a factual memo and an extended fictional narrative; (c) a cloze section to test grammar; (d) a video-mediated listening section that consists of two monologues and a dialogue; (e) a writing section that offers a choice of two prompts; and (f) an oral interview section (see Appendix A). The entire test is based on one integrated storyline and takes a total of one hour and 45 minutes to complete: the 90-item multiple choice section takes one hour, the composition a half hour, and the oral examination 15 minutes. Test instructions are printed both in English and Japanese on the test booklets, and are presented on the video tape itself.

The Integrated Storyline: Though the use of an integrated storyline appears to match communicative testing parameters, employing such a design is not without criticism. Low (1986) reported that the use of integrated storylines in language test development is faced with several key problems, chiefly: (a) the possibility of lowered reliability due to a violation of assumptions of item independence; (b) the possible introduction of a content bias founded upon a single theme, which cannot be moderated through the use of a variety of topics within one test; (c) possible initial student "shock" in adapting to an integrated test format; (d) the increased difficulty in specifying design and test specifications; and (e)

the lack of a clear definition of what is meant by "line of development" and thus the complications arising out of this for validation purposes.

Low (1986) concluded that investigation into the use of an integrated storyline in full scale examinations is "largely an unknown field" (p. 34), and one that requires rigorous evaluation. KEPT developers, aware of these problems, decided to adopt an integrated design while attending to student preferences.

According to a university student needs analysis conducted by Widdows and Voller (1991), the most common reason Japanese students would like to acquire English proficiency is to be able to cope with everyday situations in English abroad. A similar study (Busch et al., 1992) reconfirmed the findings that the KEPT theme of international travel, originally established in 1989, was appropriate.

The KEPT is based on the actions of five characters, employed at an international trading company in Tokyo, who must travel abroad as a team. Each character is of a different nationality: American, Australian, British, Canadian, and Japanese. There are two women and three men. The same five characters are seen in each of the four versions of the test.

In each version, the basic premise is essentially the same. The team has a meeting before leaving Tokyo, arrives in the new country and begins to explore. They are soon faced with a problem (e.g., someone becomes lost before a crucial meeting, or a corporate business decision is questioned) and two conflicting sides of the issue emerge. Both sides are presented and the team is faced with making a critical decision under deadline pressure. As the multiple choice section of the test ends, test candidates in the productive phase (writing and speaking) present arguments and suggest solutions to the dilemma.

Introductory Sequence. As the KEPT begins, an introductory sequence plays for five minutes to build context, introduce characters, and allow examinees time to adjust to English as spoken by native speakers. Candidates are told that no information given in the introductory video will be directly tested. The set for the video is a meeting room; the twelve characters reacquaint themselves with each other and discuss the upcoming project. The meeting is the only one held in Tokyo before the characters travel together. Technically, the video is simple: it is taped in real time using one camera from the front and contains no complex graphics, special lighting, or sophisticated sound track.

Reading Proficiency: Immediately following the introductory sequence, examinees are instructed to open their test booklets and start the read-

ing section. They first encounter a factual memo of 250 words. The memo is linked to the introductory sequence (one team member has promised to provide background information about the country). The format of the memo is standard American business style, containing a brief header of recipients, the sender, a topic, and date. Ten multiple-choice items, written in "wh-" format as recommended by Popham (1990), follow the memo to test skimming and scanning abilities in addition to the comprehension of factual information.

Because reading is an interactive process between the reader and the page (Grabe, 1991), the reading section of the KEPT aims to encourage students to bring much of their learning outside the classroom to the task of deciphering text within the contextual framework. Test items 11-30 of this section focus on inferential reading skills. Questions here, for example, may ask candidates to infer a character's emotional state from a written description of a gesture. As such, the second half of the reading section is fictional, written from an omniscient point of view, and is approximately 750 words long. In this section, the characters have recently arrived in the country and are beginning to explore. The total time allowed for examinees to complete the entire reading section of 30 multiple-choice items is 30 minutes, an average pace for reading tests.

Grammatical Proficiency: This section recognizes the role of grammar in a communicative framework; that is, to stress discourse features of the text and "where a number of possible choices will be correct or possible in terms of grammatical form alone, but only one will be correct when the meaning derived from context is applied" (Johnson et al., 1991, p. 22). Contextual comprehension is seen as an interdependent link to grammatical proficiency. Both Heaton (1988) and Savignon (1991) note the importance of grammar in communicative materials.

As the fictional story continues, the text is presented to examinees as a cloze test that employs rational (as opposed to fixed interval) deletions for a total of 30 items. Instructions advise the students to read through the text once for understanding before attempting to choose the correct word or phrase out of four possible choices.

Listening Proficiency: Prior to the introduction of communicative methodologies, listeners were viewed as passive receptors of messages; current models of communication stress that listeners are part of an interactive and interpretive process in which they "engage in a dynamic construction of meaning" (Murphy, 1991, p. 56).

There are three separate video-mediated listening passages in the listening section: two monologues and one dialogue. The problem, developed in the reading and grammar sections, is such that there are two possible solutions. The first monologue presents one side of the argument; the second argues the opposing point of view. The dialogue has two actors attempting to resolve the dilemma. All video passages have the actors talking at natural speed to the group; no special lighting, graphics or sound effects are used, and each video segment lasts to three minutes. After a one-minute preview of the items and note taking while viewing/listening, examinees are allowed six minutes to answer 10 four-distractor multiple-choice questions in each of the three sections.

To attempt to draw on some of the benefits of using video, questions in the first listening section employ graphics of gestures as part of the information to be tested. Efforts to further maximize the advantages of the video (e.g., facial expressions, movement, show of emotions) have proved difficult to incorporate because of the complexity of describing such actions in a multiple choice format.

Writing: To increase interactional authenticity in a communicative testing framework, particularly in the area of goal setting, Bachman (1991) suggests that examinees be given choices when faced with writing tasks. The writing section of the KEPT requires students to comment on what the team should do with their problem (analytical skills), or to continue writing the story from the point of view of one of the characters (creative skills). Compositions are later marked by trained raters using a standard scale (see Appendix B).

Speaking Proficiency: Oral examinations are held separately from the multiple-choice and composition sections and are held on an appointment basis. In the speaking section, examinees are given a choice of tasks to complete, similar to the ones in the composition section.

Upon entering the examination room, four examinees are seated in chairs facing each other. Two trained oral evaluators are present, one of whom acts as a guide in the exam while the other sits quietly. The four examinees sit in pairs directly facing each other while the evaluators sit parallel at either end. After introductions are made, the lead evaluator hands a mounted photograph (a scene from the video) to each of the candidates. Each photo is accompanied by a 30- to 35-word description of the scene, such as "Karen listened carefully to the others and took notes. She wondered what they would decide as a group. Tom looked out the window, hoping that he would eventually be able to see some

of the sights of Mexico City." The evaluator then instructs the examinees in English that they will be required to read the text aloud and describe for the group the actions in the photograph. The examinees are allowed one minute to read the text and examine the photograph.

After one minute of silent reading, each candidate reads the caption aloud. Following the task, the group is told to discuss the story and to solve the problem collectively. Both evaluators then sit back and take notes while the candidates have a conversation. Each of the group examinations lasts fifteen minutes.

Categories for oral evaluation include pronunciation, speech flow, expressiveness, and grammar (see Appendix C). Each of the four categories ranges from a top of five to a low of one; a total of 20 points can be awarded. Four points is the minimum score. The two evaluators may compare notes and discuss student performances immediately following the exam.

KEPT Administration-Spring 1993

Administration: In early April 1993, the KEPT was administered. Out of the 1,545 English majors at Kanda University, 1,128 students took the examination, for a total of 73% of the available population. As the test is till in its developmental stages, participation in the examination was voluntary and students were informed that scores would not be added to permanent students records. After data processing, however, student scores were made available to students and faculty campus wide. A full report of the administration, including detailed statistical and item analysis of each section, was also written (Gruba, 1993b).

Reliability

According to Bachman (1990), internal consistency measures to estimate test reliability (e.g., KR20, KR21, split half, or Cronbach's alpha) are thought to overestimate the reliability coefficient in integrated proficiency examinations. Accordingly, KEPT developers used "test-retest" procedures for reliability estimates.

Following the advice of Henning (1987), the test-retest procedure was conducted within two weeks of the first KEPT administration to minimize the effects of both test familiarity and further instruction. By the second week of classes, two random groups of second- and third-year students ($n = 42$) were selected to take the multiple-choice section of the KEPT a second time. Using Pearson product moment correlation

procedures, the KEPT test reliability estimate was found to be .85. Ideally, reliability indices should range from the high .80s to the .90s (Hatch & Lazaraton, 1991).

Concerning the oral section, Gruba (1992) found KEPT inter-rater reliability estimates to be .92 in one test administration. Modification of the oral rating procedure in subsequent administrations allowed raters to discuss individual performances immediately following interviews before making a score, possibly violating assumptions of independence needed to use inter-rater reliability estimates. The shared two-rater procedure was done to encourage constant "renorming," so that raters were continually seeking agreement during difficulty rating sessions.

Based on Heaton (1988), rating scales for judgment of the writing section (Appendix B) of the test are holistic, as opposed to the analytical/categorical evaluations of oral abilities. The two contrasting styles of rating were adapted to see discrete aspects of oral proficiencies closely but to view writing as an integrated whole. All compositions are read by two readers who are allowed to discuss a paper before assigning a final score. Particularly troublesome compositions are given to a third reader. Gruba (1992) found inter-rater reliability estimates on compositions to be .88 during one administration, though subsequent changes in the procedure may affect this figure.

Validity

In its present developmental stages, the KEPT cannot be considered a valid examination of English proficiency. Construct validity studies, for example, as well as item revisions, must be completed. In its relation of Kanda University, the KEPT is yet to be placed in a proper operational context within the University, its scores possibly being made part of the permanent student records. University administrators, supportive of the test, are awaiting faculty-wide discussions of the examination. In short, the KEPT is seen as a research project and is not yet recognized as a test of proficiency for the students.

Conclusion

Set within a communicative framework, the KEPT is an attempt to provide an integrated storyline within a video-mediated format as a way to test English proficiency. The examination is still in a developmental stage, and there is ample proof of Weir's (1990) warning that such tests are "difficult and time consuming to construct, require more resources

to administer, demand careful training and standardization of examiners, and are more complex and costly to mark and report results on" (p. 35). Weir claimed much research is needed to develop true communicative tests of language ability. Clearly though, as the Japanese Ministry of Education further encourages communicative teaching (Goold, Madeley, & Carter, 1993), test developers in Japan must seek to make examinations that are themselves responses to changes in the field.

The use of video testing (along with its technological equivalent, computer assisted testing) comes with several nagging issues. The first concerns are practical ones: the writing of video scripts, the justification to budget committees of the additional cost of video, the selection of actors (age, gender, and race issues may come into play here), sufficient equipment at a testing site to show the video, and the case of producing copies of the test for later sale. The second set of concerns touches on more theoretical issues: test specifications needs to define clear standards of cultural appropriateness, gestures, and other complex sociolinguistic markers, and, finally, construct validation of various language proficiencies when a candidate is examined by a visual medium ("visual proficiency" as opposed to simple listening proficiency?).

Before addressing issues of video-mediated test development, one must first justify that the effort is worth the benefit. For the KEPT project, developers tackled this question in a straightforward manner: they use video in a communicative framework to teach students English proficiency in the classroom (as opposed to audio tapes or simple printed media in a grammar-translation approach) and therefore feel obliged to evaluate the same students using similar methods. Since adopting this approach, other evaluation methods appear, to project members, to be somewhat odd and increasingly, outdated. To continue to test English proficiency in Japan using only printed media and audio tapes in a communicative era for an MTV generation is indefensible.

Practical problems in the KEPT development proved surmountable. Ideas for writing video scripts came from close study of readily available commercial movie scripts, including the formatting of scripts and the provision of standard actor and stage directions. Actor selections were made out of the faculty of a sister institution (Kanda Institute of Foreign Languages), and actors were given the scripts weeks in advance to study. The actual video taping was done in a small on-campus television studio, with backdrops and simple props providing a realistic setting. No students complained about the quality of the production. As for the actual presentation of the test, Kanda University, like many universities in Japan, has a video monitor in nearly every classroom.

As noted above, efforts to exploit totally the advantages of using video by testing all the complexities of real, communicative language (e.g., facial expressions and gestures) have been impeded by the difficulties implicit in such an approach. Test developers could not guarantee that all candidates were watching the video during the "listening" section (video tapes made of the students taking the test later confirmed that many were not continuously viewing the KEPT video but were rather simply listening to the audio portion of it). Additionally, attempts to write items indicating facial gestures, for example, met with unsatisfactory results. At present, the video portion is a complement to the audio portion of the tape, a point that may be resolved when video-mediated tests are brought to the personal computer via multi-media presentations.

Further theoretical issues continue to plague the development of the KEPT. When a listening score is presented, critics have charged that students have done much more than "just listen"—but surely that is the point of using video as a test medium in the first place. Discussions on how to report candidate scores, section by section, remain very much alive. Quite simply, what does an English proficiency score on the KEPT mean? In particular, is a listening score a reflection of "pure" listening abilities, or a much more complex awareness of appropriate gestures, sociolinguistic markers, and other visual cues? Though the test is not yet complete, KEPT developers are beginning to create a defense of the reported scores by first pointing out that scores indicate, to a large extent, the level of ability of a student taught under a communicative paradigm. Since the test is based on a simple storyline, the overall score points to an ability to use information from a variety of sources in a sustained manner. Composition scores reflect an ability to draw on learned experiences in order to build a coherent argument or create a logical extension of an event. Oral scores point to an ability to talk in a group, for a purpose, and not simply to an ability to answer questions in a one-to-one interview.

finally, testing biases created by the inclusion of visuals may need to be investigated. Possible variations of "English proficiency" test scores due to a student's perception of an actor's style of dress, gender, race, and overall appearance may need to be investigated. Who, for example, is a prototypical "native speaker" in style and appearance-certainly the choice of an educated, middle-aged white male would be subject to controversy! Much more work, of course, is needed to finalize the KEPT as a communicative test of foreign language proficiency.

The author would like to acknowledge the substantial contribution to the KEPT Project by the late Professor Yamada, in addition to the work of all others at Kanda University including the International Studies students who took the examination.

Paul Gruba, a former research associate at Kanda University of International Studies, is now studying at the University of Melbourne.

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Appendix A
KEPT Outline

1. *Title page*
   University name
   KEPT title
   Booklet number
2. *Instructions* (In English, administered orally by proctors)
   Example of card marking
   Explain sections
   Explain total time
   Explain regulations
3. *Introduction* (video)*
   All five characters introduced
   Business meeting setting
   Explain country location
   Explain purpose of trip
   Explain each member's role
   *No items (introduction only)
4. *Memo/Factual Passage*
   Link to intro video
   Added business context
   Date/time
   Format for literal comprehension
   Explain country
5. *Items 1-10* (reading items related to memo)
6. *Narrative Passage*
   Arrive in country
   Tourist activity
   Problem introduced
7. *Items 11-30* (reading items related to the narrative passage)
8. *Cloze Passage*
   Problem continues
   Business decision attempted
9. *Items 31-60* (Grammar)
10. *Listening 1 Monologue*
    Problem explained from one point of view
11. *Items 61-70* (with graphics)
12. *Listening 2 Monologue*
    Problem explained from second point of view
13. *Items 71-80* (Listening)
14. *Listening 3 Dialogue*
    Problems discussed by two team members; dilemma
15. *Items 81-90* (Listening)
16. *Composition* (Writing)
    Prompt to continue story
    Prompt to analyze story
17. *Student Survey Items*
    Impression of KEPT
    Likes/dislikes
18. *Oral Interview* (Speaking)
    Prompt to explain event in video
    Description of photo from video
    Read aloud
    Discussion of solutions

Main Characters

Mike Brennan, 29, American. Mike served in the US Army in Okinawa and learned to speak Japanese during his military service. His hobby is photography and he is obsessed with health and fitness.

Karen Sampson, 34, Canadian. With an MBA in international finance, Karen is quickly gaining a reputation in the company as an intelligent and efficient business woman.

Tomoko Watanabe, 27, Japanese. After completing an economics degree in the States, Tomoko returned to Japan hoping to start her own business. She is currently gaining experience while trying to save money.

Jim Garrick, 32, British. A child of a British diplomat, Jim has grown up in a number of different countries and speaks a variety of languages.

David Lu, 23, Australian. He recently completed a degree in fine arts and came to Japan to earn money before going on to get a Masters in fine Arts.

Appendix B

Kanda English Proficiency Test Composition Scoring Guidelines		
18-20	Excellent	Virtually free of errors, complex and appropriate structure, task addressed with facility and creativity
16-17	Very Good	Minimal errors, clearly competent, varied use of structure, task addresssed with support
12-15	Good	Occasional errors; simplistic vocabulary; task sufficiently addressed but not fully supported
8-11	Acceptable	Multiple errors, flawed structure; distracting vocabulary; task marginally addressed
5-7	Weak	Serious errors; task completion inadequate; inappropriate vocabulary usage
0-4	Very Poor	Errors bar communication; lack of basic structure; insufficient vocabulary; task not addressed

Compositions are to be read impressionistically (as opposed to analytically). A reading pace of two to three minutes per composition is recommended for a total of 20 to 30 compositions per hour per reader. Effort should be made to give equal time to each paper. Breaks should be taken in case of fatigue to minimize error in judgment. Readers should clearly mark their initials to an assigned score for identification.

Markers will award scores based on subjective impressions, but should take care in assigning a mark merely based on (a) what is believed the student wanted to write; (b) general appearance of the students' handwriting; and (c) previous knowledge of the student. firm understanding of the composition task, adequate composition marking training, and frequent reevaluation of scores in conjunction with colleagues will increase subtest reliability.

Each composition will be read by a minimum of two readers; a difference of three or more points between raters will require a rating of a third reader. A

score will be considered settled if the third reader is in agreement with one other reader within a spread of two points. A total score will be assigned to each composition based on the sum of readers' scores divided by the total number of readers.

Appendix C

Kanda English Proficiency Test Oral Rating Scales					
Rating	Speech Flow	Pronunciation Accuracy	Grammatical Accuracy	Expressiveness	Total
5	High degree of fluency, effortless, smooth, natural rhythm	Rarely mis-pronounces; l/r/lh/v/f problems	Uses high level discourse structure; occasional errors	Interacts as a leader; body/ facial expressions, genuinely at ease	
4	Speaks with facility and confidence; paraphrases; occasional pauses	Accent rarely disturbs native listener	Full range of basic structures; mistakes do not interfere with communication	Frequent eye contact; some body language; interacts with facility	
3	Hesitant speech; some paraphrasing; noticeable errors in speech rhythms	Often faulty but intelligible	Meaning expressed in accurate simple sentences; complex grammar avoided	Self-conscious, formal; responds with caution; waits for prompting	
2	Slow, strained, except for routine expressions	Frequent errors; intelligible to NS accustomed to NNS	Errors frequent but intelligible to NS accustomed to NNS patterns	Stiff; fixed posture; hesitant to contribute; requires prompting	
1	So halting conversation is nearly impossible	Unintelligible without effort	Fragmented phrases; single words	No outward signs of willing participation	

Oral ratings will be assigned to examinees on the basis of both reading aloud and conversation with three other examinees in a period of fifteen minutes.

It is recommended that ratings for speech flow be assigned to all four examinees immediately following individual read aloud sessions. Other categories should be assessed in the course of the conversation, with the score for expressiveness being the last to be assigned. It is imperative that raters try to allow each examinee equal attention before scoring oral abilities.

Oral evaluation forms should be complete filled out, including total scores, and initialized before a new group of examinees is allowed to begin.

C-Tests
Four Kinds of Texts, Their Reliability and Validity

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This study examines test appropriateness for constructing the most effective C-Test. The following tests were administered to 42 college freshmen from April 1992 through May 1992: the Second Grade Test of the Society of Testing English Proficiency (STEP), *A Comprehensive English Language Test for Learners of English* (CELT) Listening, a Dictation test, and four C-Tests whose tests used Narration, Explanation, Description, and Argumentation. Results indicate the following: First, the reliability of the Narration C-Test is the highest ($r = 0.928$). Second, there is a fairly high correlation between the scores of the STEP test and the Narration C-Test. Third, there is a very low correlation between the scores of C-Tests and the CELT Listening Comprehension test. Fourth, there is a very low correlation between the scores of the C-Tests and the Dictation test. The study therefore indicates that a C-Test which uses a long narration text seems to be a promising means of measuring a language learner's overall language proficiency, and what a C-Test measures seems different from what a listening test and a Dictation test measure. Further research is needed to investigate the correlations between the Narration-based C-Test and a more reliable criterion test like the TOEFL.

