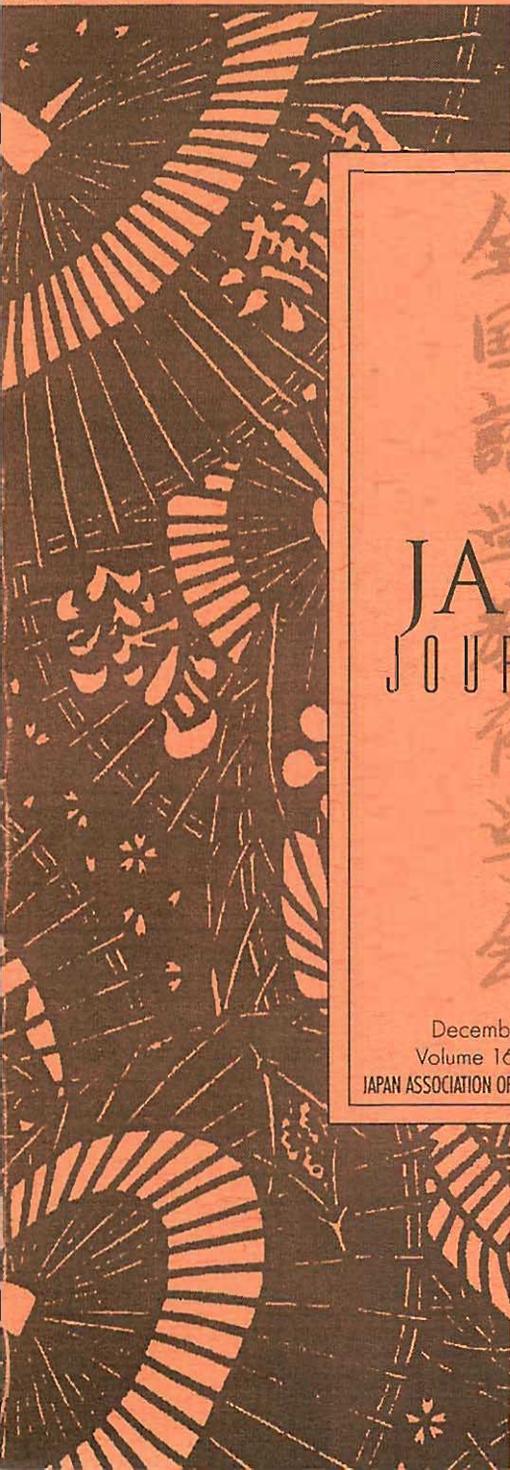


N 0287-2420 ¥750



全国語学教育学会

JALT
JOURNAL

December 1994
Volume 16 • No. 2
JAPAN ASSOCIATION OF LANGUAGE TEACHERS

Inside this issue:

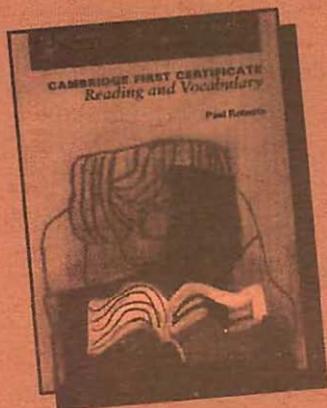
Sapir-Whorf • University returnees

Elementary English education

Japanese pronoun usage

CAMBRIDGE

ELT



Cambridge First Certificate Reading and Vocabulary

This book takes a fresh approach to improving reading and vocabulary skills, as well as providing thorough preparation for FCE Paper 1.

Units are organised thematically into groups of 'learning' units and test units with exam-style questions enabling students to practise newly acquired skills.

the professional choice



**CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS**

For further information, please contact:

Cambridge University Press,

c/o United Publishers Services Ltd,

Kenkyu-sha Building,

9, Kanda Surugadai 2-chome, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo 101.

TEL: (03) 3295-5875 FAX: (03) 3219-8417

Kansai office PHONE/FAX: (078) 822-0994

Contents

December 1994
Volume 16 • No. 2



- 160 From the Editors
- 161 In this Issue

Articles

- 163 Linguistic Determinism and Mutability: The Sapir-Whorf "Hypothesis" and Intercultural Communication
Gene van Troyer
- 179 English-Speaking Returnees at Japanese Universities: An Exploratory Study at One University
Kenneth R. Rose and Naomi Fujishima
- 195 A Case Study of English Teaching at Japanese Elementary Schools
Kyoko Suwa

Research Forum

- 217 Gender, Japanese Pronouns and Social Change
Steven Brown

Reviews

- 225 Review Essay: The Place of Literature in English Language Study
Language and Literature Teaching (Christopher J. Brumfit & Ronald A. Carter); Literature in the Language Classroom (John Slater & Stephen Slater); Teaching Literature (Ronald Carter & Michale Long); Literature and Language Teaching (Gillian Lazar)
Reviewed by Charles Wordell
- 238 Agendas in Second Language Literacy (Sandra Lee McKay)
Reviewed by Wm. Thomas Hill
- 241 Real English: The Grammar of English Dialects in the British Isles (James Milroy & Lesley Milroy)
Reviewed by Françoise Carter
- 246 Understanding and Developing Language Tests (Cyril Weir)
Reviewed by Shaun Gates
- 250 English Historical Linguistics (David Dennison)
Reviewed by Kevin Varden
- 253 Linguistics and Aphasia (Ruth Lesser & Lesley Milroy)
Reviewed by Guy Modica
- 260 To Honor John M. Sinclair: Festschrifts on his 60th birthday
Text and Technology (Mona Baker, Gill Francis & Elena Tognini-Bonelli, Eds.); Data, Description, Discourse (Michael Hoey, Ed.)
Reviewed by Paul Hays
- 265 Language as Discourse (Michael McCarthy & Ronald Carter)
Reviewed by Virginia LoCastro
- 271 Context and Culture in Language Teaching (Claire Kramersch)
Reviewed by Alan Maley