4種のテクストによるクローズ・テスト：信頼性と妥当性

この研究は、最も効果的なクローズ・テスト（C-テスト）を開発するために、使用するテクストの適切さを検証する。物語、説明、記述、論述の4種のテクストを使用したC-テストと、STEP、CELT、およびディクテーション・テストを42名の大学1年生に実施した結果、長い物語文を使用したC-テストは学習者の総合的言語能力を測るのに適しているらしいこと、C-テストが測っている能力は、聞き取りテストとディクテーション・テストの測る能力とは異なるらしいことがわかった。今後は、物語文を使ったC-テストとTOEFLなどのより信頼性の高い基準との相関について研究する必要がある。

In 1953 Taylor (1956) invented the cloze test, in which every *n*th word is deleted mechanically from a passage of appropriate difficulty and the examinee is asked to fill in the blank with a suitable word. The cloze test, which is sometimes modified into a rationally deleted cloze test or a multiple-choice cloze test, has been gaining steady popularity in both ESL and EFL programs as a measure of a student's overall proficiency in the target language. The use of a cloze procedure has been suggestion as a possible alternative method of ESL placement as Hinofotis (1983) and Oller and Conrad (1971) report, and as an alternative or supplementary method of EFL placement, as Heilenman (1983) reports.

Problems with Cloze Tests

Recently, however, problems with the cloze test have been pointed out by several researchers. These problems are roughly divided into the following categories:

1. Types of measure. Lado (1986) administered the Oller-Conrad (1971) 50-item cloze test to 54 graduate and undergraduate ENL (English as a native language) students at Georgetown University. As a result of his analysis, he supported Carroll et al.'s (1959) conclusion that the cloze procedure may be a suitable testing device to assess group differences in ESL, but it is inadequate as a measure of individual differences. He argues as follows: that only one subject out of 54 (2%) obtained above 70 percent (the minimum passing score in academic courses); that the cloze test deals with a narrow sample of a single register of English because it lacks the formation of yes/no questions, requests, and so forth; that the cloze procedure does not encourage high level thinking, since unlike ordinary reading for meaning, it requires the examinee to use the context to search for specific words missing in the test; that the cloze procedure precludes the application of such good psychometric practice as the arrangement of items from easy to difficult; that the revision and rational selection of test items on the basis of experimental administration of the initial forms of the test of typical students are lacking; and that the majority of the examinees (87%) reacted negatively to the test.

2. Scoring methods. Brown (1980) administered the UCLA ESL Placement Examination, a 50-item cloze test, and a multiple choice cloze test to 112 UCLA students. After comparing the four scoring methods-multiple-choice, exact answer, acceptable answer, and clozentropy, his conclusion was that the best overall scoring method was acceptable answer

scoring. However, when acceptable scoring is adopted, the advantages of easy preparation and scoring are canceled.

3. Reliability and validity. Porter (1978) states that subjects' scores may vary according to where the deletion starts in the cloze test. Alderson (1979) and Klein-Braley (1981) are in general accord with the findings of Klein-Braley and Raatz (1984):

> Systematic *n*th-word deletion does not necessarily produce a random sample of the elements of the test. Different deletion rates and starting points applied to the same text produce tests which can differ very considerably in difficulty, reliability, and validity, and particularly for homogenous samples (classroom groups or monolingual groups) cloze tests tend to have unsatisfactory reliability coefficients. (p. 135)

Klein-Braley (1983) examined a total of 22 cloze test and could not find a single pair of reliable and parallel tests, which leads her to conclude that there may be no such things as cloze equivalent across tests.

4. What cloze tests measure. There are three main views on what cloze tests measure: (a) cloze tests and integrative tests cannot be distinguished statistically from discrete-point tests because of lack of statistically difference between the former and the latter (Farhady, 1979); (b) cloze tests measure only basic skills, because they are correlated more closely with grammar tests than with reading tests (Alderson, 1979); and (c) cloze tests measure overall proficiency, because they are closely correlated to dictation, reading tests, and essay writing besides standardized proficiency tests (Chavez-Oller et al., 1985).

C-Tests

In response to these problems, a new type of cloze test, the C-Test, was developed by Raatz and Klein-Braley (1981).

Format of the C-Test. In the C-Test, the second half of every second word is deleted instead of whole word, or according to the "rule of 2."

Advantages of the C-Test. First, in cloze tests, unpredictable results are obtained by various fixed-ratio deletion procedures, whereas the C-Test procedure meets the random sampling requirement because the deletion of "half words" results in a random, representative sample of parts of speech being so affected (Klein-Braley, 1985). Second, the test performance of the cloze test is affected by the text topic and difficulty, whereas in the C-Test it is minimized by the use of several different short texts. Third in cloze tests, even native speakers can hardly achieve

a maximum score, whereas, regarding the C-Test, Klein-Braley (1985) says "Adult educated native speakers achieve virtually perfect scores" (p. 84). Fourth, students find C-Tests less frustrating than cloze tests.

Disadvantages of the C-Test. What the C-Test measures is open to questions. Klein-Braley (1985, p. 100) states that "recognition of syntactical relationship comes first" in completing a given word, though semantic processing is indispensable for perfect performance. The C-Test is claimed to be a measure of overall language proficiency. However, it appears to indicate more grammatical than contextual competence, as Carroll (1986) states that the C-Test "harks back in many ways to the form of word completion test devised by the German psychologist Ebbinghaus (1987)," and further that "it seems to be limited to the measurement of general proficiency, chiefly at lower levels of ability, in written language" (p. 128).

Klein-Braley and Raatz (1984) suggest a list of criteria which the C-Test should meet: (a) it should use several different texts; (b) it should have at least 100 deletions; (c) adult native speakers should obtain virtually perfect scores; (d) the deletions should affect a representative sample of the text; (e) only exact scoring should be possible; and (f) the test should have high reliability and validity. They consider the test to be satisfactory if its reliability by Cronbach's alpha reaches 0.8 or higher, and its empirical validity (correlation with the criterion) is at least 0.5 (p. 136). They state that the C-Test is norm-oriented, which means the subject group should score an average of 50 percent on the test (p. 144).

Klein-Braley (1985) states that reduced redundancy tests, like cloze tests and C-Tests, have as a cornerstone in their underlying theory random sampling of the elements (p. 180). Further, she claims that *n*th-word deletion and random-word deletion in cloze tests are not the same, whereas "C-Test deletion (at least in the 100 English and 100 German tests we examined) does produce random samples of the word classes of the text involved" (p. 84).

The C-Test has a short history and many things remain to be explored. The research so far has not dealt with what kind of text produces a higher reliability and validity, and what exactly the C-Test measures. As for the former problem, Mochizuki (1984) shows that the correlation between the Narration M-C (Multiple-Choice) cloze test and a criterion test is higher than that between any other kind (i.e., Explanation, Discourse, or Description) of M-C cloze and the criterion test. As for the latter problem, Darnell (1968) shows that the highest correlation of cloze test scores with a various parts of the TOEFL is with the listening comprehension section (0.73). Oller and Conrad (1971) show that

there is a high correlation (0.82) between the cloze test and Dictation. Therefore, I assume that the Narration C-Test will produce a higher reliability and concurrent validity, and that the correlation between the score of the C-Test and the scores of Dictation and the Listening Comprehension might be high. The following hypotheses were set up:

H1. The reliability of the Narration C-Test will be the highest of the four kinds of texts (i.e., Narration, Explanation, Argumentation, and Description).
H2. There will be a high correlation between the score of the Narration C-Test and that of a placement test.
H3. There will be a high correlation between the score of the Narration C-Test and that of a listening test.
H4. There will be a high correlation between the score of the Narration C-Test and that of a Dictation test.

It is hoped that the C-Test will be "efficient" in terms of reliability and concurrent validity on the one hand, and in terms of practicality (being easy to write and conduct) on the other. For this to be true, the reliability of the C-Test should exceed the critical threshold level of 0.8, and the test should correlate with the reliable discrete point test at 0.5 or higher, as claimed by Klein-Braley and Raatz (1984, p. 136). At the same time the test writers, especially secondary school teachers who are very busy with day-to-day activities, should be exempt from the fairly difficult burden or selecting several kinds of texts for the C-Test, and should only have to use one kind of text for the C-Test.

Method

Purpose: The purposes of the study were to determine the most appropriate kind of text for making the C-Test most effective, and to define more exactly what the C-Test measures.

Subjects: The experiment was conducted from April, 1992 through May, 1992 at Naruto University of Education. The subjects were 42 first-year students who were enrolled in an undergraduate class in general English.

Materials: For this study, passages which were longer than Klein-Braley's suggestions (approximately 400 words) were used in the C-Tests. Four kinds of texts were represented, as in Mochizuki (1991):

1. *Explanation*: a passage which explains things as they are and in which the author does not express personal feelings, such as objective explanations of the activities performed on Thanksgiving Day.
2. *Argumentation*: a passage in which the author tries to convince the readers to adopt a particular point of view. The purpose is overtly persuasive and the subject matter may deal with issues such a criticism of art or literature.
3. *Description*: a passage which describes things, persons, or places in detail, in accordance with the author's impressions and feelings, and does not so much inform the readers as appeal to their feelings.
4. *Narration*: a passage that narrates something which happened either in reality or in the imaginary world, for example, excerpts from newspaper articles or novels.

The following were the materials used in this experiment:

1. A 66-item placement examination (STEP) composed of an assortment of items from past second grade STEP written examinations, which the subjects were allowed 55 minutes to complete.
2. A 50-item listening comprehension test (CELT, Harris & Palmer, 1986) which the subjects were allowed approximately 25 minutes to complete.
3. A 104-word dictation test (Dictation), made up of approximately 20-word passages from parts of the Shizuoka Prefecture Standardized Tests for second- and third-year high school students.
4. Four 120-item C-Tests[1] (C-Tests), in each of which the first few and the last few sentences were left intact and the second half of every second word was deleted, and for each of which on the basis of pretesting experience, 35 minutes were allowed for completion.

The four C-Tests were constructed and marked using the following principles:

1. The second half of every second word was deleted. In blanks composed of odd-numbered words (the number of the deleted in n), the subject is required to fill in the blanks with ($[n - 1]/2$) and ($[n + 1]/2$) numbered words alternately; for example, st*out*(1)... ph*one*(2)...mou*th*(3)...ov*er*(4). In word (1) two letters are deleted, in word (2) three letters, in word (3) two letters, and in word (4) three letters.
2. Difficult words/phrases were explained in easier English or Japanese to facilitate the understanding of the passage.
3. Numerals/proper nouns (e.g., *5100* km, Mr. *James Stewart*) were

disregarded in counting every second word.

4. A misspelled word was regarded as correct, as long as the scorer realized that the subject understood the targeted word.

Procedure

In order to study the concurrent validity of the C-Tests in question, a criterion test had to be specified. Therefore, CELT tests of vocabulary and structure and the STEP placement examination were administered to all the subjects in early April, 1992. The result revealed that the reliability of CELT was 0.638, whereas that of the STEP placement examination was 0.778 by the split-half method. Therefore, the STEP placement examination was chosen as a placement test for this study. The subjects were tested on the CELT listening test, the Dictation test, and the four C-Tests from April through the end of May, 1992.

After the test was administered, the test papers were exchanged between students and scored in unison following the teacher's comments. After the test papers had been collected, they were looked over and the miscalculations of the points of those tests were corrected by the teacher. It must be noted that because the C-Test was a new procedure for the students, their performance improved over time. Hence, the difference in their scores on the different types of passages may also reflect their familiarity with the testing format.

Results

The reliability coefficients were calculated as shown in Table 1. In this study, the split-half method was used for their calculation. In assessing the reliability of individual C-Test texts, the use of the split-half method or the KR-20, or the KR-21, or Cronbach's alpha assumes that the items are independent (i.e., that the test may be split into two independent halves). Klein-Braley and Raatz (1984) used each of the various texts as "superitem" (p. 136) without analyzing individual items, thereby avoiding the problem of item independence. Indeed there is some argument about whether cloze tests are sensitive to language constraints across sentences and can be completed considering only the context of the sentence. However, it seems that the cloze test as a measure of higher level skills and overall proficiency is finding approval (Brown, 1989). Likewise the C-Test appears to be a measure of grammatical competence rather than of textual competence. However, validity research suggests that the C-Test is a measure of overall language profi-

ciency, as is shown in Stansfield and Hansen (1983). So, the blanks could be considered to be independent, which means that the use of the split-half method is permissible as a measure of the reliability of the C-Test.

The reliability coefficients of all the tests except the CELT Listening Comprehension test were high or very high (Table 1). The four C-Tests are placed in the order of reliability coefficients, from highest to lowest: Narration (r = 0.928); Explanation (r = 0.904); Description (r = 0.899); and Argumentation (r = 0.860). The differences in mean scores among the four kinds of C-Tests show that the man score of the Narration C-Test is the highest (X = 70.095), and that of the Explanation C-Test the second highest (X = 65.881); in other words, learners perform better on passages which have a temporally ordered sequence of events. Only Narration fully meets this requirement, although Explanation does involve a sequential element.

Table 1.
Reliability Coefficients by Split-Half Method (n = 42)

Test	r	Mean	Full Score	*SD*
STEP Placement	0.780	70.619	160	18.789
CELT Listening	0.527	19.238	50	4.741
Dictation	0.949	62.095	104	15.173
C-Test No. 1	0.928	70.095	120	14.890
C-Test No. 2	0.904	65.881	120	14.026
C-Test No. 3	0.899	47.786	120	12.342
C-Test No. 4	0.860	54.952	120	10.148

Oller and Conrad (1971) constructed a 50-item cloze test by deleting every seventh word from the roughly 350-word passage, "What is a College?" (McCall & Crabbs, 1961) to attempt to partially determine the discriminative power of the cloze test (scored by the exact word method), and its validity. They conducted the cloze test and *Form 2C* of the *UCLA ESL Placement Examination* on beginning, intermediate, and advanced ESL students, along with two control groups of native (ENL) speakers (freshmen and graduates, respectively). Their analysis of the differentiation of proficiency shows that although the data yield no significant spread between advanced ESL students and ENL college freshmen, or between ENL college freshmen and ENL graduate students, the differences between beginning ESL, intermediate ESL, and ENL graduates are significant. In their experiment, the passage "What Is a College?" which is categorized as

Argumentation, works well with a discriminator, whereas in this experiment Narration and Explanation seem to work well as such. The two data sets have one thing in common: in their experiment beginning ESL students did poorly in the Argumentation cloze test (X = 7.00 out of 50, the lowest of all the seven groups) and my students did not do well either (X = 54.952 out of 120, the second lowest of the four C-Tests).

Clearly, in each pair there was always a fairly high or low correlation between the score of the STEP placement examination and the C-Test. The correlation procedure used in Table 2 is the Pearson product-moment procedure, and the correlations given in the table are values for *r*. The four pairs of STEP placement examinations and C-Tests are placed in the order of correlation coefficients, from highest to lowest:

Table 2
Correlation Between C-Tests and STEP Placement (n = 42)

Tests	*r*	*p*
1. STEP Placement and C-Test No. 1	0.438	<0.005
2. STEP Placement and C-Test No. 2	0.357	<0.005
3. STEP Placement and C-Test No. 3	0.267	<0.1
4. STEP Placement and C-Test No. 4	0.213	<0.2

1. Narration C-Test No. 1 + STEP; 2. Explanation C-Test No. 2 + STEP; 3. Description C-Test No. 3 + STEP; 4. Argumentation C-Test No. 4 + STEP. It must be noted that reliability coefficients and correlations are lower when the mean is low and standard deviation is small, as is the case for the listening test reliability and correlation.

Table 3
Correlation Between C-Tests
and CELT Listening Comprehension (n = 42)

Tests	*r*	*p*
1. CELT Listening and C-Test No. 1	0.030	<0.9
2. CELT Listening and C-Test No. 2	0.125	<0.5
3. CELT Listening and C-Test No. 3	0.105	<0.6
4. CELT Listening and C-Test No. 4	0.043	<0.8

Table 3 reveals a very low correlation between the scores of the C-Test and the CELT Listening Comprehension test in each pair. The highest correlation was between the Explanation C-Test No. 2 and the CELT

Listening Comprehension test. The lowest correlation was between the Narration C-Test No. 1 and the CELT Listening Comprehension test.

Table 4
Correlation Between C-Tests and Dictation (n = 42)

Tests	*r*	*p*
1. Dictation and C-Test No. 1	0.298	<0.1
2. Dictation and C-Test No. 2	0.278	<0.1
3. Dictation and C-Test No. 3	0.180	<0.3
4. Dictation and C-Test No. 4	0.073	<0.7

Table 4 shows that there was always a low or very low correlation between the scores of the C-Test and the Dictation test in each pair. The four pairs are placed in the order of correlation coefficients, from highest to lower: 1. Narration C-Test No. 1 + Dictation; 2. Explanation C-Test No. 2 + Dictation; 3. Description C-Test No. 3 + Dictation; 4. Argumentation C-Test No. 4 + Dictation.

Discussion

In the introduction four hypotheses were set up. Let us examine whether each was supported or not.

Hypothesis 1, of the highest reliability of the Narration C-Test among the four kinds of C-Tests, was supported. As can be inferred from Mochizuki (1984), the Narration C-Test was found to show the highest reliability (r = 0.928). The C-Tests conducted in this experiment all showed very high or high reliability. Two of them, Narration and Explanation C-Tests, were highly reliable (0.928 and 0.904), while Description and Argumentation C-Tests were reliable (0.899 and 0.860).

Hypothesis 2, of a high correlation between the score of the Narration C-Test and that of the placement test, was not supported clearly. The fairly high or low correlations between the C-Tests and the STEP placement examinations show that what the C-Test measures is different from what the STEP placement test measures. This result fell short of expectations. As described in the introduction, before this experiment the subjects had taken CELT vocabulary and structure tests; the reliability of the combined test turned out to be fairly high but not as high as expected (r = 0.642 by split-half method). In order to determine accurate correlations between the Narration C-Test and a criterion test, a very reliable discrete-point type criterion test with 0.8 or higher reliabil-

ity coefficient is needed. This part must be further researched in the near future by using a reputable TOEFL-like test which is easily available to secondary school teachers in Japan.

Hypothesis 3, of a high correlation between the score of the Narration C-Test and that of a Listening test, was not supported at al. I had expected a fairly high correlation, but the results showed the reverse. This means that what the C-Test measures seems to be quite different from what the Listening Comprehension test measures. However, again, the problems of the low mean score and small standard deviation of the Listening test must be addressed. The low correlation between the score of the Listening test and that of the Narration C-Test might have been caused by that. Before this experiment, the 50-item SONY Aural Comprehension Test (1980) was administered, but the reliability was found to be very low ($r = 0.289$ by the split-half method). The reliability of the CELT Listening Comprehension test is moderate ($r = 0.527$ by the split-half method). A more reliable Listening Comprehension test is urgently needed. A further investigation of the correlation between the Narration C-Test and that of the Listening Comprehension test will be undertaken when a highly reliable Listening Comprehension test is obtained.

Hypothesis 4, of a high correlation between the score of the Narration C-Test and that of a Dictation, was not supported. What the C-Test measures seems to be very different from what the Dictation test measures. However, the result of this analysis must take into consideration the fact that the data presented in this study is extremely limited.

Conclusion

In this search I investigated what is the most appropriate kind of passage for making the C-Test most effective and what the C-Test measures. The results showed that, first, the C-Tests which used a long passage, especially Narration and Explanation texts were found to be very reliable (0.928 and 0.904). Second, the C-Test seems to measure something different from what the Listening Comprehension and Dictation tests measure. What the Narration-based C-Test measures, to a moderate degree, seems to be the same as what the placement test measures ($r = 0.438$). However, in order to confirm the correlations between the C-Tests, whether those tests are Narration, Explanation, Description and Argumentation, and criterion tests, more reliable discrete-point criterion and Listening Comprehension tests with a reliability of 0.8 or higher are needed.

What is noteworthy is that this study revealed that C-Tests with a long passage, especially the Narration text, were able to overcome the

critical threshold level of 0.8 and were correlated with a reliable discrete-point placement test at close of 0.5, which is what is claimed by Klein-Braley and Raatz (1984). The C-Test with a long passage and with a text of only one kind might work in secondary school classes in Japan because it is reliable and could turn out to be valid with the use of more reliable discrete-point tests, and because it requires less time to write than several short C-Tests. Finally, because of the far-reaching potential C-Tests, further research is needed on their effectiveness.

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Note

1. C-Test No. 1, which used Narration, "The Lock Keeper" (413 words) (Kaneda, et al., 1971), C-Test No. 2, which used Explanation, "The Pony Express" (367 words) (Kaneda et al., 1971), C-Test No. 3, which used Description, "Alan Shepard Gets Set for the Moon" (391 words), adapted from the 1970 *Life* magazine article, and C-Test No. 4, which used Argumentation, "Anger" (346 words), are part of a college entrance examination workbook. Copies of the C-Tests used in this experiment are available from the author on request.

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The Learning Styles of Japanese Students

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In this paper Reid's (1987) study of perceptual learning style preferences was replicated using a large sample of Japanese undergraduate EFL students in Japan and New Zealand. A detailed review of recent work on learning styles is followed by a discussion of the particular learning styles of Japanese students. The results of 405 questionnaires given to Japanese undergraduates are then analyzed. The results show that Japanese students do not favor any major learning style, but instead reveal preferences for a cluster of minor learning modalities: tactile, kinesthetic, and auditory. However, Japanese students show some tendency to change these styles when taught by NS teachers. The implications for teachers of Japanese EFL students include: (a) becoming conversant with their students' learning styles; (b) thinking in terms of matching teaching and learning styles; and (c) selecting appropriate classroom activities to cater to each style.

日本人学生の学習スタイル

本稿はニュージーランドと日本での日本人英語学習者（大学生）多数の実例を示して、Reid(1987)の知覚学習様式が優先するという研究を追試した。学習方法に関する最近の研究を子細に再考した後、日本人学習者の特異な学習形式について述べた。次に、日本人大学生が答えた405のアンケート結果が分析された。それによると、日本人大学生は主要学習様式を好まず、むしろ、触覚、動作、聴覚などの副次的学習様式の集合されたものを好むことを明らかにした。しかしながら、ネイティブスピーカーが教師だった場合は、日本人学習者はこの学習スタイルを変える傾向を示す。この研究は、日本人に英語を教える教師に下記のことを含蓄する。

a）自分の学生の学習スタイルに精通し
b）その学習スタイルと教授方法が適合するように考え
c）各々の方法に則した授業活動を選択する。

Learning style refers to a person's natural, habitual, and preferred ways of learning. The literature contains dozens of definitions, but perhaps the most quoted is in Keefe (1979) who refers to the "characteristic cognitive, affective, and physiological behaviors that serve as relatively stable indicators of how learners perceive, interact with, and respond to the learning environment" (p.4). Similarly, Claxton and Ralston (1978, p. 1) say that every person has "a consistent way of responding to and using stimuli in the context of learning" which is created by the individual's psychological makeup and sociocultural background, while Cornett (1983) states that styles are the overall patterns that give general direction to learning behavior. Guild and Garger (1985) go as far as to say that style is "the most important concept to demand attention in education in many years [and] is at the core of what it means to be a person" (p.viii).

In essence, learning style research suggests that people make sense of the world in different ways and these ways are partly created by cultural experiences. Learning style, then, is where culture and education overlap. The importance of learning style for EFL teachers is not just that we have to consider the cultural backgrounds of our students, but that we can do this in an informed way. This is because the same teaching methods may be more effective for some learners that others. So learning style is central to the growing interest in "learner-centered" instruction as it implies a need to consider further information about the learner when describing courses. This can provide a basis for more personalized approaches to counseling, teaching, and assessment.

Learning Style Research

Learning style research expresses the simple idea that each learner has a clear and coherent set of learning likes and dislikes, but people differ in their learning styles in a number of ways and studies have addressed a huge range of factors. Keefe (1988), for example, lists 40 different components of style including personality traits, attitudes, and physiological factors. In fact, learning styles have four related aspects: cognitive, affective, physiological, and behavioral, although most learning style research has focused on the cognitive, that is the individual psychological strategies of information processing. Cognitive studies tend to describe learners in terms of bipolar characteristics like serialist/holist, extrovert/introvert, reflective/impulsive, studial/experiential, convergent/divergent, and so on. These are all incorporated into Witkin et al's (1977) influential con-

struct of Field Dependence (FD) and Field Independence (FI), or global versus analytic approaches to experience.

In the context of L2 acquisition, this research suggest the FI (analytic) learners outperform FD learners in both form focused and communicative tests (Chappelle & Roberts, 1986; Day, 1984; Hansen & Stansfield, 1981). However, these concepts have been strongly criticized as components of second language aptitude because they are based on psychological constructs which have nothing to do with learning, ignore different learning contexts, and describe invisible mental phenomena (Skehan, 1989). In particular, the central construct of Field Dependence/Independence has come under increasing attack as unreliable, unscientific, value-laden, culturally biased, and irrelevant to an explanation of second language learning (Ellis, 1985; Griffiths & Sheen, 1992; Riley, 1988; Willing, 1988; Sheen, 1993). While the FD/I construct still has its adherents in EFL (e.g., Chapelle, 1992; Chapelle & Green, 1992), it has flaws which make its relevance to SLA highly suspect.

A more socially based approach focuses on the external and concrete aspects of style, examining its physical and affective components. There are now a number of measures which profile independent subscales. Some consider the effects of perceptual preferences for visual or auditory input; others examine instructional factors such as grouping methods or time of day preferences, and some focus on environmental elements such as lighting, temperature, or seating arrangements. This paper focuses on two elements of learning style which are of the most practical concern to teachers, because they directly influence classroom decisions. These are perceptual modalities and preferences for group or individual learning.

Perceptual learning styles refer to the "variations among learners in using one or more sense to understand, organize and retain experience" (Reid, 1987, p. 89). It is probable that about 90 percent of traditional classroom instruction is through talk (Hodges, 1982). The communicative approach is largely based on oral work: we *talk* to our students, *ask* questions, and *discuss* topics. Some researchers have argued that audio-based methodologies are most effective for EFL instruction (Takeuchi et al, (1990). However, Hodges (1982) found only 25 to 30 percent of any large group could remember 70 percent of what was presented in this way. In fact, people tend to have a preference for the way they receive information in a learning situation, and research shows that they use four basic styles or modalities (Guild & Garger, 1985; Hodges, 1982): (a) visual: reading texts or notes, attending to diagrams; (b) auditory: listening to lectures or tapes, discussing; (c) kinesthetic: experiential learning,

role-play, physical involvement in learning; and (d) tactile: "hands-on" creativity, model building, note-taking, experimentation.

Evidence suggest that matching students to their preferred style increases both satisfaction and achievement (e.g., Dunn, 1988; Dunn & Griggs, 1988; Wallace & Oxford, 1992; Wheeler, 1980). Reid (1987), Willing (1988), and Dunn et al (1989) provide extensive reviews of this literature.

Learning Style and Cultural Background

It is true to say that most learning style research has been done from a "Western, white, middle-class perspective and value system" (Claxton & Murrell, 1987, p. 71). Little is known about cross-cultural differences in learning styles, and the importance of cultural factors is still not fully recognized. Willing's (1988) survey of adult migrants to Australia, for example, suggests that the various learning preferences are represented in similar proportions in all ethnic groups. However, learning styles appear to vary according to cultural background. Witkin et al. (1977) and Kaplan (1966), for example, hypothesize that different modes of thinking are characteristic of different cultures, and it seems that socialization plays a role in the development of style differences as children from different cultural groups exhibit different learning styles (Guild & Garger, 1985; Young, 1987). The only published research on this has been carried out by Reid (1987), who examined the perceptual learning style preferences of 1,234 NNSs of English studying in U.S. language programs, and a follow-up study by Melton (1990) of 331 university students in China. These studies confirm that the learning style preferences of ESL students from different language and cultural backgrounds differ significantly.

Japanese Learning Experiences

There is little published research on the learning style preferences of Japanese speakers, although Reid (1987) found that the Japanese differed significantly from all the language groups in her study as they did not identify a single major perceptual learning style. She speculates that this is a result of culture, and it is clear that the language learning experiences of Japanese students differ considerably from those in Western classrooms. While this observation is familiar to teachers of Japanese speakers, it is worth mentioning as it provides an important context for the discussion of perceptual learning style differences.

While English is one of the most widely studied subjects in Japan, its study is regarded as an academic pursuit, and students apparently have

little motivation to learn the language or use it outside the classroom (Benson, 1991; Day & Iida, 1988). The Japanese education system does not seem to value independence nor assign creative or imaginative tasks. At both secondary and tertiary levels traditional methods and materials tend to predominate, classes are teacher-centered, and students are expected to be passive. Methods often involve the use of a reading text in English which students translate into Japanese (Widdows & Voller, 1991), and instruction is likely to be in Japanese and focused on imparting facts about the language (Ellis, 1991; Kobayashi et al., 1992). Memorization and rote learning play important roles in classrooms (Tinkham, 1989), and there is generally no expectation that students will use libraries or source materials (Hendricks, 1991). Written examinations alone determine grades and future success (e.g., Yoshida, 1991; White, 1987), and English exams are primarily tests of grammatical knowledge and vocabulary (Morrow, 1987).

However, students seem to doubt the effectiveness of their instruction (Kobayashi et al., 1992) and may favor interactive and student-centered learning methods over these traditional approaches (Widdows & Voller, 1991). The present study was undertaken to help resolve such issues and to provide teachers with information to enhance students' awareness of their learning style preferences.

The Study

As learners, the Japanese appear to be a distinctive group. Consequently I decided to replicate Reid's study in relation to Japanese speakers. In particular, I was interested in whether Japanese learners have perceptual learning style preferences and whether these change as a result of overseas study or native speaker instruction.

My study used a self-reporting questionnaire designed by Reid to determine respondents' visual, auditory, kinesthetic, tactile, group, and individual learning preferences. The questionnaire consists of randomly arranged sets of five statements on each preference and was validated by Reid by the split-half method and correlation analysis of an original set of 60 statements. The background information—slightly amended to make it more relevant for Japanese learners—concerned the length of time respondents had studied English, the number of semesters they had been taught by native speakers, and whether they had studied abroad. Appendix A includes copies of the full questionnaires in English and Japanese. An explanation of the preferences was distributed with the forms, and teachers decided whether to distribute the English or Japa-

nese versions to their students. The data from the two questionnaires was combined because statistical analysis showed no significant variation in students' answers as a result of the language of the questionnaire.

Eight Japanese universities participated in the survey with 265 undergraduates responding. The questionnaire was also administered to 140 Japanese students at different English proficiency levels at a tertiary college in New Zealand. A total of 405 questionnaires were returned. Table 1 summarizes the information on respondents according to six background variables.

Preference means were calculated for each variable from the student response. These means were then scaled from 0-20 and classified into three categories following Reid's original study: major, minor and negative learning style preferences. These refer to the preference modes in which a student, respectively, learns best, functions well, and has difficulty in learning. The thresholds for each category were established by Reid and retained for purposes of comparison. An analysis of variance and multiple comparison of means were run on the preference means, and the Tukey test was used at 0.1 to determine significance in the comparison of means.

Table 1
Learning Style Variables

Language of Questionnaire	*n*	Sex	*n*
English	116	Male	182
Japanese	289	Female	223
Level of Study	***n***	**Overseas Study**	***n***
Non-University	140	Never	176
Year 1	69	3 months or less	55
Year 2	94	4 to 11 months	60
Year 3	102	12 or more	114
Years with a NS teacher	***n***	**Years of English Study**	***n***
Less than one	147	2 to 7	60
One to 2	141	8 to 9	279
More than 2	117	10 or more	66

Results

A summary of the overall results is presented below followed by a discussion of a number of significant findings.

Overall Results

The overall means of this study indicated that Japanese learners prefer auditory, tactile, kinesthetic, and individual learning as minor styles, $F(5,2424) = 34.1$, $p < 0.001$. This result concurs with Reid's (1987) findings that Japanese speakers do not identify a single strong (major) learning style. Visual and group learning were considered negative learning styles. Table 2 compares Reid's findings with my own.

Both Reid's and my studies identify tactile, kinesthetic, and auditory modalities as the three strongest preferences, and distinguish group learning as the weakest mode of learning. Visual modality is also a negative style, and Reid found that Japanese were the least visual of her eight NNS language groups. The differences in means may be accounted for by the fact that this sample was about four times larger than Reid's Japanese group, and the data presented here include a much wider proficiency range and a high proportion of students who had never been overseas.

Table 2
Summary of Learning Style Preference Means

	Visual	Auditory	Kinesthetic	Tactile	Group	Individual
Reid's Japanese sample	12.52	12.67	13.29	13.32	10.35	12.05
Present total means	10.93	12.33	12.00	12.18	10.06	11.32

Note: Means 13.5 and above = Major Learning Style Preference
Means 11.5 to 13.49 = Minor Learning Style Preference
Means 11.49 or less = Negative Learning Style Preference

In addition to the overall preferences of Japanese learners, I was interested in a possible relationship of particular variables to differences in learning styles. I will focus on the differences in learning styles as a result of years of study, semesters of native speaker instruction, and length of overseas study.

Years of English Study

This variable shows that students who had studied for more than seven years chose tactile, auditory, kinesthetic, and individual learning

as minor preferences. It is interesting to note that students showed greater interest in group learning and that preferences for individual and kinesthetic modes increased with length of English study, with tactile learning showing the strongest trend (Table 3).

Students who had studied English for 10 to 13 years were significantly more tactile than those who had studied for less than seven years, $F(1,124) = 11.38$, $p = .001$. This may be because writing notes, actively working with materials, and physical involvement in learning tasks become increasingly necessary to successful language learning and academic study. Students therefore appear to expand and strengthen their preferences the longer they study English, although an alternative explanation is that students may be self-reporting styles they have adapted to during years of study.

Table 3
Learning Style Preference Means: Years of Study

Years of Study	Visual	Auditory	Kinesthetic	Tactile	Group	Individual
Two to seven	10.79	12.55	11.87	11.28	9.98	11.05
Eight to nine	11.09	12.34	12.09	12.42	10.14	11.61
Ten to thirteen	10.02	12.18	12.30	12.66	10.33	11.99

Note: Means 13.5 and above = Major Learning Style Preference
Means 11.5 to 13.49 = Minor Learning Style Preference
Means 11.49 or less = Negative Learning Style Preference

Years of Native Speaker Instruction

An important finding here is that preferences for auditory, kinesthetic, and group learning all increased over time with native speaker instruction. Students taught by native speakers for more than two years were significantly more kinesthetic and auditory than those who had attended for less than one year, $F(1,262) = 21.78$, $p = .000$, and $F(1,262) = 10.57$, $p = .001$, respectively. These students were also significantly more disposed to group learning, $F(1,262) = 8.4$, $p = .004$. The group with the shortest period of NS teaching chose only auditory and individual learning as minor styles. Once more, no group expressed a major preference, and, again, the means indicate that visual and group learning are of negligible importance to Japanese learners, with preferences for the visual mode declining over time spent with a NS teacher. Table 4 summarizes this information.

Table 4
Learning Style Preference Means:
Period of Native Speaker Instruction

Years of Study	Visual	Auditory	Kinesthetic	Tactile	Group	Individual
Less than one	11.31	11.95	11.18	11.35	9.40	11.87
One to two	10.83	12.24	12.16	12.65	10.18	11.43
More than two	10.50	12.92	12.73	12.41	10.68	11.44

Note: Means 13.5 and above = Major Learning Style Preference
Means 11.5 to 13.49 = Minor Learning Style Preference
Means 11.49 or less = Negative Learning Style Preference

Many Japanese students have native English speaker teachers, and this seems to have more of an impact on student preferences than years of study. Obviously teachers have a variety of instructional styles, and these can be influenced by their own learning styles, their reading, or their professional training. Current EFL methodology favors activity-focused and learner-centered teaching styles and these are more likely to be found in native speaker classrooms, whereas many Japanese instructors favor more traditional methods, reflecting predominantly grammar-translation approaches. The increasing preferences for auditory, kinesthetic, and group learning, then, may reflect the teachers' own preferences for communicative methodologies which emphasize spoken English, interactive tasks, role-play, and active participation in group work. Foreign teachers, then, through their use of communicative methods, clearly have an important influence on learning style preferences.

Period of Overseas Study

All groups picked auditory and kinesthetic as minor learning styles, and group and visual learning as negative styles. Only those students who had never studied overseas or who had gone for less than three months indicated individual learning as a minor style, being significantly more individual in their preference than those studying overseas for four to 11 months, $F(1,113) = 8.58$, $p = .004$.

Table 5 shows the results.

Table 5
Learning Style Preference Means: Period of Overseas Study

Years of Study	Visual	Auditory	Kinesthetic	Tactile	Group	Individual
None	11.48	11.87	11.75	11.94	9.92	11.71
Less than 3	11.27	12.20	12.09	12.24	9.52	12.46
4 to 11	10.28	12.28	12.17	11.87	10.15	10.48
12 or more	10.25	12.77	12.46	12.68	10.65	10.81

Note: Means 13.5 and above = Major Learning Style Preference
Means 11.5 to 13.49 = Minor Learning Style Preference
Means 11.49 or less = Negative Learning Style Preference

The trends here are less marked but mirror those of the native speaker teacher results, with less aversion being shown for group learning, and preferences for auditory and kinesthetic learning strengthening the longer students had studied abroad. Students who had studied overseas for 12 months or longer were significantly firmer in their preference for auditory learning, for example, than those studying entirely in Japan, $F = (1,288) = 9.63$, $p = .002$. Reid (1987) also found that preferences for auditory learning had increased the longer students had lived in the U.S. Another interesting trend shows that students who had studied overseas became progressively less visual in their preferences. The only group to choose visual learning as a minor learning style were those without overseas study experience, who were significantly more visual than those who had studied abroad for over a year, $F(1,288) = 13.49$, $p < .001$.

Japanese Learning Style Preferences

This section briefly summarizes a number of the major findings of the study. First, the study confirms Reid's (1987) finding that Japanese speakers appear to have no strong learning style preferences. While not directly supported by the empirical findings, it is possible that this fact might help explain the language learning difficulties often experienced by many Japanese students (Benson, 1991; Ellis, 1991; Kobayashi et al., 1992). It is possible that without a strong learning preference many students may be unable to develop the strategies necessary for high academic achievement.

Second, this research suggests that Japanese learners favor auditory,

tactile, and kinesthetic modes, and individual learning as minor styles. This confirms Widdows and Voller's findings that "students do not like classes in which they sit passively, reading or translating" (1991, p. 134). It also suggests that an education system which restricts the use of spoken English doesn't take full advantage of learners' auditory preference.

Third, because visual modality appears to be a negative style, many students are hampered by a school system which emphasizes the importance of text-based methodologies such as translation, composition, and grammar exercises. The study suggests that students respond well to oral-aural teaching approaches.

Fourth, a more positive factor is that Japanese speakers have multiple minor preferences. This could allow them to compensate for the lack of a clear learning channel because they are able to process information in a number of ways and may even have a better chance of success than those with a single modality strength (Guild & Garger, 1985). This finding receives some support from a recent article in which Hinkelman and Pysock (1992) demonstrated that a multimedia methodology using visual, auditory, and kinesthetic methods was more effective than catering to any single modality in a vocabulary learning activity with Japanese students.

Finally, auditory, kinesthetic, and group learning preferences increased with overseas or NS teacher experiences. This suggests that learning styles can be modified and extended by adapting to different learning experiences; however, as none of the learning circumstances examined appear sufficiently influential to move preferences into a higher preference band, these findings should be treated with some caution.

It is important to note that I am not describing a stereotype here. Learning style preferences are also affected by personal as well as cultural factors, and many individual exceptions obviously exist. The results do, however, help us to understand something about the way Japanese students prefer to learn.

Implications for EFL Teaching

There are two advantages to identifying the perceptual learning style differences of our students: first, we can improve learning by catering for different learning styles, and, second, we may be able to help strengthen students' negative or minor learning styles.

While the precise relationship between learning style and successful L2 acquisition is uncertain, the evidence points to the need to match teaching methods and preferred learning styles in order to improve

learning. In particular, we have to help students identify their preferred styles and assist them to extend and develop their favored modalities. Here the literature is divided between (a) the need to accommodate learners' preferred styles (Dunn, 1988; Dunn & Dunn, 1979; Dunn & Griggs, 1988; Wallace & Oxford, 1992; Young, 1987), and (b) training learners to strengthen their weaker styles by exposing them to activities which do not match their preferences (Rubin, 1975; Willing, 1988). While it is difficult to draw clear conclusions from the literature on style matching, Bialystock (1985) has argued that disparities between the styles of teachers and students will reduce the potential effects of instruction. Such differences can lead to "Style Wars" (Oxford et al, 1992) and have a negative effect on attitudes to learning and the grades of many EFL learners. This seems to be particularly important in the areas of writing, reading and grammar (Wallace & Oxford, 1992).

Style is a consistent way of learning which reflects cultural behavior patterns and, like other behaviors, may be modified as a result of training or changes in learning experiences. The assumptions, supported by the research reported here and in the literature, are that learning styles are adaptable, and that preferences can be modified. It should be remembered, however, that a preferred learning style reflects the underlying causes of behavior—not conscious actions. In other words, it expresses itself in how a student organizes and responds to L2 input, to general approaches rather than specific tactics. Precisely how changes in learning style affect conscious learning strategies in SLA remains unclear. What is evident, however, is that affective and academic benefits result from characterizing students' requirements in the learning process and varying teaching treatments to meet learning predispositions. There are a number of ways teachers can use this information.

First, we need to assess the learning styles of class members. For most assessment aims we have to rely on learners' reports of their preferences, and a number of instruments exist for this purpose. A great deal of material has emerged in recent years designed to raise the profile of styles and help students consider these issues. Textbooks by Willing (1989) and Ellis and Sinclair (1989) contain practical activities to introduce the idea of styles. Similarly, the questionnaire used in this study provides a useful means of gathering data, raising consciousness, and promoting discussion. Japanese students are generally interested in this metacognitive level of learning, and information about different modalities can also help explain the purpose of different activities in the classroom. This in turn can help students to focus on study skills and learner training tasks to "stretch" their styles through exposure to differ-

ent teaching styles and the opportunity to participate in activities involving a variety of learning modes and groupings.

Second, we can ensure style-matching through a range of activities. Ellis (1989) and Melton (1990) suggest that one way of accommodating learning styles in the classroom is to offer a variety of activity types to the whole class. This will accommodate the various preferences of all learners and simultaneously help them to adapt their styles to a range of instructional tasks, strengthening the skills associated with learning styles in which they are weak. Forcing students to adapt their styles in this way may create anxiety and discomfort, however (e.g., Ellis, 1989), and an alternative approach to style matching is to place students in style-alike groupings. This allows the teacher to cater to particular perceptual preferences and to occasionally mix styles and students to enable learners to participate in activities which develop their weaker styles in lesson plans, consciously including various styles in their classes by marking the primary sensory appeal of each activity.

Third, while style and methods can be achieved by such planning, the range of perceptual styles present in any class has led some researchers to recommend a high degree of teacher flexibility (e.g., Dunn & Dunn, 1979). An experienced and sensitive teacher, trained to be aware of the importance of the range of perceptual learning style differences, can appropriately respond to those differences as the circumstances demand. Clearly most teachers feel able to respond to the needs of their students, but style differences are more significant than previously realized, and this requires a permanent and structural basis of teacher flexibility rather than ad hoc solutions. In particular, it involves the use of a wider range of teaching approaches than older, more conservative ideological methodologies allow (see Fanselow, 1987).

Finally, on a practical level, there are a range of activities that can be used in class to emphasize each style. Visual learners respond to reading resource materials, writing journals of classroom learning and vocabulary, worksheet based tasks, (re)writing notes from texts and lectures, and working on video or TV activities. Students with an auditory preference work best on tasks such as listening exercises from tapes, lecture listening to find new information, verbal stimuli for discussions, cloze exercises from songs and oral repetition, and pair work for the reinforcement of items. Kinesthetic students like to participate actively and therefore suitable tasks include TPR for new vocabulary, charades for concrete vocabulary items, roleplays, problem-solving simulations, and student produced plays. Tactile students are the most difficult to accommodate, but respond to sequencing activities (e.g., strip texts), small

group creations of models, writing notes, interpreting texts through painting, model building, or producing video or audio programs.

Conclusion

This survey suggests that Japanese speakers exhibit distinctive learning styles and that these are modified over time with exposure to NS teachers and living in English speaking countries. It should be pointed out, however, that the self-report questionnaire used to gather the data is an imperfect instrument upon which to base strong claims of learner differences. It would therefore be extremely useful to verify these findings with observations of actual student behavior under a variety of task/grouping conditions. Nevertheless, this exploratory study supports the growing individual differences literature in pointing to the need for a culture-sensitive pedagogy which takes account of learner characteristics. It has been argued here that we have to be aware of our students' different learning style preferences and respond flexibly with a broad range of teaching approaches. Helping students to understand their learning styles and to exercise active control over them will make them more effective language learners.

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Appendix A
Perceptual Learning Style Preference Questionnaire

Name_____ Age_____ Male/Female____
Place of Study: High School_____ year____
University _____ year____
What is your major field?_____
How long have you studied English in Japan?_____
Have you ever studied English overseas?_____
If yes, for how long?_____
Have you ever been taught by a foreign teacher?_____
If yes, for how many semesters?_____

Directions:

People learn in many different ways. For example, some people learn mainly with their eyes (visual learners) or with their ears (auditory learners); some people prefer to learn by experience and/or "hands-on" tasks (kinesthetic or tactile learners); some people learn better when they work alone, while others prefer to work in groups.

This questionnaire has been designed to help you identify the way(s) you learn best—the way(s) you *prefer* to learn.

Read each statement below. Please respond to the statements AS THEY APPLY TO YOUR STUDY OF ENGLISH. Decide whether you strongly agree, agree, are undecided, disagree, or strongly disagree. Mark an X in the appropriate column.

Please respond to each statement quickly without too much thought. Try not to change your responses after you choose them. Please use a pen to mark your choices.

Questionnaire Statements

	strongly agree	agree	undecided	disagree	strongly disagree
1. When the teacher tells me the instructions, I understand better.					
2. I prefer to learn by doing something in class.					
3. I get more work done when I work with others.					
4. I learn more when I study with a group.					
5. In class, I learn best when I study with others.					
6. I learn better by reading what the teacher writes on the board.					
7. When someone tells me how to do something in class I learn it better.					
8. When I do things in class, I learn better.					
9. I remember things I have heard in class better than things I have read.					
10. When I read instructions, I remember them better.					
11. I learn more when I can make a model of something.					
12. I understand better when I read instructions.					
13. When I study alone, I remember things better.					
14. I learn more when I make something for a class project.					
15. I enjoy learning in class by doing experiments.					
16. I learn better when I make drawings as I study.					
17. I learn better in class when the teacher gives a lecture.					
18. When I work alone, I learn better.					
19. I understand things better in class when I participate in role playing.					
20. I learn better in class when I listen to someone.					
21. I enjoy working on an assignment with two or three classmates.					
22. When I build something, I remember what I have learned better.					
23. I prefer to study with others.					
24. I learn better by reading than by listening to someone.					
25. I enjoy making something for a class project.					
26. I learn best in class when I can participate in related activities.					
27. In class, I learn better when I work alone.					
28. I prefer working on projects by myself.					
29. I learn more by reading textbooks than by listening to lectures.					
30. I prefer to work by myself.					

学習方法に関するアンケート

名前＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿　　年令＿＿＿＿　性別＿＿＿＿
あなたは以下のどれに当てはまりますか？（○を付けてください。）

高校生　　＿＿年生
予備校生
専門学校生　＿＿年生　専攻＿＿＿＿＿＿
短大生　　＿＿年生　専攻＿＿＿＿＿＿
大学生　　＿＿年生　専攻＿＿＿＿＿＿

日本で何年間英語を勉強していますか？＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿
外国で英語を勉強したことがありますか？

はい　期間は？＿＿＿＿＿＿
いいえ

外国人の先生から英語を教わったことがありますか？

はい　期間は？＿＿＿＿＿＿
いいえ

回答方法

学習方法は人によって様々です。視覚や聴覚を使うことによって効果的に学習できる人や、実際に身体で覚える学習方法を好む人もいます。また、一人での学習を好む人もいれば、グループ学習を好む人もいます。

このアンケートはあなた自身にもっとも適した学習方法を見つけるためのものです。

下記の文を読み、それぞれをあなたの英語学習に当てはめて回答してください。回答は、‘強くそう思う’、‘そう思う’、‘どちらでもない’、‘そう思わない’、‘全くそう思わない’のうちいずれかとし、適切な欄にX印を記入してください。

記入する際には余り深く考えず、直感的に回答してください。そして一度回答を記入したら、後からそれを変更しないようにしてください。記入の際はペンを使用してください。

アンケート

		強く そう思う	そう思う	どちら でもない	そう 思わない	強くそう 思わない
1.	先生がやり方を説明してくれるとわかりやすい。					
2.	クラスでなにかをやりながら学習するのが好きである。					
3.	ほかの学生と一緒になにかをやるほうが能率的に学習できる。					
4.	グループ学習のほうが効果的に学習できる。					
5.	クラスでは、ほかの学生と一緒に勉強するときが一番良く学習できる。					
6.	先生が黒板に書いたものを読むほうが、良く学習できる。					
7.	クラスで誰かにやり方を教えてもらうほうが、良く学習できる。					
8.	クラスでなにかをやると良く学習できる。					
9.	クラスで聞いた事のほうが、読んだことよりも良く覚えている。					
10.	読んだときのほうが説明を良く覚えている。					
11.	なにかを学習するとき、モデルを作ったほうが良く学習できる。					
12.	自分で説明を読んだときのほうが良く理解できる。					
13.	一人で学習するほうが物事を良く覚えられる。					
14.	クラスの課題でなにかを作成するほうが良く学習できる。					
15.	クラスでなにか実験をしながら学習するのが好きだ。					
16.	図などを描きながら勉強するほうが良く学習できる。					
17.	先生が講義をするほうが良く勉強できる。					
18.	一人でやるほうが良く学習できる。					
19.	クラスでロールプレイをやるほうが良く物事が理解できる。					
20.	クラスで誰かの話を聞くほうが良く学習できる。					
21.	2、3人の生徒と一緒にひとつのアサインメントをやるのが好きだ。					
22.	なにかを作ると、学習したことを良く覚えている。					
23.	ほかの学生と一緒に勉強するほうが好きだ。					
24.	人のいうことを聞くより、読むほうが良く学習できる。					
25.	クラスの課題としてなにかを作成するのが好きだ。					
26.	クラスで、関連ある活動に参加するとき一番良く学習できる。					
27.	クラスでは一人のほうが良く学習できる。					
28.	一人で課題に取り組むほうが好きだ。					
29.	講義を聞くより教科書を読んだほうが良く学習できる。					
30.	一人で勉強するのが好きだ。					

Research Forum

Apologies in English by Japanese Learners

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What makes the pragmatics of a second language difficult is a difference in the interpretation of certain kinds of behaviour by different cultures. For example, an apology in one culture may be interpreted as an expression of thanks in another culture, or a polite request in one culture may seem rude in another. If a certain type of behavior is interpreted the same way in first language (L1) and second language (L2) speech communities, then learners will have an advantage; but if it is not, then it becomes dangerous for learners to always rely on their L1 intuitions in an L2. Since L2 and L1 expressions may have the same referential meanings but different social meanings learners may misuse language by transferring the use of words in their native language to the target language. Wolfson (1989) calls this behavior *pragmatic transfer* and defines it as "using the rules of speaking from one's own native speech community... when speaking or writing in a second language" (p. 141).

The research reported in this paper concerns the pragmatic transfer of apologies by Japanese from their L1 to English. To investigate this phenomenon, the following four hypotheses were put forward.

H1: Frequency of Apologies. Coulmas (1981) and Kinoshita (1988) compare language habits of the Japanese with those of Europeans and find that the Japanese make frequent and excessive use of polite language. We therefore hypothesized that when Japanese students speak English, they will apologize more frequently than American students do, though less than if they were speaking Japanese.

H2: Status of Apologizee. Olshtain and Cohen (1983) and Beebe et al. (1990) showed that the status or distance between interlocutors is

one of the factors that make native speakers choose certain apologetic speech patterns over others. In this study, status is defined according to age since there is a hierarchy based on age in Japanese society, and this status is more honored than in American society. It was hypothesized that Japanese students would apologize more frequently to higher status apologizees than to lower status ones. Moreover, Japanese responses will influence their responses in English.

H3: Severity of the Offense. Fraser (1981) proposed that one of the factors that influences apologetic speech acts is the severity of the offense committed by the person apologizing. Serious offenses involve cases of significant injury or inconvenience, while non-serious cases involve minor social violations. It was hypothesized that both American and Japanese students will apologize more frequently in serious situations than in non-serious situations. Also, as discussed in hypothesis H1, Japanese students in their L2 will apologize more frequently in both serious and non-serious situations than American ones.

H4: Apologies and Thanks. Borkin and Reinhart (1978) report that the relations between apologies and expressions of gratitude are difficult for Japanese ESL learner to understand. To explain this, Coulmas (1981) describes the double function of phrases expressing either thanks or apologies in Japanese as follows:

> In Japan, the smallest favor makes the receiver a debtor. Social relations can be regarded, to a large extent, as forming a reticulum of mutual responsibilities and debts. Not every favor can be repaid, and if circumstances do not allow proper repayment, Japanese tend to apologize. (p. 88)

Based on this research, four questionnaire items were designed to describe situations in which it was assumed that Japanese students would give an apology, while American students would give an expression of gratitude. It was hypothesized that Japanese students would apologize both in their L1 and L2, while American students would express gratitude in all situations. If Americans thank, and Japanese apologize in both Japanese and English, then we can assume that there is pragmatic transfer form Japanese subjects' L1 to their L2.

Method

The subjects in this study were 12 American graduate and undergraduate students and 12 Japanese undergraduate students studying at Southern Illinois University at Carbondale, Illinois. The group of Amerl-

can students included 5 males and 7 females, and the group of Japanese students included 7 males and 5 females. The Japanese students had lived in the U.S. for an average of 18 months, ranging from three who had been there only a month and a half to one who had been there four years.

A questionnaire containing descriptions of 18 situations, most of which were designed to elicit an apologetic response, was used to collect the data. The 18 situations were also designed to be categorized by the apologizee's status and the severity of the offense. The subjects read each written situation, then wrote a response. American and Japanese subjects were asked to write their responses in English to all the situations on the questionnaire, the same Japanese subjects were asked to respond in Japanese to the same questionnaire translated into Japanese.

The aim of the data analyses was to determine whether subjects transferred pragmatic knowledge from their L1 to their L2. This data analysis was carried out by comparing the total number of apology speech acts of the three sets of subjects. The total number of apology speech acts in the questionnaire of each set of subjects was counted, as well as the number of apologies in terms of status and severity of offense.

Results and Discussions

The same linguistic forms for apology were used by Japanese and American students in English, although the two groups used different expressions with differing frequencies. American students tend to use "Sorry" rather than "I'm sorry," while Japanese students prefer "I'm sorry" to "Sorry."

There was a difference in the frequency of apologies among each set of subjects. Japanese students apologize very frequently in their L1 (193 times), almost twice as often as Americans did in their L1 (101 times), and they also offer more apologies in English (161) than Americans. In addition, in some situations Japanese students responded with two apologies for a single situation. When we compare the frequency of apologies among the three sets of subjects, the following pattern emerges:

Japanese in Japanese > Japanese in English > American in English
[Japanese L1] [English L2] [English L1]

This result supports hypothesis H1, which stated that Japanese will apologize in their L1 more frequently than in their L2 but still more frequently than Americans. Pragmatic knowledge in L1 indeed seems to be transferred to L2.

When we compare the frequency of apologies in terms of the apologizee's status among the three sets of subjects, there was little difference among high-status, equal-status, and low status apologizees, the result does not support hypotheses H2.

There was also little difference in the frequency of apologies made by Japanese students for serious and non-serious offenses in either their L1 or L2. This result does not seem to substantiate hypothesis H3. However, the number of apologies in Japanese subjects' L1 and L2 is close, both in serious and non-serious situations, and both outnumber apologies from Americans. This, again, seems to indicate pragmatic transfer.

The reason Americans apologize in non-serious situations more frequently than in serious situations may be because in serious situations they give explanations for the offense or offer to repair broken things. In contrast, the reason for the similarity between the frequency of apologies by Japanese students in their L1 and L2 seems to be that they express an apology initially, regardless of the severity of the offense.

Another reason for the results from all sets of subjects might be an ambiguity in the distinction between a serious offense and an non-serious offense. For example, the situation of being late for an appointment was categorized as a non-serious offense. However, the degree of the severity could be changed depending on the apologizee's status, or the social distance between the interlocutors. Thus, being late for an appointment with a professor can be a serious offense, although it was categorized it as non-serious.

Table 1
Number of Apologies and Thanks

Item		Total number of Responses by Japanese in Japanese	Japanese in English	Americans in English
8. You can't eat cake served by a friends mother	Apologies	7	3	7
	Thanks	0	1	3
13. You borrow a classmate's notes	Apologies	8	4	0
	Thanks	5	5	3
16. You can't extend a visit with your grandmother	Apologies	4	6	3
	Thanks	0	0	0
17. You let your younger sister pay for dinner.	Apologies	8	2	0
	Thanks	4	9	8

Table 1 shows that Americans gave no apologies in situations in which they were helped by another person, while Japanese apologized in both English and Japanese. In situations 8, 13, and 17, Americans expressed gratitude rather than giving an apology. The unexpected result was that, in situations 13 and 17, Japanese gave more expressions of gratitude in English than Americans. The reason may be that Japanese students use apologies and expressions of gratitude together in a single situation, while this tendency is not apparent in the responses from American students. For example, a response from a Japanese student in English to item 13 was:

Sorry. I will return your notebook as soon as possible. Thanks.

No expressions of gratitude were given in response to item 16, refusing an invitation to extend a visit , from any set of subjects. The reason may be that this was simply an inappropriate situation to elicit an apology in either Japanese or English.

Overall, the results from items 8, 13, and 17 support hypothesis H4, though further investigation is needed. What Coulmas (1981) claims, based on his comparative study of apologies and expressions of gratitude in Japanese and in several European languages, is confirmed by this study: Japanese tend to equate gratitude with a feeling of quilt because of an ethic of indebtedness. As Coulmas points out, "apologies and thanks as defines against the background of a given sociocultural system are not the same thing as when seen in another cultural context" (p. 89).

As shown in Table 2, responses to the questionnaire were also analyzed according to Olshtain's (1983) five semantic formulas for apologies:

1. Direct apology (e.g., *I'm sorry,* or *I apologize.*)
2. Explanation of why we did what we did
3. Acceptance of responsibility (e.g., it's my fault.)
4. Offer of repair (e.g., *Let me pay for it.*)
5. Promise of forbearance (e.g., *It'll never happen again.*)

Table 2
Responses Categorized by Semantic Formula

Item	Total number of Responses by Japanese in Japanese	Japanese in English	Americans in English
Direct apology	194	160	101
Explanation	72	66	49
Acceptance of responsibility	2	10	0
Offer of repair	41	46	50

Note. There were no responses that could be classified as promises of forbearance. This formula is thus omitted from the table.

Two interesting results appear in Table 2. First, American students tend to give explanations or offers of repair to an apologizee slightly more often than Japanese students do in English or in Japanese. Second, Japanese students use a greater variety of apologetic expressions in Japanese. They seem to differentiate expressions according to the status of the apologizee. For example;

to a professor:	*Moshiwake arimasen* (very polite, used by males and females)
to a friend:	*Gomen* (used with a socially close person, by males and females)
to a close friend:	*Warii, Suman* (less polite, used by males)

The reason for this variation probably stems from a Japanese social hierarchy based on social status, age, and sex.

Conclusion

Three conclusions may on drawn from these results:

1. Japanese students tend to apologize more frequently, both in English and in Japanese, than American students;
2. For Japanese, whether responding in English or in Japanese, their is little difference; and
3. In some situations, Japanese students apologize both in English and Japanese, while American students do not.

There are, naturally, some weaknesses in the design of this study. First, as mentioned above, an ambiguity about the severity of the offense may have affected how subjects responded to some of the questionnaire

items; the degree of severity that an individual perceives will differ according to individual or cultural values. Second, the categorization of the questionnaire items only by age of the apologizee and by the severity of the offense may not have identified the relevant dimensions of social variation. Other elements, such as sex differences or social distance between interlocutors may also have affected the apology patterns. Third, for the Japanese students, situations on which they were called upon to apologize to family members in English may have proved less than realistic.

Despite these weaknesses, this study shows that the pragmatics of apologizing in the native language influences how people apologize in a second language. That is, sociocultural elements in the L1 are likely to transfer to speech acts in the L2. As Coulmas (1981) states, even if we know how to say "I'm sorry," if we do not know when, to whom, and in which situation we should say it, the words may not function properly as an apology. Second language learners need to know appropriate pragmatic uses of the forms in appropriate situations, not only the meanings of the forms.

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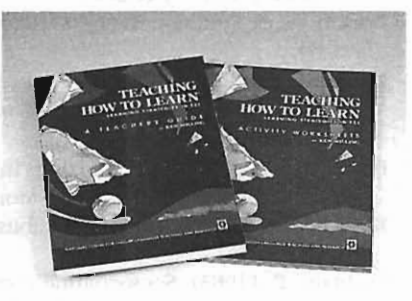

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Using Captions Increases Comprehension

Sophia Shang-Ikeda
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With increasing access to TV and VCR equipment, teachers have more opportunities to use video in the classroom. Recent video resource books such as *Video in Action* (Stempleski & Tomalin, 1990), *Video* (Cooper, Lavery, & Rinvolucri, 1991) and *Communicative Video Techniques* (Wood, 1992) focus on specific activities to exploit video as a tool for teaching.

Numerous articles have also been published on using movies in the classroom (e.g., Goette, 1992; Gouat, 1992; Linke, 1981; Lofgreen & Brown, 1981; Natusch, 1990; Quebbemann, 1991; Ricketts, 1991). One reason is that "the teacher has ...a cornucopia of material to work with in all four language skill areas" (Linke, 1981, p. 14). These characteristics are also true of TV shows, but fewer articles are to be found (e.g., Bouman, 1990; Kryszewska, 1990; Vanderplank, 1990a, 1990b). Another reason for the popularity of movies, especially in Japan, is that there are no adequate ELT video materials for Japanese learners available at the moment (Natusch, 1990, p. 20).

Even more limited information is available on the use of subtitles on videos for EFL students. Vanderplank (1988) informally investigated "the potential benefits to be gained in terms of language learning....Subjects reported that they found subtitles useful and beneficial to their language development and that they were able to develop strategies and techniques for using subtitles flexibly and according to need" (p. 272).

The use of Japanese subtitles to watch foreign movies has long been employed in Japan; however, English subtitles have only recently appeared. In 1988, Futek Inc. opened several video caption centers to promote using closed caption movies in the EFL classroom. In 1989, CINEX (Cinema English Exercise) decided to distribute open captioned, "exact word" subtitles on selected American movies for the purpose of teaching English. It published several video/study book packages claiming that students can enjoy a movie, and at the same time, enjoy studying English.

The National Captioning Institute in the USA published a study indicating that captions affected "bilingual students, acquisition of language, lit-

eracy, and conceptual knowledge" (Neuman, 1990, Introduction). Data from that report was used to expand NCI's market of closed caption decoders from the hearing impaired to the "listening impaired" EFL student. The Telecaption Center introduced NCI's decoder device to EFL teachers in Japan. Sanyo, in 1992, promoted its decoder, "The English Teacher," with video study packages to the general public, claiming that one could master English with this system.

It seems logical that being able to read the captions while hearing the spoken word would increase comprehension. However, trying to measure the effects of captions is more difficult. In a study by Hirose & Kamei (1992) it was reported that captions were beneficial to all students, especially those at higher proficiency levels.

The purpose of this pilot study was also to analyze the effect of captions on comprehension. Data were collected and compared, using the same subjects to watch video segments with captions and without.

Method

Subjects: The subjects were English majors at Kagoshima Women's College. Seventy students were randomly divided into two groups according to student ID numbers. There were 34 subjects in Group A, and 36 in Group B.

Material: A popular movie, *An American Tail* (Spielberg, 1990), was divided into 19 segments by scenes. It was chosen because the subjects had been studying about immigrants in American history, and the movie had been made for a general audience.

Equipment: Two 29" TVs were connected to a VCR and a caption decoder which was used to show or hide the captions.

Procedure: The study was conducted during the second semester (15 weeks), in which each group met nine times for ninety minutes. For the first five periods, Group A was exposed to captions but Group B was not. For the next four periods, Group A watched video segments without captions while Group B watched them with captions. Finally, all subjects watched the whole movie with captions for review—a week before the final exam.

Before watching each video segment, subjects were given a handout with questions in English, which were explained by the teacher, and useful vocabulary words, which were translated by the subjects. Then the subjects were asked to watch the segment and answer the questions in English without consulting each other. After the handouts were collected, the teacher went over the answers.

There were two types of questions: *A* for audio and *V* for visual. To answer *A*-type questions, the subject needed to understand what was being said. For *V*-type questions, the answers could be found visually. Examples of each type appear below.

How long is the giant mouse's tail? (a mile long) ..... *A*-type
What word does Mother not want to hear? (cats) ..... *A*-type
How does Fievel try to scare the cats away?
(by hitting a pot with a spoon) ..... *V*-type
What happened to the Mousekowitz house? (burnt down) .... *V*-type

Scoring

One point was given for each correct answer. Spelling and grammar mistakes were ignored because the main purpose was to check comprehension. In several cases, if an answer to an item was given both aurally and visually, it was listed under *V* (visual) if the subject could answer the item even without understanding the dialog. The item was listed under *A* (aural) if the subject still needed the aural support to answer the item.

An NEC 9801 computer with SPSS software was used to compile and analyze data. A level of $\alpha < .05$ was selected for the purpose of establishing significance.

Results and Discussion

Attendance per class period was fairly good, ranging from 30 to 36 subjects. T-tests were used on each set of questions. In six out of nine sets, watching with captions significantly increased comprehension.

However, the number of students who attended all nine class periods was disappointingly small. The effect of captions on the smaller group of subjects who attended all nine class periods was also analyzed. More items were able to be grouped together because the subjects were the same. All the subjects experienced using and not using captions. A direct comparison could be made from the results, which appear below.

Table 1
Summary of *A*-type Information
from Subjects who attended All Nine Classes

Scene	Group	No. of Cases	Mean	SD	Degrees of Freedom	t-value
	A w/	24	16.54	4.53		
1-7	B w/o	16	11.56	4.63	38	3.38*
	A w/o	24	11.33	2.74		
8-19	B w/	16	14.62	4.12	38	-3.04*

(w/ means with caption; w/o means without caption)
$p < .05$

As shown in Table 1, there were differences significant a $p < .05$ among *A*-type questions. The means of the group exposed to captions were always higher than the group without captions. This implies that reading the captions helps subjects' comprehension ability, as Hirose and Kamei (1992) also concluded.

Table 2
Summary of V-type Information
from Subjects who attended All Nine Classes

Scene	Group	No. of Cases	Mean	SD	Degrees of Freedom	t-value
	A w/	24	14.79	3.42		
1-7	B w/o	16	14.00	3.14	38	.74
	A w/o	24	16.70	2.97		
8-19	B w/	16	16.37	3.82	38	.31

(w/ means with caption; w/o means without caption)
$p < .05$

As shown in Table 2, no significant differences between groups were found with respect to the *V*-type questions. The means of Groups A and B were nearly the same. This implies that the captions did not have an effect on acquiring non-verbal information.

The results of this study are weakened by the small number of subjects. Also, the comprehension questions were in English and were answered in English. Using the subjects' L2 may have prevented some

from understanding the questions and/or answering them correctly. Last, the rate at which the captions appeared could not be controlled, so it is unknown how the rate affected comprehension.

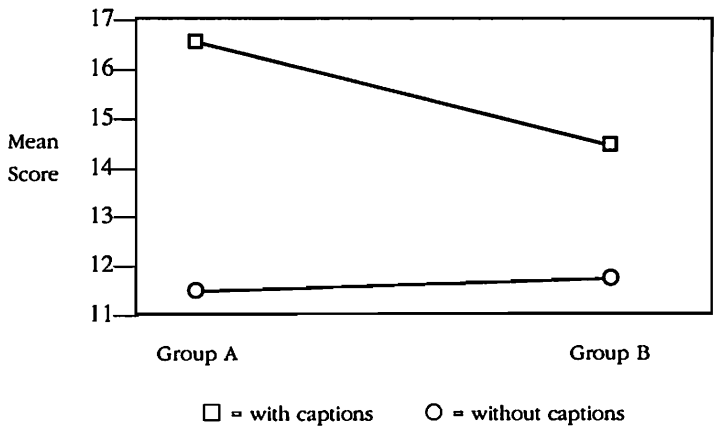
Conclusion

This study investigate the effects of captions on information acquired aurally and visually. The subjects felt that captions gave an additional opportunity to obtain information. Specifically, the results of this study indicate captions increased comprehension.

Subjects were able to experience both using and not using captions, and the results could be compared. Findings showed a relationship between reading captions and listening comprehension, although further research is necessary in order to establish the nature of that relationship. Figure 1 below summarizes the results, showing that the group using captions scored higher than the group not using captions.

Ellsworth (1992) has challenged teachers to experiment with captions, calling them a "seldom explored aspect of video" (p. 24). Bragoli (1993) gives an account of the captioned video teaching techniques incorporated into his classroom, and concludes that even though he could not statistically prove that captions improve listening comprehension, it seems that "caption use does not make it any worse" (p. 61).

Figure 1
Relationsip between Reading Comprehension
and Listening Comprehension



More studies need to be conducted to evaluate the effects of captions. Many issues such as proficiency level, reading speed, and visual processing need to be taken into consideration. Further studies need a larger number of subjects, and instructor's with the ability to use video and captions effectively.

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Educating Second Language Children

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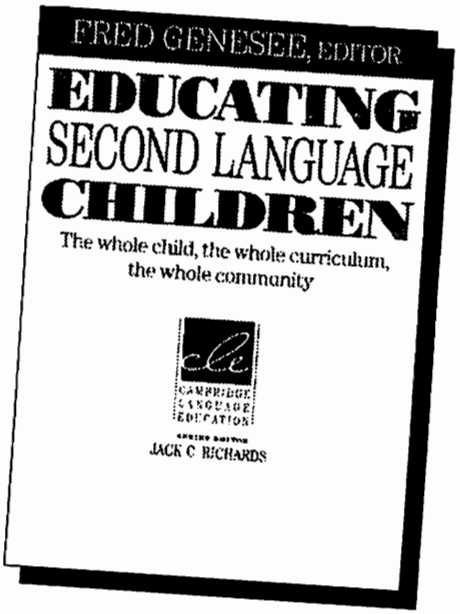

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A Study of Beginning ESL Students' Performance in Interview Tests

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Researchers into first language acquisition, naturalistic second language acquisition and instructed second language acquisition have sought to describe their subjects' chronological development, and have employed a variety of measures of language development. Dulay, Burt, and Krashen (1982, p. 215) list eight such measures. Larsen-Freeman (1978, p. 440) bemoans the absence of a single, universal measure applicable to the acquisition of all second languages, while Brown (1973, p. 55) suggests that a single index may be insufficient. In the absence of a single, recognized measure of second language development, four potential areas of development are examined in the present study of instructed second language acquisition. Length of turn is an index of grammatical development (Brown, 1973, p. 53), expressed in terms of the mean number of morphemes per turn over a given sample of subjects' speech, a turn being defined as what is said by any one person before or after another person speaks.

The speech of the subjects of the present study was sampled on three separate occasions spanning the first 15 months of instruction in English as a second language at junior high school. Error and pausing are measures of constraints on subjects' second language performance. Lennon (1991) defines error as a "linguistic form or combination of forms which, in the same context and under similar conditions of production, would in all likelihood, not be produced by the speakers' native speaker counterparts" (p. 182). This definition is employed in the present study. Pauses may be either silent pauses-silent breaks between words-or filled pauses-breaks filled by sounds such as "ah," "er," "uh," "mm." In this study three lengths of pause are distinguished: less than one second, from one to three seconds, and more than three seconds. Initiation considers the use to which subjects put their second language, and is defined as spontaneously going beyond the framework set up by the interviewer, either by proffering supplementary

information not strictly called for by the interviewer's question, or by adopting the role of the questioner.

Method

Subjects: The subjects were 15 Japanese students at Tokyo Bunka Gakuen Junior High School, ranging in age from 12 to 13, and were selected from 80 students taught by the researcher on the basis of perceived good performance in end-of-term oral interview tests. A questionnaire was administered to the subjects to determine the nature and extent of their exposure to English outside the compulsory education system. It was found that, apart from attendance at "cram" schools, exposure was limited. Of the 15 subjects, only four had visited an English speaking country for periods of one week and less than one third of the subjects claimed to listen to English or American radio or NHK English lessons on the radio and TV, have English speaking friends or relatives, or read English or American books, comics and magazines. One subject had previous experience of English study at primary school.

Procedure: All subjects took an oral test at the end of each term in the form of a short one-to-one interview with the researcher based on a list of questions which had been practiced in the classroom. Underhill (1987, p. 61) describes this test procedure. The tests were audio recorded, and the recordings for all 15 subjects on three occasions. June 1991, December 1991 and June 1992, spanning the subjects' first 15 months of English study, were selected for analysis. The recordings were transcribed using normal orthography, errors were identified in consultation with a native speaker colleague and marked on the transcripts, as were pauses. Subjects' mean length of turn was calculated following the guidelines proposed by Brown (1973, p. 54) for calculating mean length of utterance. The percentage of error-free turns was determined, and the nature of error examined, employing a fourfold classification of error into errors of omission, errors of over-suppliance, errors of permutation, and errors of substitution, discussed by Lennon (1991, p. 189). The percentage of pause-free turns was calculated. Subjects' performance was examined for instances of initiation.

Results

The results of the study under the headings of length of turn, error and pausing are presented in Tables 1 to 3. Initiation is then described.

Table 1
Subjects' Mean Length of Turn in Morphemes

Subject	June 1991	December 1991	June 1992
1	1.64	3.60	3.02
2	1.66	3.17	3.86
3	1.50	3.77	3.62
4	1.53	3.61	2.78
5	1.70	3.10	3.94
6	1.80	4.14	4.41
7	1.81	3.48	4.08
8	1.70	3.08	4.05
9	1.81	3.13	3.32
10	2.30	3.50	5.35
11	1.64	3.28	3.43
12	1.44	3.08	4.52
13	1.89	2.76	3.93
14	1.88	2.33	3.63
15	1.82	2.52	3.32
Overall mean	1.74	3.23	3.81

Mean length of turn conceals variation between the length of separate turns produced by subjects. In the first interview, June 1991, single morpheme turns predominate, multi-morpheme turns being restricted to a limited number of utterances occurring at the beginning of the interview. The longest turn produced in the first interview is "I'm fine, thank you, and you?" (seven morphemes), which was produced by all 15 subjects. In the second interview, December 1991, the longest turn consisted of 17 morphemes, subject 5: "My telephone number is ..." (followed by the 13 digits of the number). The longest turn recorded in the study was produced by subject 10 in the third, June 1992, interview in response to the question "How many are in your family?" and consisted of 22 morphemes: "Five. My father, my mother, my brother Yuta, my sister Sayuka, and me Megumi. Yuta is ten. Sayuka is five years old." All three examples given here of subjects' performance are of items practiced in the classroom in preparation for the interview tests.

Table 2
Percentage of Error-free Turns Produced by Subjects*

Subject	June 1991	December 1991	June 1992
1	75%	82%	75%
2	81%	85%	86%
3	84%	74%	90%
4	85%	69%	84%
5	81%	86%	89%
6	81%	76%	77%
7	86%	87%	89%
8	70%	87%	84%
9	68%	95%	81%
10	100%	95%	82%
11	89%	93%	78%
12	84%	83%	86%
13	89%	100%	90%
14	94%	91%	90%
15	82%	100%	91%
Overall mean	83%	86%	84%

*All percentages are rounded down to the nearest whole number.

Subjects committed a range of error types, which may be classified into four categories: omission, oversuppliance, permutation, and substitution. Errors of omission occur when an obligatory element is left out (e.g., Subject 9, June 1992: "I get up seven o' clock"). Errors of over suppliance, on the contrary, result from inclusion of an element which would normally not be present (e.g., Subject 8, June 1992: "I usually go to home"). Errors of permutation are characterized by incorrect word order (e.g., Subject 1, June 1992: "What do you like animals?"). Errors of substitution are a combination of oversuppliance and omission, where one or more elements would have to be omitted, and another or others supplied, to correct the error (e.g., Subject 5, June 1992: "I'm birthday is September the nineteenth").

The following are examples of pause-free turns taken from subjects' performance in the third, June 1992, interview. Subject 2: "My telephone is ...." (followed by a ten digit number). Subject 4: "Five. My grandmother, my mother, my sisters Keiko and Sachiko, and me." Subject 5 "I come from Suginami-ku."

Table 3
Percentage of Pause-free Turns Produced by Subjects*

(Pause = unfilled pause of one second or over)

Subject	June 1991	December 1991	June 1992
1	52%	47%	53%
2	74%	77%	86%
3	78%	70%	72%
4	57%	61%	71%
5	70%	65%	63%
6	70%	85%	61%
7	68%	83%	70%
8	66%	70%	48%
9	68%	68%	75%
10	100%	85%	70%
11	89%	68%	50%
12	68%	48%	50%
13	63%	35%	32%
14	55%	50%	29%
15	52%	60%	47%
Overall mean	68%	64%	58%

*All percentages are rounded down to the nearest whole number.

Only Subject 12, in the third, June 1992, interview, initiated as it is defined for the purposes of this study, by asking the interviewer two questions in two separate turns: "I come from Edogawa-ku. Where do you come from?" "Four. My father, my mother, and brother Yoshio, and me, Chie. Yoshio is twelve. How many are in your family?" In both instances, question forms presented and practiced in the classroom were employed by the subject to initiate.

Discussion

Instructed second language development was examined under four headings in the present study, length of turn, error, pausing and initiation.

Length of turn, Table 1, is the sole indicator of second language development. All 15 subjects' mean length of turn increased between the first (June 1991) and the second (December 1991) interview, and though three subjects' mean length of turn decreased between the second (December 1991) and the third (June 1992) interview, the overall mean rose over the

three interviews. This result parallels that reported by Brown (1973, p. 55) for the early stages of first language acquisition, and Hanania and Gradman (1977, p. 83) for the early stages of naturalistic second language acquisition. The development of the 15 subjects of the present study of instructed second language acquisition is thus quantitatively, if not qualitatively, similar to that of Browns' (1973) and Hanania and Gradman's (1977) subjects.

No developmental pattern may be observed under the heading of error, Table 2. Though the percentage of error free turns increased over the three interviews for three subjects, and a further six subjects produced a higher percentage of error-free turns in the third (June 1992) interview than in the first (June 1991) interview, the overall mean shows little variation. Subjects committed an increasing range of error types over the period of study, and failed to eradicate errors from their performance. Errors in the first (June 1991) interview were restricted to errors of omission. In the second (December 1991) interview, errors of omission persisted, in addition to errors of over suppliance and substitution, and permutation occurred. Thus a increase in accuracy was not a feature of the early instructed second language development of the 15 subjects of the present study.

No developmental pattern may be observed under the heading of pausing, Table 3. Though the percentage of pause free turns increased steadily over the three interviews for two subjects, and a further three subjects produced a higher percentage of pause free turns in the third (June 1992) interview than in the first (June 1991), the overall mean decreased slightly over the period of the study. Thus an increase in fluency was not a feature of the early instructed second language development of the 15 subjects of the present study.

No developmental pattern may be observed under the heading of initiation in the present study. Initiation as it is defined for the purposes of the study occurred only in the output of one subject in the third (June 1992) interview. This result supports the view proposed by Clark (1987, p. 204) who suggests that it is likely to take one or two years for beginners of secondary age to gain sufficient input and confidence to initiate in a second language, though it is not clear on what grounds Clark bases this statement.

Though the teaching of oral English is receiving increasing attention in Japan at junior and senior high school level, little attention seems to be devoted to examining the impact of teaching programs on learners' second language development. Wiig (1985, p. 76) suggests that foreign instructor's efforts to teach oral English at senior high school level are unlikely to be effective, though it is not clear on what grounds he bases

this claim. The results of the present study suggest that Japanese beginning ESL learners benefit from instruction in oral English at junior high school level, and that their second language development many be quantitatively if not qualitatively similar to that reported elsewhere in the literature for the early stages of first language acquisition, and naturalistic second language acquisition.

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Reviews

An Introduction to Psycholinguistics. Danny D. Steinberg. New York: Longman, 1993. 266 pp.

Reviewed by
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A new addition to Longman's Learning about Language series is Danny D. Steinberg's An Introduction to Psycholinguistics. This text is most suitable for first-year undergraduate students, targeting those who are interested in how linguistics overlaps with psychology but who have little knowledge of the field. *JALT Journal* readers will appreciate that a quarter of the material is devoted to second-language issues, and may be pleased to discover that the author, who teaches at a Japanese university, draws most of his examples from Japanese and English. The book is divided into three sections and is generally very readable, with discussion questions and a list of suggested readings following each chapter. Subject and author indexes are also provided, and should help the reader navigate the wide range of information presented.

Part 1, First Language, introduces the reader to psycholinguistics. In Chapter 1 the author starts at the point of children's first-language acquisition. Dealing separately with language production and understanding, he continues by ascending the levels of speech acquisition, loosely but regularly referring to the primacy of understanding. Proceeding to the acquisition of comprehension, the author explains more thoroughly how understanding and memory relate to language learning. Finally, Steinberg examines the kind of speech which young children usually receive, and the relevance of imitation and correction to the acquisition process. A weakness of the chapter is that while the author is certainly correct in reminding the reader that comprehension is a precursor of speech, his very insistence upon this fact, combined with his constant foreshadowing of its formal presentation, risks creating the impression that he has put the cart before the horse in his organization of the chapter. Nevertheless, Steinberg's communication of the material does allow readers to leave Chapter 1 with a good grasp of the topic.

The second chapter shifts the psycholinguistic periscope away from human beings and toward animal communication, opening with a collection of studies where researchers have tried to achieve communication with animals. Although the author advances from study to study by

leaps rather than at a steady trot, each independent piece of research receives a thorough analysis. Steinberg next jumps back to the more primitive forms of animal communication found in the wild, then forward to the most promising animal language research which has arisen to date, perhaps raising organizational questions similar to those mentioned above. This chapter, however, offers the reader a first glimpse of the author's concern for the objective presentation of controversy, and those who believe that animals may have language are therefore given full voice before the pessimism of the author and of other researchers comes to prevail.

Chapter 3 is morbidly fascinating. Providing in abundance the continuity missing from the preceding chapter, the author compares the linguistic progress of four "wild children" who were deprived of language in the early years of their lives. After the cases are contrasted in terms of the age of onset of deprivation, its duration, and the estimated extent of physical, social, and psychological trauma, a possible critical age beyond which first-language learning becomes difficult is tentatively set at between approximately seven and twelve years old.

In the final chapter of Part 1, the author introduces the language forms used by the deaf, gaining a strong, authoritative voice. As he contrasts gestures with signs, distinguishes among different types of sign language, and discusses the methods used by the deaf to communicate with the hearing community, Steinberg joins those whose language is non-spoken in their ongoing campaign for linguistic respectability. Particular attention is paid to a mode of first-language instruction where "words are to be addressed to [the] eye instead of [the] ear" (p. 86, quoting Alexander Graham Bell). Non-spoken language appears to hold a great interest for the author, and his consideration of it is an interesting constant throughout the entire text.

The middle chapters of the book examine the role that the mind and brain play with regard to language, elucidating issues which provide the backbone for first- and second-language learning. The first of these, Chapter 5, traces the evolution of Noam Chomsky's mental grammar theories. Steinberg explains Chomsky's distinction between linguistic competence, which denotes language-users' grammatical knowledge, and performance, the part of competence involving translation between thought and speech. Through a challenging presentation of Chomsky's theories, the reader is exposed to the assertion that not only do sets of mental rules represent the syntax, meaning, and sound of an infinite number of sentences, but also that syntax is the key element from which meaning and sound proceed. The chapter closes with the arguments of

those who maintain that meaning, not syntax, is primary in sentence creation. Unfortunately, Chapter 5 is perhaps the weakest in the book. Abandoning his clear, common-sense tone at a point where readers are probably in greatest need of it, the author seems driven into a dry, distant style by the technicality of his subject matter. It is inarguable that finding anecdotes for grammar is no easy task, but this stylistic shift is also marked by sentences which are denser in content and by occasional oversights in term definition. The material is further complicated by an impatient tendency to hint at information which is to follow later in this and the next chapter. The combined effect of these factors is that the true newcomer to the field may find much of the discussion here inaccessible without help. This fact, however, is largely unimportant to Steinberg's greater message, which comes to light in Chapter 6.

The purpose of Chapter 6 is to lay to rest Chomsky's claim that his system of rules is psychologically relevant. Although Chomsky himself recognizes that his grammar does not intermediate between sound and meaning and therefore cannot describe actual language-user performance, he insists that it does exist in people's minds as a sort of reference table. Via insightful reasoning and a look at several features of language performance, the author attacks this "resource" grammar in favor of one which is directly involved in the performance process. Throughout his critique, Steinberg expresses only the greatest respect for Chomsky, providing a possible explanation for the difficulties of Chapter 5. That is, given both the author's energetic assault on Chomsky's grammatical theories and his high regard for the linguist himself, it appears that a main goal of Chapter 5 may be to do justice to a great man's intellect. This well-intentioned attempt at balance, however, seems more likely to bewilder many readers rather than to dazzle them.

Steinberg waxes philosophical in Chapter 7, tackling the question of whether language arises from intelligence or from innate knowledge. After comparing Empiricism, which asserts that humans are born with a "blank slate," and traditional Rationalism, which holds that basic knowledge is inborn, the author focuses on the language portion of Chomsky's revised Rationalism, known as Universal Grammar (UG). Each of Chomsky's arguments in favor of UG meets with a convincing counter-argument, and the chapter eventually arrives at the conclusion that it is as impossible to explain the origin of language as it is to explain the origin of infinity. Last, almost as an afterthought, Steinberg defines and contrasts Mentalism and Behaviorism, terms first used in Chapter 4.

Chapter 8 addresses another area of psycholinguistic controversy, that of the relationship between thought and language. The unadorned

clarity of Steinberg's analysis as he challenges the causal role first of speech and then of language in creating thought makes his ultimate rejection of the two theories seem unavoidable. Language, he concludes, can influence our beliefs and provide us with new ideas, but it is not involved in the development of thought. The very simplicity of the author's arguments here, however, may leave him open to charges of caricaturization, and some of the theorists whom he mentions might take issue with his portrayal of their ideas. Nevertheless, the humor which he brings to the topic can be quite entertaining, as he asks the reader to picture "hordes of Mongols and Huns . . . good people at heart, perhaps, but helpless captives of their own bloodthirsty subject-predicate view of the universe, and, hence, forever doomed to burn and pillage!" (p. 166).

Moving on to the biological aspects of psycholinguistics in Chapter 9, the author uses a down-to-earth discussion of right- and left-handedness to arouse the reader's interest in the brain. Its anatomy, hemispheric dominance, and lateralization of function are examined, with special emphasis on language areas. The effect of brain maturation on language learning is also considered. The latter half of the chapter addresses language disorders, or aphasias, as well as various scientific methods of investigating them, and finishes by raising questions regarding the mind and free will. An impressive feature of this chapter is the recency of its data, with some sources from 1993.

The last section of the text should be the most interesting to *JALT Journal* readers, dealing as it does with the learning and teaching of a second language and with bilingualism. Part 3 is ushered in by Chapter 10 and its scrutiny of the commonly-held assumption that children are better second-language learners than are adults. The author shows that children outperform adults in motor skills (affecting pronunciation) and rote memory, but that adults excel at intellectual processing. Steinberg goes on to reveal how natural language-learning contexts favor children, while a classroom situation is more suitable to older individuals. In his final synthesis of the social and psychological factors relevant to second-language learning, the reader discovers that in a natural context, younger does indeed mean better, but that the optimal age to learn language in a classroom should be about twelve. Further, it is noted that if a critical age for second-language learning exists, it applies only to pronunciation.

In Chapter 11, the author advances from second-language learning to its teaching. He highlights five "dimensions," such as language mode (speech vs. reading) and psychological viewpoint (Mentalist vs. Behav-

iorist), which assist his characterization of traditional and contemporary teaching methods. Nine different approaches are analyzed, and while Steinberg may take issue with some of their features, his attitude remains open-minded and descriptive, rather than prescriptive. Practically speaking, Chapter 11 is highly informative, although its lack of a graphic or written summary may pose some difficulties for the newcomer.

The terminus of Steinberg's introduction to psycholinguistics is the topic of bilingualism, with the definition of "bilingual" widening to include sign language users and those with fluent reading and writing skills. The reader encounters research, sometimes shockingly inept, related to the influence of early second-language acquisition on children's linguistic and intellectual development, and learns that no negative effects have been found. In light of this fact and the obvious benefits of knowing a second language, early second-language exposure is advocated. In closing, after a discussion of the simultaneous and sequential learning of two languages, Steinberg looks at the ways in which familiarity with a first language can both facilitate and cause problems with the use of a second one.

Steinberg's humor and personal involvement in *An Introduction to Psycholinguistics* are enjoyable elements of the book. He includes numerous asides from his own life, and his tone often combines an enthusiasm to share interesting information with the reassurance that soon everything will make perfect sense. Unfortunately, the author's eagerness sometimes reveals itself in organizational problems like the "foreshadowing" noted above (Chapters 1 and 5). In several instances, the existence of a glossary would have solved the difficulty. In others, even if a glossary had been included, much of the "hinting" might still have proven frustrating to readers who do not yet feel completely at home with the main topic. These readers, however, are of course free to disregard information for which they do not feel ready, and more knowledgeable ones may see this phenomenon as an attempt at cohesiveness.

Yet a problem that I have with the text is that I do not find it particularly cohesive. While the author has a gift for effective analogy and offers a wide range of material in a usually straightforward and highly intelligent manner, he generally neglects the introduction, transitions, and conclusions which would tie the book together and communicate a sense of psycholinguistics as a distinct field. The abrupt end of the last page is most glaring in this respect. It's as if each chapter were a single bit of fabric with its own embroidered design, but instead of stitching the pieces together to form a quilt, Steinberg has chosen to

line them up side-by-side. On the other hand, in stating that "every chapter . . . is self-sufficient and can be read directly" (xi), the author indicates that this arrangement was in fact a choice, and therefore may be only a matter of taste. Some might even find Steinberg's style a more "scientific" one. In any case, the book lends itself well to the typical one class/one topic structure of a college course, and instructors who adopt it should have little difficulty in re-arranging the chapters as they see fit and supplying the continuity which they deem necessary.

The message which Steinberg does effectively convey about psycholinguistics in general is that most all of its sub-fields are alive with heated debate. When he presents charged issues, the author usually does his best to remain objective and often couches his own point of view in the opinion, or even the assumed opinion, of others, through expressions such as "I am sure Terrace would point out . . ." (p. 37). Steinberg meets his self-imposed challenge to take readers "to the heart of . . . contemporary controversy" (xi), widening the field of conflict by listing numerous members of competing theoretical camps. And while some may grumble that many of these names are not referenced elsewhere in the book and seem to be for recognition value alone, others could rebut that each chapter includes only the suggested readings which Steinberg felt would be especially helpful.

The author's stated goal of helping readers learn "to think for themselves and conduct inquiries on their own" (xi) is less fully achieved, however. Some discussion questions do demand reflection beyond the scope of the material covered, and some methodological criticism is indeed presented. But the data interpretation which would promote the development of scientific thought is not consistently present in the text. This characteristic, however, may simply reflect a more theoretical and philosophical approach to the field, which newcomers may in fact find more appealing.

An Introduction to Psycholinguistics is a difficult work about which to generalize, in that each chapter truly does seem to be an independent entity: the organization of Chapter 1 may be questionable, yet that of Chapter 7 is extremely well-structured; Chapter 5 has been accused of complexity, but Chapter 8, of simplicity. What, then, can be said about the text as a whole? It certainly contains an intelligent analysis of the most central questions of a diverse field, and provides readers with a good basis for more advanced study. For those who wonder whether damage to the brain affects kanji and kana knowledge in the same way, whether a shake of the head means "no" in Sri Lanka, and whether Dr. Doolittle really did know something we don't, Steinberg's text offers possible answers.

Transcending Stereotypes: Discovering Japanese Culture and Education. Barbara Finkelstein, Anne M. Imamura, and Joseph J. Tobin (Eds.). Yarmouth, Maine: Intercultural Press, 1991. 221 pp. $29.95.

Reviewed by
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Foreign teachers in Japan and teachers of Japanese students abroad may have noticed how few books written for them provide more than glimpses into Japanese educational culture. Yet in the classroom, they may find themselves groping to identify cultural assumptions that only their students seem to share. Failure to clarify these assumptions may lead to unsatisfactory and even stereotyped explanations of student behavior.

This book is highly recommended to both groups of teachers. A publication produced under the auspices of the International Center for the Study of Education Policy and Human Values at the University of Maryland, it represents the experience the Center has gained through its many research and curriculum development programs with educators in Japan. Although the book speaks directly, on occasion, to an American audience, its depth and scope will appeal to a broader one.

Organized into five sections, most of the 28 articles in the volume (including section introductions) are short yet thought-provokingly written. Even the articles not primarily concerned with education, but rather with the culture that contextualizes it, may prompt teachers to take a fresh look at their own teaching approaches and practices.

The first section, Japanese Culture, begins at the roots: the childhood learning of *amae* (presuming on the benevolence of others), *sempai/kohai* relationships, and the outer and inner realms of *tatemae/honne* and *omote/ura*. It shows why the Japanese so willingly honor their expected roles in society, why they value formality and informality more equally than do Westerners, and why the group, rather than the individual, is often the locus of social obligations. Through these and other insights, there emerges a cultural mirror for Western notions of privacy, personal accountability, and self-reliance. The reflection is notably clear in Takeo Doi's revelations of culture shock as a guest in an American home.

Although most articles in this section are neutral or positive in tone, "Inside and Outside" deals with the negative effects of *uchi/soto* thinking on Japan's global relationships. In it, two Japanese scholars discredit

notions of Japanese uniqueness, particularly that of a genetically transmitted Japanese essence (which could imply that foreigners are biologically incapable of understanding things Japanese).

The second section, Family and Society, does not survey the topic as a whole, but instead seeks to dispel the misleading "submissive female" stereotype by concentrating on the social roles of Japanese women. Truly, women have been the driving force within the Japanese family and, however underrepresented they have been in business and politics, their influence extends well beyond the home in significant ways. Considering the title of the section, however, the tokenism to which the roles of men in the modern family are treated is curious.

"New Lifestyles for Housewives" profiles women pursuing diverse combinations of interests in work, community affairs, and personal development. Seen in the Japanese context, where interdependency is valued over independence and self-interest is eschewed in favor of collective benefit, these outside interests often connect with family life. The most striking example is "The Education Mother" *(kyoiku mama),* which details the all-consuming responsibilities of women who face with their children an intensely competitive academic environment.

"The Persistence of Ie" serves as a coda for the first two sections. It traces the precedents for group loyalty, adherence to hierarchy, and the preservation of harmony to a centuries-old lineal family system. The endurance of these values both stems from, and reinforces, the continuing stability of the family, making it less surprising when Japanese women forgo what they see as the burdens of a full-time career to marry and raise children.

The remaining two-thirds of the book turn to Japanese education proper, first by putting the reader "up close" to the experiences of everyday school life. The fourth section, Education and Cultural Transmission, moves up the path from pre-schools to universities, where continuous attention is given to the formation of group consciousness, the development of discipline, and the belief that effort, rather than ability, is the key to success—a belief not often well understood by Western teachers.

"Nursery Schools," "Forming Groups," and "The Spirit of *Gambaru*" show how group consciousness develops from an early age. Contrary to their strong authoritarian image, teachers in early educational settings give children a good measure of responsibility and control so that they may learn to work well in groups. Children rotate leadership in games, chores, and other activities, often with scarce resources or unwieldy objects that must be managed through concerted effort.

Children are also left to resolve conflicts in which they or others are involved. Never assumed to be intentionally bad, Japanese children learn good behavior through the consequences of their own actions. This contrasts starkly with the West, where teachers often intervene with explicit statements of right and wrong.

Another contrasting view concerns class size. For Japanese teachers who consider relations among students more important than those between students and themselves, large classes are seen as advantageously reflecting the challenge of successful interactions in society as a whole. Although they would enjoy smaller classes, these teachers point out that the parent-like, individual attention given in Western classrooms would not satisfy this aim.

"Learning Skills and Attitudes in Japanese Early Education Settings" describes approaches to learner motivation, discipline/concentration, and self-monitoring, drawing parallels between conventional schooling and the traditional Suzuki method of music instruction. Some comparisons are close: in both settings school and home-practice drills are central to the development of early discipline and single-minded concentration. Other comparisons are in substance more situation-dependent. In the Suzuki school, where a student cannot play an instrument at all until motivation is assured, the connection between group membership and motivation is clear; the rites of passage into regular school membership are by contrast more a matter of ritual than of proven interest. In both contexts there is also ***hansei*** (self-reflection, sometimes regret), but self-evaluation in musical performance is no doubt very different from that of large group ***hansei*** at the end of a school trip or other event.

"Examination Rituals and Group Life" progresses to the stage most widely covered by the media: preparation for college entrance exams. Author Nobuo Shimahara states that admission to high-ranking colleges, and on to prestigious companies, have virtually become cultural goals, making exam success an issue that profoundly affects the lives of the young and their families. Schools are judged according to how far they bring students to meet the challenge through group discipline, repetitive drilling, and mock tests (see his comparisons of three high schools). In this exam system, students are extrinsically motivated, the method is rote memorization, and education is seen primarily as a short-term means to an end. Recognizing this, reformers have proposed a shift to more contemplative, lifelong learning. Shimahara points out, however, that until the interdependency of business, education, and the exam system gives way, no meaningful change can be expected.

Shimahara's article serves as a prelude to the fourth section, Education Policy and the Dilemmas of Reform. Taking as its main theme Japan's ongoing conflict between the ideologies of equality and merit, this section provides a number of perspectives for the everyday workings described in the previous section.

In "Education Policy Dilemmas as Historic Constructions" Hidenori Fujita contends that in spite of the gradual shift toward equality in Japan's schooling over the past century, education has continued to function as a hierarchical instrument of social differentiation. As evidence, he points to the roles of schools as agents of moral discipline and ritualized control, the government-mandated curriculum, and, of course, the exam orientation—all of which originated in the Meiji Era. Although reforms have eliminated the multi-tracked, ability-based elitism of that time, Fujita suggests that egalitarianism has been compromised by the difficulty of the curriculum and the emergence of *juku* (cram schools) and *yobiko* (college prep schools) which cater to the examination system.

Ryoko Kato Tsuneyoshi delves into more recent debate on this issue, including the prospects for Japan/U.S. educational crossovers. She states that while both countries have looked to each other for solutions to their respective educational problems, their approaches serve such different needs and belief systems as to call into question the feasibility of such an exchange. In the U.S., where ability differences are considered primary determinants of school and career paths, the issue becomes one of fairness to all cultures within that country. By contrast, Japan's emphasis on effort, as well as its monoculturalism, claims equal opportunity through uniformity in curricula and schools. Tsuneyoshi maintains, therefore, that basic Japanese values would be threatened by more individual-centered reforms that take inspiration from the West.

Kazuyuki Kitamura finds more unity than divisiveness in another duality: that between Japan's public schools and its burgeoning private sector. In his view, *juku* and *yobiko* provide an outlet for both high- and low-achieving students, allowing public schools to maintain their egalitarianism while feeding students into them. However, because private schools and universities have enjoyed dramatic increases in enrollment and greater influence over students' academic careers, he, like Fujita, suggests that public schooling has been gradually losing its authority.

The above two sections paint a much more complex picture of Japanese education than do the media-inspired images of an economic engine, egalitarian utopia, or living hell (see also the article on *ronin*). Making the case against stereotypes, editor Barbara Finkelstein includes,

as an example, an excerpt from a U.S. State Department report on Japanese education. Comparing it to the other articles, one is reminded that stereotypes are often exaggerated truths, built on a seeming wealth of superficial understanding.

The final section, Intergroup Tensions in Japanese School and Society, takes a look at more specific problems: the educational discrimination of minorities, the sad and occasionally brutal outcomes of *ijime* (bullying), and the readjustment difficulties of students returning from family transfers abroad. The first two of these topics are treated in some detail, but understanding the quandary facing returnees requires more than the mere two pages that topic is given.

As diverse as they may seem, these problems do share important commonalities. All of them are far from being settled; when they are addressed, as in campaigns to prevent discrimination against Koreans, *Burakumin*, and other minorities, as well as assistance to returnee students, the impetus usually comes from local governments or individual institutions. Also, those at a disadvantage are either ignored, as is often the case for both bullied children and minorities, or they are expected (most unrealistically) to relinquish any knowledge or behaviors at variance with prescribed norms, as in the case of returnee children.

In the final article, Teruhisa Horio attributes this violence and neglect to pressures from both Japan's meritocracy and its egalitarian conformity. Taking as central the right of every child to learn in ways that promote critical capacities and a broad social conscience, he serves an indictment to state control and censorship, the examination system, and its elite progeny. He thus echoes concerns voiced by Shimahara and Fujita, but places them in a broader political context. The real struggle, he says, is between democratic self-government and a state that has retained enough of its pre-war powers to violate the freedoms of children, teachers, and textbook writers. To Horio, then, educational reforms not born of populism and a concern for citizens' rights are bound to be futile.

This book covers a great deal of ground in 218 pages of text. It presents many essentials of Japanese culture, both in education and in society at large, as well as a wide range of views on the links between cultural identity and educational goals. The strongest views are expressed by Japanese authors. Along with experienced Western colleagues, they have achieved the overall purpose of the book: to disempower stereotypes of Japanese education.

A romanized glossary of Japanese terms is included at the back of the book but is, unfortunately, its greatest disappointment. It is hard to

imagine how this list could be useful. Although it contains practically every Japanese term in the volume, many of the glosses are incomplete and sometimes misleading. To give just one example, *haragei* is glossed literally as belly art, but the uninformed reader, for whom the glossary should be especially intended, will surely be left mystified. As no page indexing is provided for this or any other terms (or topics, for that matter), one cannot relate them back to the contexts in which they make sense. Careful explanation, combined with page indexing, would have added a valuable feature to the book. It might even have served as a check for accuracy (*yochien*/kindergarten and *hoikuen*/nursery school are correctly glossed here but meanings are mistakenly traded on page 78).

In spite of its occasional flaws, this book goes a long way toward illuminating the complex interrelationship between culture and education in Japan. Moreover, it provides impetus and direction for further exploration, based on the premise that effective teaching necessarily involves knowing the people one is teaching.

Introducing Discourse Analysis. David Nunan. London: Penguin, 1993. 134 pp. ¥1340.

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The field of discourse analysis, especially as it relates to language teaching, is currently enjoying an acceleration of activity if the recent publication of numerous books can be taken as a guide. Moreover, as seminal topics such as negotiation of meaning, authenticity, language awareness, and genre are discussed and refined with reference to discourse analysis frameworks in order to pave the way for new approaches in the classroom, it seems reasonable to believe that a language education professional will benefit from a basic understanding of this field. For that reason alone we can applaud this handy little addition to the literature specifically written for language teachers.

In *Introducing Discourse Analysis*, one of the five titles in Penguin's Introducing Applied Linguistics series, David Nunan has provided a basis for familiarity with key concepts while including sample texts to be used as illustrations. The "data," as such exemplar texts are sometimes

called, are from both the author's data bank and secondary sources, and include both oral and written language. The book is divided into four chapters: an introduction and series of definitions; a chapter on linguistic elements; a chapter on how language users frame and interpret discourse; and a final chapter on the childhood development of discourse competence. The general structure of the book opens with a framing of the key concepts, followed by micro-level approaches to language in text. This is followed by a series of macro-level approaches and a conclusion in the form of an application of some of the preceding theory. There is a short glossary at the conclusion.

Nunan has provided reference to recent predecessors in the field, notably Cook, McCarthy, and Hatch, as well as to earlier trailblazers such as Halliday, Widdowson, Brown and Yule, and Levinson. The question that will be asked is what makes this book different (other than its brevity) from these others? As Michael Hoey (1991) writes: "any new publication in the field has to perhaps justify its existence. Earlier works needed to defend their discipline; current works need to defend themselves against the charge of superfluity" (p. 3).

In opening the discussion of what comprises discourse analysis, Nunan summarizes numerous studies that disagree about the interchangeability of the terms "text" and "discourse." Nunan's definitions are as follows: (a) text: "any written record of a communicative event" and (b) discourse: "the interpretation of the communicative event in context" (pp. 6-7). He then critiques the assertion made by some linguists that a text or piece of discourse consists of more than one sentence, and that the sentences combine to form a meaningful whole (the concept of "meaningful whole" being determined as "commonsensical"). Nunan draws attention to the fact that one-word texts can be argued to exist, and that "text" can also be defined as including "taped records of pieces of communication."

Those who have tried to answer the question, "What is discourse analysis?" probably agree that the definitions chosen matter less than the examples, activities, or tasks that are included with them. In other words, those reading this book from a truly introductory vantage point are likely to need to get their hands dirty with analytical tasks, and the sooner the better. This book then appears to follow the pattern set in the earlier works by the authors noted above by providing the reader with texts and question-guided activities. *Introducing Discourse Analysis* is an introductory text, so it may be unfair to expect it to explore new tacks in depth. On the other hand, one who has read some of the above authors may be left wishing that this book were somewhat more explicit

in reassessing some of the definitions offered herein. Why, for example, is the notion of "commonsensical" given short shrift, when Chapter 3, which makes up roughly one third of this book, is entitled "Making sense of discourse"?

Recent works by Norman Fairclough (1989, 1992), for example, deal explicitly with the notions of common sense and how combinations of language and thought are maintained and transformed. Such perspectives, referred to as critical linguistics or critical discourse analysis, find no mention in this book. It may be argued of course that such areas of study fall into higher levels of discussion of discourse analysis. On the other hand, it can also be argued that "non-critical" approaches to discourse analysis oversimplify either the individual orientation to construction of discourse or the constraining strength of social variables. Fairclough (1992) writes: "In using the term 'discourse,' I am proposing to regard language use as a form of social practice, rather than a purely individual activity or a reflex of situation variables" (p. 63).

Another book in the Penguin series, Ronald Carter's (1993) *Introducing Applied Linguistics*, an A-to-Z glossary of useful terms, maintains that there is "[a] premise that systems and uses of language are not neutral" (p. 17). Nunan's omission of this dimension of discourse analysis is a grave matter. Many of the elements dealt with in Chapter 3 (speech acts, schema and frame theory, discourse processing, top-down and bottom-up approaches, conversational analysis, and intercultural communication) have their primary origin in fields other than linguistics, so in some sense the matter of selection for inclusion in such a book is crucial. Neutrality is a constant source of discussion in books on theoretical topics. Is it more useful if points are honed around particular models or positions, while making clear to the reader what is being discarded? Or, is it possible, in trying to summarize this topic in a concise form, to do little more than give signposts as to where the more substantial arguments will be found? Of concern is whether or not the author gives enough space to amplifying the strengths and weaknesses of the various models which he introduces in rapid succession. Readers can make their own choice as to whether they prefer the capsule view.

Nunan sets his model of discourse in line with a communicative approach. Hence he presents classification of discourse types in terms of the "communicative job they are doing" (p. 16). The distinction between transactional and interpersonal language is noted, and in his discussion of genre in Chapter 2, Nunan writes: "The communi-

cative purpose will also be reflected in the basic building blocks of the discourse[:] . . . different types of communicative events . . . will have [their] own characteristics" (p. 49).

If one looks for a direction that Nunan is pointing to for analysis of discourse with regard to language teaching/learning it would probably most likely be found in the final chapter, which focuses on developing discourse competence. Nunan provides several longer examples of analysis related to conversations between small children and parents. The issue he wants to illustrate is the necessity for explicit instruction in discourse processing. To quote the final paragraph in part: "[T]he ability to perceive relationships across sentence boundaries is an important skill which children need to acquire" (p. 112). Nunan continues by saying that failing this, students will have academic difficulties.

A likely corollary might be that the more teachers know about and can help students take an active part in developing competence in discourse processing strategies, the more likely they are to succeed. Indeed this seems to be the implicit hypothesis of this and other books. As Carter writes: "[Communicative] methodologies stress the processes of communication and aim to engage learners actively in tasks such as problem solving, information retrieval, and social exchanges. One of the main challenges for the communicative approach is to relate the functions of language with the correct use of structures" (1993, p. 11). Thus a new phase will start as text writers, course designers, and classroom teachers struggle to create ways for discourse analysis to be integrated into the syllabuses.

As a result, if *Introducing Discourse Analysis* allows significant numbers of teachers to start answering these kinds of questions on their own, then it has done a service. Even if readers feel that a lot of this ground is covered elsewhere, Nunan has helped by writing a book that frames the scope of discourse analysis so that it works directly in the service of one of the prevailing trends of the day: the emphasis on a communicative paradigm of language learning.

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Process Writing. Ron White and Valerie Arndt. London: Longman, 1991. 186 pp.

Reviewed by
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Process Writing, one of the Longman Handbooks for Language Teachers series, serves as an innovative resource book for writing teachers, providing a variety of techniques and activities along with examples from actual writing classrooms. White and Arndt advocate a process-focused approach which views writing as a problem-solving process. In a product-centered approach, the outcome of writing is most important. In contrast, a process-focused approach puts more emphasis on the writing process itself and encourages the students to spend more time in preparation for writing. This approach is most valuable if we assume that writing is a thinking process. Unless writers are aware of the purpose, direction, and audience of writing, the composition will fail to fulfill its communicative purpose.

The book consists of six main sections which focus on each of the following writing processes: generating, focusing, structuring, drafting, evaluating, and reviewing. Each section begins with a brief theoretical background which is followed by an outline of activities and examples. In this book, what is known as the pre-writing stage is split into three processes, and post-writing activities are divided into two. Therefore, the authors elaborate each process thoroughly, and have achieved the goal of the book: to help teachers implement process-focused instruction.

In the introduction White and Arndt emphasize changing the traditional roles of teacher and student so that a collaborative, workshop atmosphere can be built upon. The teacher becomes a reader and responder, and the students are communicators of their experiences, ideas, attitudes, and feelings. This helps to create a non-threatening classroom environment. Consequently, conveying the intended meaning is the first priority, and grammatical errors are not targeted as long as writers can adequately convey the intended meaning.

In addition, the activities presented in this book require pair or group work. Through discussing and working with classmates, the students engage in a creative process, so that the class becomes "a communicative experience" (p. 3) in a real sense and ensures more flexible classroom management. Thus, *Process Writing* will be especially valuable for

those teachers who feel restricted by the dictates of existing writing curricula or by their own more traditional assumptions as to the nature of the writing process.

Because writing is a highly complex cognitive activity, L2 learners sometimes find it painful or boring. In the first chapter, White and Arndt argue that writing can be exciting if students are given the freedom to explore their own creative processes. The authors suggest "composing aloud" activities to make the students aware of their own thinking processes. In recording the free flow of thoughts that come into their minds and then analyzing them, they can reconstruct their thoughts and improve their writing. Students come to realize what they really want to tell readers and are able to compose their ideas more clearly and explicitly.

Following the model of writing White and Arndt propose, Chapters 2 to 7 introduce each process in sequence. Chapter 2 is the first step in pre-writing activities known as "Generating." Because getting started is often a difficult task, the authors suggest such activities as brainstorming, making notes, using visuals, and using role plays and simulations. By getting involved in these kinds of activities, students discover a topic, identify a purpose, and become aware of their audience. Guided and unguided discovery techniques are introduced, both of which facilitate generating ideas.

Once writers have enough ideas to communicate, they need a focus. Chapter 3, "Focusing," contains four main sections: discovering main ideas, considering purpose, considering audience, and considering form. These are the essential components of writing. "Writing a letter to a newspaper" (p. 53) is one of the most functional and practical activities for helping students develop a sense of purpose and an awareness of their audience. Another type of activity, "Viewpoints on places," is an effective way of "demonstrating the difference which viewpoint can make to the writer's description and to the reader's interpretation" (p. 66).

The final stage of pre-writing activities is called structuring. In Chapter 4, students start preparing a first draft. The main purpose of this process is to select ideas and arrange them in order. Using a "spidergram" (p. 81) and other charts for grouping information, the students develop a framework for writing and complete a plan for the first draft. This process is often neglected because of time constrictions. However, the authors show that it is essential to writing a logical and well-organized composition.

After students have explored their ideas as thoroughly as possible and have completed the structuring process, they are ready to write.

Chapter 5, "Drafting," shows effective ways of "beginning, adding and ending" (p. 102). At this stage, White and Arndt claim, writers should make the transition from focusing on their own writing process to focusing on the reader. It is the readers who make decisions on whether or not the composition is interesting enough to keep on reading. Furthermore, writing at least three drafts is recommended in order to get the best results possible. Techniques such as "matching openings and endings" (pp. 106-107) and "the mini-saga" (p. 112) are excellent ways of learning a sense of wholeness, the meaning of various vocabulary items, and how to analyze the writing from the viewpoint of the reader.

White and Arndt describe "Evaluating" and "Re-viewing" as parts of the post-writing process, in Chapters 6 and 7 respectively. They suggest certain principles of error treatment in which the content and how the writer presents the information are the first priority in the evaluation process—rather than mechanics and grammar. Moreover, the authors point out that it is the students themselves who decide if they have achieved their goals in writing. Students are encouraged to be responsible for their own writing process and to become their own critics. As such, our job as writing teachers is to help students become autonomous writers in the L2.

Chapter 6 includes three ways of giving feedback: teacher to student, teacher to class, and student to student. The checklist provided on page 118 is useful for content evaluation. Guidelines for teacher responses to students' work (p. 125) are also specific and of value. Conferencing is another technique suggested for evaluation, as it enables the teacher and student to negotiate on a face-to-face basis.

White and Arndt discuss reviewing in Chapter 7. This process is part of the final stage of the whole writing process. As their model (p. 4) indicates, however, the writing process is recursive rather than linear. Reviewing in this model feeds back to the four different processes of generating, focusing, structuring, and drafting. In this way writers can return to any of the original processes where reinforcement is necessary. The reviewing process is a means of examining the text again "with a new pair of eyes" (p. 136), and has two objectives: (a) to develop critical ability and (b) to increase linguistic knowledge. Hence, two kinds of activities are provided. One is putting scrambled paragraphs in order and segmenting a text; the other is analyzing linguistic features in a variety of written texts.

Finally, White and Arndt maintain that the reviewing process, as well as the writing process as a whole, moves from top-down skills of content, organization, and word choice, to bottom-up skills of

syntax, grammar, and mechanics. Communication is more important than grammatical accuracy. Up to this point in the book, the authors put emphasis on top-down skills. But in the final stage, grammatical accuracy and mechanics such as spelling, punctuation, and capitalization are focused upon. However, the authors again urge that teachers concentrate more on global errors than on local or specific ones, citing the evidence that local errors cause the fewest problems.

Process Writing exhaustively discusses every step of the writing process, including not only the theoretical background but also practical ideas with many lesson formats. The activities are well designed for developing both top-down skills and bottom-up skills in writing. Therefore, it can best be used as a reference book for writing instruction. At the same time, any of the exercises can be used to reinforce students' writing sub-skills. As the authors point out, the activities presented may need to be modified "according to the level, interests, and requirements of each teaching context" (p. 6). On the other hand, if examples were provided based on three different levels of writing skill—beginning, intermediate, and advanced—it would be easier for teachers to put the techniques provided into daily practice. Still *Process Writing* is a most valuable book in teaching writing skills and is highly recommended for all ESL/EFL teachers.

Cooperative Development: Professional Self-Development Through Cooperation with Colleagues. Julian Edge. Essex: Longman, 1992. 106 pp.

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"How do I know what I think until I hear what I say?" (p. 7) might best sum up the message of this book written for teachers. I recommend it for its clear language, organized format, and practical exercises, which aim to guide the reader in developing awareness of strengths and skills in oneself and others, to enhance the reader's listening ability, and to foster self-confidence.

Edge states in Part 1 that to become better teachers we must first be open to becoming better people. We must be willing to think out

carefully where we are and where we are going as teachers and as people, what we are doing in the classroom and why. To do this we need a new way of studying ourselves because we are seeking a new way of learning that involves neither book knowledge nor experiential knowledge, but a way of pulling the two together to produce a third knowledge. When we try to express our ideas on a topic coherently, we are compelled to bring together our book learning and our experience and then express the result as a unified whole to another person.

Therefore, as Steve Cornwell (personal communication, 1992) notes, "We cannot do this kind of thinking in isolation. We need someone to listen to us supportively and make us feel well-listened to, so that we feel free to explore our classroom activities, ourselves, and our values." This does not mean we work with someone who wants to change us, but with someone who allows us to remain in control of and, therefore, responsible for our own development. Otherwise, we relinquish that control to the most recent trend in textbooks, method, or personality. As Freire (1990) states:

> since dialogue is the encounter in which the united reflection and action of the dialoguers are addressed to the world which is to be transformed and humanized, this dialogue cannot be reduced to the act of one person's "depositing" ideas in another, nor can it become a simple exchange of ideas to be "consumed" by the discussants. (p. 77)

How can we achieve this new kind of thinking and dialogue? Edge uses the terms "Understander" and "Speaker" throughout this book to designate the two roles of individuals who engage in this unique dialogue. The author explains that in many cultures when two people sit and talk together, the Understander is thinking about what he is going to say and how he is going to fit that into the conversation once the partner finishes. As a result, linguistic space is usually equally shared. In Cooperative Development (CD) the Understander not only deliberately tries to make as much space as possible for the Speaker, but also, at the same time, actively works to help the Speaker use that space creatively. To help achieve this support and space, discipline must be maintained in CD through observing the rules of respect, empathy, and honesty. A perceptive comment on honesty and its opposite points out that dishonesty is an attitude of pretending to reflect back what the Speaker says while actually trying to lead the Speaker around to the Understander's way of thinking by implication or suggestion.

Discipline is further maintained through a number of interactive techniques: space, commentaries, open questions, silence, and so forth. Let us examine a couple of these techniques. Space is guaranteed by means of some agreed upon signal. For example, if the Understander infringes upon the Speaker's space, the Speaker lifts a hand or says, "Hold off a little." The use of open questions invites the Speaker to say more. The author states that closed questions could be used by the Understander to control the Speaker's thinking because they require simple statements of facts, or answers that decide between choices selected by the Understander.

Twenty-eight activities in all offer the reader ample opportunity to develop the three central abilities of Cooperative Development; that is, Exploration (Part 2), Discovery (Part 3), and Action (Part 4). Their total comprises what Edge terms as the nine moves. In Part 2, the first 15 activities will help the Understander learn the first three moves of attending, reflecting, and focusing, so that the Speaker feels listened to and, hence, free to explore. Some exercises, based on theories of body language by Allan Peases, lead the partners to practice and discuss the effect of positive and negative body language. For example, in one exercise, the Understander crosses his arms, leans back, looks at the ceiling, and thinks of impatience, boredom, and frustration, and allows his body to show these attitudes, while showing no facial expression. Another exercise has the Understander practice repeating back some statement made by the Speaker on teaching problems, and then analyzes what was said to see if it caught the Speaker's mood or whether it used the same kind of language, slang, or terminology as the Speaker.

Seven activities in Part 3 develop the Speaker's ability to "discover" (to use Edge's term), as the Understander thematizes and challenges, and the Speaker discloses. In one exercise the Understander practices thematizing, or connecting separate points the Speaker has made. For example, the Speaker complains that her students are good at grammar, but just cannot put a word down on paper when they try to write. Later, the Speaker might say that her students have trouble reading because they are always looking up words in the dictionary. The Understander might say something like, "I hear you saying that there are usually quite a few words they don't know. Is that right?" The Understander might then ask if the Speaker thinks there is a connection between the two statements. The Speaker might not see a relationship, or if so, only an insignificant one, or could perceive that simply a lack of vocabulary is hindering students in their reading and writing.

In Part 4 the author explains the third ability of CD, the action which is the entire aim of CD, and which involves the Understander in the Speaker's goal-setting, trialing, and planning. One exercise leads the Speaker to complete sentences such as, "As a teacher, the type of activity I most enjoy is . . ." or "One aspect of my teaching that I'm really pleased about is. . . ." After completing all 10 sentences, the Speaker chooses one to talk in depth about with the Understander.

In the final section, entitled Sources, Edge lists the people and publications that have contributed to the evolution of his thoughts on Cooperative Development. The bibliography is extensive and should provide direction to anyone wishing to read further on the topic.

This book seems to view teaching as an art or craft emphasizing individual responsibility, as opposed to either a kind of science that is based on research, or a theory or philosophy, both of which provide ready-made solutions. As Richards and Freeman (1993) note:

> When teaching is seen as an essentially individual undertaking, the skills of self-assessment, reflection, and analysis take on central importance. Through such attention to individual practice the teacher develops both technical proficiency and pedagogical understanding. Yet attention also brings with it the responsibility to think carefully and critically about what one is doing and the outcomes which one is achieving. (p. 206)

For those of us teaching overseas, this responsibility must, of necessity, rest on our shoulders because we alone understand the unique situation inside our overseas or international classrooms. As teachers overseas, especially Americans like this reviewer, perhaps one of the greatest benefits of the practice of Cooperative Development might be to expand our ability to empathize. Because many of our early life experiences, thoughts, even values, are different from those of our students, the extension of sympathy is not enough in cross-cultural settings. Therefore, we must use our imagination to cross the cultural boundary and experience understanding in many areas of difference. As Steward and Bennett (1991) point out, "Empathy assumes that the self is different from others; therefore, the shared qualities of subjective individualism upon which Americans build their interface of sympathy is not available" (p. 152). Steward and Bennett focus on the difficulties Americans, in particular, have in developing cultural self-awareness because they tend to interpret cultural factors as personality characteristics. As a result, Americans often seem to be insensitive to the social origins of cultural patterns. With this book, perhaps, serving as a bridge,

we can learn how to stretch ourselves at times to reach the place where our students are.

While Edge's book resembles the recently published *New Ways in Teacher Education* (Freeman & Cornwell, 1993) in that it encourages personal responsibility for teacher development through exercises and narratives, it differs in that its tone and style are overall much more personal and sympathetic, leading to a deeper self-awareness. It is of interest to note that *New Ways in Teacher Education* does include one chapter based on the work of Edge and Kolb entitled, "Attending to Colleagues: A Technique to Encourage Respect and Development." In fact, Edge writes that the work of some of his colleagues in the area of CD, "encouraged me to believe that I was not indulging myself in a strictly culture-bound form of activity" (p. 94). This educator has run workshops in Brazil, Poland, India, Pakistan, and Japan, as well as with multinational groups in Britain, and finds that, "it [is] easy to celebrate our cultural diversity while celebrating our common humanity, while celebrating our individual differences" (p. 94).

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Language in Action: An Introduction to Modern Linguistics. Joanne Kenworthy. New York: Longman, 1991. 132 pp.

Reviewed by
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Matsuyama JALT Chapter

Modern linguistics is a wide and growing discipline with numerous branches. Language in Action is a slender introductory volume aimed at first-year undergraduate students who may be combining linguistics with other subjects, but it is also useful for the general reader with an interest

in understanding the basics of modern linguistics. The book covers the core areas of the subject and also includes brief descriptions and explanations of smaller key fields. Linguistic terminology is explained clearly and introduced gradually as the reader proceeds: we are not immediately confronted with an incomprehensible list of linguistic jargon. The book is organized into four chapters: words, sounds, sentences, and texts and conversations. Each chapter ends with a "language in action" section which attempts to make the concepts discussed as relevant as possible by primarily looking at real examples from English, but also using some examples from other languages.

In the introduction, Kenworthy describes her aim as being "to present a survey of modern linguistics . . . [and] to give a picture of how linguists work." Linguistics is the scientific study of language, yet Kenworthy emphasizes that however technical and analytical linguistics may become, language is essentially a means of communication between people. Kenworthy does an admirable job in holding to this principle throughout her book by remembering always who her audience is, thereby placing priority on clarity of language and simplicity of examples.

Kenworthy's first chapter examines how linguists study words, their meaning, and their structure. De Saussure's concept of a word as an arbitrary linguistic sign is introduced, which leads into a discussion of definitions and semantics. Kenworthy gives one of the clearest explanations of componential analysis that I have read. Hyponomy, incompatibility, antonymy, and synonymy are presented as other techniques of studying the relationships between words. Brief explanations are illustrated with ample examples, and Kenworthy also draws our attention to the problems and limitations of some of the techniques and theories put forward. An interesting and detailed study of the word "enthusiasm" (pp. 15-19) is given as an example, reviewing some of the previously presented ideas and showing clearly how both the word's meaning and the society in which it is used have changed over time. The following "words in action" section suggests more emphasis on examples of words in use. However, it is not apparent how this first "in action" section differs significantly from the preceding sections.

Chapter 2 concentrates on phonetics and phonology. Acoustic and auditory phonetics are mentioned, but articulatory phonetics provide the main focus. Place and manner of articulation are described clearly and simply, yet the grid showing place of vowel articulation (p. 43) is not quite so easily understood due to ambiguous labeling and a printing error. Moving from a discussion of basic sound units to the different sound systems in different languages (comparative phonology),

Kenworthy introduces phonemes and allophones. She shows how, in English, the different allophones of /t/ do not alter the identity of a word, whereas in Lak (a Caucasian mountain language), "/S/ with lip-rounding and /S/ without lip-rounding are two different phonemes" (p. 49). A useful comparison is drawn between distinctive feature analysis and componential analysis, which was covered in Chapter 1. Being able to break sounds down into smaller features (voicing, place and manner of articulation, etc.) helps to explain "some of the patterns in pronunciation in terms of processes" (p. 53). The concluding section of Chapter 2 is essentially devoted to sociolinguistics. Prestige accents in Great Britain and the U.S. are compared in a discussion of post-vocalic /r/. The British RP (received pronunciation) accent which is /r/-less, is considered to hold prestige status for native speakers. By contrast, in the eastern states of America, the prestige feature is the pronunciation of a post-vocalic /r/.

Kenworthy launches into a discussion of syntax in Chapter 3, beginning with an examination of the behavior of words within a sentence. She remarks that "syntactic behavior is the primary criterion used by modern linguists in establishing classes" such as adjectives, nouns, and prepositions (p. 59). This leads smoothly into a closer study of the behavior of three word classes: personal pronouns, nouns, and verbs. In this way she shows how linguists establish grammatical categories such as person, number, gender, and tense. In the section on nouns, Kenworthy explains in some detail the concepts of countable and mass nouns. Here she makes the point that this type of knowledge is unconscious for native speakers and it is the linguist's goal "to represent everything the native speaker knows (consciously and unconsciously) about the English grammatical system" (p. 65). Using the example of negation in English, she shows the process which linguists go through to construct grammar rules for a language. From this she moves on to discussing the internal structure of sentences, which leads to such notions as noun phrase and verb phrase. The final section of the chapter shows some of the previously described elements in action. She illustrates how English speakers sometimes exploit personal pronouns to achieve particular effects: for example, the doctor who asks, "How are we feeling today?" (p. 92), or the politician who uses the term "we" to create solidarity. The text is further enlivened by hypothetical and real examples concerning passives and negatives.

The fourth chapter explores "how sentences are combined in sequence to produce cohesive and coherent stretches of language" (p. 111). This is done firstly by considering written texts and secondly by looking at dis-

course analysis. As techniques for text analysis, Kenworthy introduces us to four grammatical cohesive devices as identified by Halliday and Hansan: conjunction, substitution, ellipsis, and co-reference. These are illustrated with several short texts. Kenworthy then uses a longer text to demonstrate that although cohesion is expected between paragraphs, this may not always be evident: "The coherence of a text exists at a much deeper level" (p. 106). Kenworthy points out that semantic relations, background knowledge, and general patterns (e.g., the problem-solution pattern) are important elements in understanding and analyzing texts. She also notes that in the speech act we are faced with numerous choices and social constraints in conveying our intentions. As in written texts, conversations have structures and patterns. Speakers understand the patterns by relying on their expectations. If these expectations are not met, another meaning can be construed. Kenworthy explains the cooperative principles at work in a conversation, and outlines H. P. Grice's conversational maxims. As Kenworthy herself points out, the whole of Chapter 4 is really about language in action, so there is no real change in focus for the last "in action" section. However, she does present two more particularly interesting examples in this section to illustrate how speakers make choices in language use to achieve specific aims.

In her brief concluding remarks Kenworthy underlines that linguists examine language through both formalist and functionalist perspectives. Although she does not devote much time to the study of sociolinguistics, her writing does reflect the concept that language as a whole should be viewed in its social context. The function of language is human communication and this pervades all aspects of its study. The social element appears to some degree in each chapter of this book, and the "in action" sections serve to emphasize this point. The search for linguistic universals and the linguist's goal of constructing rules to represent native speakers' knowledge are presented and illustrated throughout the text.

Language in Action introduces us to many aspects of modern linguistics and demonstrates how linguists work. Obviously, the book being introductory in nature, many of the concepts are not explained in great detail. My main criticism would be that there are no references for further reading. The interested and motivated reader has few points of reference to indicate in which direction to go next, and the first-year undergraduate student will soon need to consult a more meaty text. However, *Language in Action* does serve as an excellent base upon which to build. The book's greatest strengths are its clear, thoroughly comprehensible language and numerous illustrative examples, which make it a highly readable and enjoyable introduction to linguistics.

Aspect in the English Verb: Process and Result in Language. Yishai Tobin. New York: Longman, 1993. 398 pp. ¥6,160.

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Linguists and grammarians alike will welcome this new addition to the Longman Linguistics series. A landmark work in the field, Aspect in the English Verb provides a detailed and exhaustive study of the grammatical category of aspect and its relevancy to English. Although this work requires substantial knowledge on the part of the reader, those who feel overwhelmed by the content should not despair, but rather be encouraged to do the necessary background reading to build an understanding of aspect. Bright (1992), for example, offers an esoteric survey article on tense and aspect in the International Encyclopedia of Linguistics. This might be followed by the practitioner-oriented work of Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman (1983) and Bardovi-Harlig (1992a, 1992b), as well as the research presented by Binnick (1991). Whereas Binnick provides a comprehensive historical and theoretical framework for verbal aspect, Tobin takes what may be called a case-study approach by focusing on troublesome lexical pairs. He clearly sets out the objective of the book in the introduction:

> The purpose of this proposed volume is to concentrate on the concept of Process versus Result—in its own right—as a fundamental semantic and syntactic feature found in both the grammar and lexicon which may be realized by specific phonological and morphological forms in probably all languages, and in both the lexicon and grammar of English in particular. (p. 19)

Part I of *Aspect in the English Verb* is a review of basic notions relating to aspect (or a crash course for the uninitiated) and includes arguments and counter arguments for the inclusion of aspect in the study of English. Major debates on the interpretation of aspect and its usefulness as a linguistic tool are enumerated by drawing on a wide range of languages. Readers with some knowledge of how aspect is used in various languages will be better positioned to appreciate Tobin's arguments in this section.

Parts II through VII take a case-study approach to the application of the concepts of Process versus Result in the lexicon and in grammar. Part II looks at the performative verbs *do* and *make*, a troublesome lexical pair for many non-native speakers of English since they are used in many

colloquial expressions and idioms of common currency. A good yardstick for competent non-native readers might be to turn to Table 2.1 (p. 44), skim the *do/make* idioms to gauge comprehension, and then make a decision based on that exercise whether or not to proceed with the text.

The format of each chapter follows a similar, though not identical, pattern: (a) an introduction to the problem; (b) a traditional analysis of the problem; (c) a neotraditional analysis; (d) Tobin's analysis invoking the concepts of Process and Result; (e) a micro- and macro-level analysis of the lexical pair under study; and (f) a summary and conclusion. In Tobin's words:

> We view our analysis as a "unitary" sign-oriented or semiotic analysis based on the theoretical and methodological concepts of invariance versus variation . . . distinctive feature theory and markedness. Our analysis is based on the postulation of an invariant meaning composed of a *general semantic domain* shared by both forms and the postulation of distinctive semantic features that are placed in an asymmetric markedness relationship which systematically distinguishes between them. (p. 47, emphasis added)

Part III considers sensory verbs. One chapter is devoted to *look* vs. *see*, and a second chapter explores *listen* vs. *hear*. Understanding gradually emerges from a plethora of explicated, contextualized, and actual-use examples, illustrating the multiple meanings of the lexical items. The approach moves first from sign to text and then from text to sign. A careful reading demands a breadth of sociocultural knowledge which Tobin readily anticipates and supplies.

The speech act verbs *say* vs. *tell* and *speak* vs. *talk* comprise Part IV—Chapters 5 and 6, respectively. Tobin states that the data led to the finding that:

> it is invariant meaning which motivates the choice and the distribution of opposed linguistic signs in both spoken and written texts. The non-random distribution of these forms in texts reflects asymmetry of the markedness relationship of their invariant meanings. (p. 157)

Part V shifts the focus from the lexicon to grammar and deals with three aspectual verbal pairs in individual chapters: *begin* vs. *start*; *end* vs. *finish*; and *shut* vs. *close*. He concentrates on "the formal syntactic and semantic aspects" (p. 189) of *begin* and *start* in an attempt to resolve some of the controversy surrounding this pair. Chapters 8 and 9

follow suit, applying the concepts of invariance, markedness, and distinctive feature theory to an analysis and explanation of semantic domains.

Part VI effectively looks not at finite verbal pairs, but rather at verbal auxiliaries. Chapter 10 examines the semantics of auxiliarization with *do* (process) vs. *get* (result), and Chapter 11 continues this process with the *be* vs. *have* vs. *get* auxiliary system. The thesis is that "auxiliary use is directly motivated by marked vs. unmarked invariant meanings" (p. 245).

Intriguing in its proposition, Part VII shows how certain linguistic puzzles may be unraveled by having recourse to the notion of Process and Result, rather than to phonological criteria. In a search for isomorphy, so-called "irregular" verbs and infinitives are contrasted. Tobin, however, cautions that this approach "should be viewed as only a first step in an attempt to extend the concepts of Process and Result in language . . . to new areas of research on verbal aspect in English and other languages" (p. 350).

Detailed chapter notes, a comprehensive bibliography, and name and subject indexes thoroughly support this work. Of immediate and practical interest to the classroom teacher might be the ample figures, tables, and illustrative texts which contrast appropriate (and inappropriate) uses of lexical pairs. Consideration for the reader is also evident in the formatting, with clearly marked sections, smooth transitions between chapters, and the use of highlighting and capitalization to indicate how a written text might be verbally delivered.

Aspect in the English Verb will be of great interest to readers searching for the meaning of aspect in the system of the English verb. However, extensive background knowledge is assumed and, without it, the details of Tobin's alternative method to the analysis of aspect will be difficult for the average reader to follow.

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Historical Linguistics: Problems and Perspectives. Charles Jones (Ed.). London: Longman, 1993. 405 pp.

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Historical linguistics is concerned with the ways in which languages change or maintain their structure over the passage of time. Like several other areas of scholarship, the field has a long tradition stretching into antiquity, but a short history as an organized discipline (Bynon, 1977). Progress in the field over the past two decades has been charted by a series of International Conferences on Historical Linguistics. The first, held in 1973, resulted in a published Proceedings (Anderson & Jones, 1974) that presented a fair overview of the state of the art at that time. Now, some 20 years later, Charles Jones has again taken upon himself the responsibility of gathering contributions from leading theorists and researchers and presenting them in Historical Linguistics: Problems and Perspectives.

The book, while attractively presented, has some of the feeling of a battlefield communiqué. It is short on editorial explanation, integration, and interpretation. There is no overall introduction or concluding statement, only a two page preface. The twelve chapters that make up the volume are presented in alphabetical order by authors' names. There are no editor-written introductions to individual chapters, and the index is rather small, containing fewer than 300 entries for a work with 400 pages of text. Further, there is no name index, a serious shortcoming. Like almost all compilations, there is a great deal of unevenness among individual contributions. Given these general characteristics then, what does the book have to offer?

The first chapter, by John Anderson, discusses syntactic change beginning with English language modals, concluding that their development does not constitute a major restructuring of syntax, only a minimal realigning of lexical classes that have existed throughout the history of the language. He then goes on to discuss the conflation of infinitives and the differentiation of gerunds and participles. His position, in opposition to that of Lightfoot (1979), is that much significant syntactic variation and change is due to minimal modifications in the spoken language. Further, the limits of possible syntactical change can be set through a restrictive theory of syntax such as that developed within Notional Grammar.

The second chapter, "Change and Metatheory at the Beginning of the 1990s: The Primacy of History" by Raimo Antilla, is a very idiosyncratic, polemical analysis that goes beyond historical linguistics to critique the current status of linguistics in general. Antilla, author of the influential *Historical and Comparative Linguistics* (1989), uses a writing style that is informal, and his chapter fairly bristles with "in your face" assertions that some readers might wish to challenge. For example, in his first paragraph Antilla states, "The 1960s had really nothing to say about historical linguistics," that theory at that time was openly innatist and "directly hostile to history," and that "transformational theory was/is a direct continuation of behaviourism" (p. 43). Going on from there in this lively style, Antilla's argument seems to be that Chomskyan theoretical linguists are wrong (p. 48) and that linguistics is (or should be) of the humanities, not the sciences (pp. 46-48).

Bernard Comrie's contribution, "Typology and Reconstruction," is well written and clearly reasoned. Typology, which aims to classify languages by their structural properties, is presented here in terms of what it has contributed to historical linguistics through constraining language reconstructions. He concludes with a caveat: "Possibly every language is implausible in at least one area of its grammar, and there is no reason to believe that this is less true of reconstructed languages" (pp. 95-96).

Patricia Donegan's chapter, "On the Phonetic Basis of Phonological Change," is an important one. Echoing a theme also presented by Antilla (p. 45), the author argues that some linguists have been "reinventing the wheel," that is, reaching conclusions that were familiar territory to our intellectual ancestors. In Donegan's case this has to do with the recognition that sound changes in a language result from a failure of the speakers to overcome their preprogrammed internal system of phonetic tendencies. This point of view, the Natural Phonology Model developed in association with David Stampe, has been fully expounded in their *The Study of Natural Phonology* (1979).

In Chapter 5, Nancy Dorian presents an argument against dichotomies of thought in understanding language phenomena. She is specifically concerned with notions about internally and externally motivated change in language contact settings. Based on her own study of East Sutherland Scottish Gaelic in contact with standard English, Dorian argues that inadequate field work can lead researchers to construct dichotomies of (mis)understanding that more in-depth study would reveal to be false, or at least falsely misleading.

Roger Lass's chapter, "How Real(ist) Are Reconstructions?" could per-

haps serve as an introduction to the entire volume. Author of *On Explaining Language Change* (1980), Lass steps back and gives a metatheoretical look at the field of historical linguistics that highlights and questions some accepted dogma. He also presents "a minor rational reconstruction of some of the most important underlying tenets of comparative method and related techniques" (p. 157). Lass's ideas are well presented and worthy of careful study.

Chapters 7 and 8 share a similar point of view in that they tie language change phenomena to users of languages. That is, both David Lightfoot (Chapter 7, "Why UG Needs a Learning Theory: Triggering Verb Movement") and James Milroy (Chapter 8, "On the Social Origins of Language Change") understand and emphasize that language change results from and is a human activity. Lightfoot's position is psychological. He concludes that changes in language usage may result from reasons that differ greatly from any information on those changes that is available to the linguist. Milroy's point of view is basically sociological. He argues "that language change is one of the things that is negotiated by speakers in the course of speech-exchange" (p. 217).

John Ohala (Chapter 9, "The Phonetics of Sound Change") focuses on the value of studying the limits of possible sound changes on improving historical reconstructions of languages. His discussion includes an important psychological analysis of what goes on between speaker and listener and has parallels with ideas in the chapters by Lass and Milroy. Ohala's contribution has the added feature of explicitly addressing the question of the relevance of historical phonology to practical domains such as communication disorders and speech technology.

In Chapter 10, Wayne O'Neil presents a focused examination of Nicaraguan English, "what it is and how it got to be whatever it is" (p. 279). While O'Neil's main concern is with grammar, perhaps his most thought-provoking comment concerns the nature of the identity of this (or any) creole: should it be considered a separate language or a variety of English? His conclusion: "There is nothing linguistically serious at stake in this variation of usage. For whether we choose to call Nicaraguan English a separate language distinct from other Englishes of the world, as I believe we should, is a matter of politics and not of linguistic theory" (p. 280).

Chapter 11, "Language Change and Language Improvement," is by Theo Vennemann. In it the author examines polar positions on the nature of language change, that is, should we view change as a matter of caprice and/or fashion, or does documented historical variation have a function and represent a true "improvement?" Echoing Dorian's earlier

warning about the dangers of dichotomous thinking, Vennemann recognizes that these two positions "overlap, and together they do not exhaust their domain" (p. 320). Having acknowledged this, the author goes on to argue that language change often does represent an attempt by speakers (consciously or unconsciously) to improve inefficient aspects of their language.

In the final chapter ("Bidirectional Diffusion in Sound Change"), William Wang and Chinfa Lien discuss the implications of a theory of contact-induced sound (tone) changes in the Chaozhou dialect of southern Min Chinese. Two somewhat opposing positions are presented: a Lexical Diffusion and a Neogrammarian Hypothesis. After examining the evidence, Wang and Lien conclude that only a Lexical Diffusion approach is sufficiently rich and sophisticated enough to account for the observed changes.

Checking the dates of publication in the reference lists of the 12 chapters of *Historical Linguistics* does show that the information contained in the volume is up-to-date. However, the main feeling the reader comes away with after studying the book is frustration with the lack of a unifying or integrating point of view. The editor in his preface acknowledges this and makes no apologies for it. In his words:

> This collection represents the ways in which some of today's foremost scholars of language change view their discipline and its future development; that they do so in as diverse a fashion as that witnessed in the *Proceedings of the First International Conference on Historical Linguistics* says something about the inherent complexity of the subject itself and perhaps serves to dampen still further that expectation of explanation that so many of us felt would spring from what seemed to be the qualitatively different impetus to theories of language change provided by the "new" theoretical models of the 1960s and 1970s. (p. xi)

In light of such a pessimistic assessment one is tempted to throw up one's hands and exclaim, "So much for progress!" However, familiarity with developments in other disciplines—for example, psychology, sociology, and anthropology—shows a similar pattern of growth, from an initial enthusiasm to unfulfilled expectations. In all of these cases, however, this development *does* represent progress and growth. Becoming aware of the limitations of knowledge together with areas of ignorance is a necessary step on the path to further enlightenment.

Historical Linguistics: Problems and Perspectives is not an easy book. It was written by and intended for specialists. As a progress report on the discipline it is timely and reasonably comprehensive.

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- General Linguistics (Dr. Jankowsky)
- English Morphology and Syntax (Dr. Campos)
- Cross-Cultural Communication (Dr. Di Vito)

Afternoon (1:00～3:45)

- History of the English Language (Dr. Ball)
- English Phonology (Dr. Zsiga)
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