JALT Journal Information

- 274 Information for Contributors (English and Japanese)

JALT National Officers 1994

President

David McMurray

Vice-President

Don Modesto

Treasurer

Steve Sayle

Recording Secretary

Tim Newfields

Programs

Jane Hoelker

Membership

Laura MacGregor

Public Relations

Dennis Woolbright

Chapters

Akita, Chiba, Fukui, Fukuoka, Fukushima, Gunma, Hamamatsu, Himeji, Hiroshima, Hokkaido, Ibaraki, Kagawa, Kagoshima, Kanazawa, Kobe, Kyoto, Matsuyama, Morioka, Nagano, Nagasaki, Nagoya, Nara, Niigata, Okayama, Okinawa, Omiya, Osaka, Sendai, Shizuoka, Suwa, Tochigi, Tokushima, Tokyo, Toyohashi, West Tokyo, Yamagata, Yamaguchi, Yokohama

National Special Interest Groups

Bilingualism, CALL (Computer Assisted Language Learning), College and University Educators, Global Issues in Language Education, JSL (Japanese as a Second Language), Learner Development, Material Writers, Teacher Education, Team Teaching, Video, Other Language Educators (forming)

Central Office Manager

Junko Fujio

JALT Journal

Volume 16, No. 2

December, 1994

Editor

Tamara Swenson
Osaka Jogakuin Junior College

Associate Editor

Sandra Fotos
Senshu University

Reviews Editor

Roger Davies
Ehime University

Japanese-Language Editor

Naoko Aoki
Shizuoka University

Editorial Board

Charles E. Adamson, Jr.
Shizuoka Institute of Science and Technology

William Bradley
Kanda Institute of Foreign Languages

James Dean Brown
University of Hawaii, Manoa

Ann Ediger
San Diego City College

Rod Ellis
Temple University

John Fanselow
Columbia University

John Flowerdew
City Polytechnic, Hong Kong

Kevin Gregg
Momoyama University

Paul Gruba
University of Melbourne

Thomas Hardy
Tama-gawa University, Tokyo

Ann Johns
San Diego State University

Teruyuki Kume
Kanda Institute of Foreign Languages

Ilona Leki
University of Tennessee

Virginia LoCasto
International Christian University

Peter McCagg
International Christian University

Akiko Ozaki
Nagoya University

Joy Reid
University of Wyoming

Tim Riney
International Christian University

Carol Rinnert
Hiroshima City University

Mary Lee Scott
Brigham Young University

Tadashi Sakamoto
Nanzan University

Satoshi Toki
Osaka University

JALT Journal Proofreading: Brad Visgatis

JALT Publications Board Chair: Greta J. Gorsuch

The Language Teacher: Editor: Gene van Troyer Associate Editor: Lyneve Rappell

Layout: The Word Works Cover: Amy Johnson Printing: Koshinsha

From the Editors

The *JALT Journal* editorial staff wishes to assure its readers that it is and will continue to be a refereed journal, publishing research, reports and other forms of scholarship, and will continue its tradition of publishing theoretical research articles concerned with foreign language teaching and learning in Japanese, Asian, and international contexts.

The following mission statement presents the aims of this publication.

JALT Journal Mission Statement

In line with the mission of *JALT* publications as a whole, the mission of the *JALT Journal* is to publish research articles, short reports, and other forms of scholarship that further advance and clarify the field of second and foreign language education. The *Journal* seeks to publish research in English and Japanese, with the Japanese articles extensively summarized in English so that the *Journal* is accessible to all its readers. The *Journal* aims to assist educators in their professional development through careful review of submissions and well considered feedback on them.

Introducing 'Perspectives' — A Call for Papers

JALT Journal announces the creation of Perspectives, a section devoted to "bright ideas" for language teaching that emerge from research-based classroom observations and studies, and innovative pedagogy. In other words, papers which link practical and theoretical issues, especially those addressing current concerns in pedagogy, methods, and applied linguistics. The ideal Perspectives paper would provide a thorough literature review, describe the study or classroom procedure, then describe pedagogic results of interest to other educators. Papers submitted for the Perspectives section should not be more than 15 pages in length, including references and appendices. All submissions must follow the *JALT Journal* guidelines.

Mentor System

In line with the *JALT Journal's* aim to assist educators in their professional development, the editors have introduced a mentoring system within the review process. Authors of manuscripts that are deemed to have potential but need to be rewritten or revised will be given the opportunity to work with the Associate Editor to ensure that the manuscript revision accurately addressed the reviewers' concerns. Manuscripts will then be resubmitted for review.

Acknowledgments

The *JALT Journal* wishes to extend its sincere appreciation for their years of service to former co-editors **Malcolm Benson** and **Charles Wordell**. Sincere appreciation is also extended to out-going Editorial Advisory Board members **Ann Johns** and **Joy Reid**, who are leaving the board with this issue, for their long years of service. In addition, *JALT Journal* would like to welcome **James Dean Brown**, **William Stone Bradley**, **Rod Ellis** and **Kevin Gregg** to the Editorial Advisory Board. Their willingness to serve as manuscript reviewers is greatly appreciated. Finally, thanks are extended to **Greta Gorsuch** for her advice and assistance.

In this issue

Articles

The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis and its actual use in intercultural communication are called into question by **Gene van Troyer**. The author examines the hypothesis according to standards of scientific and empirical research requirements, then determines that the hypothesis has not been formally defined and is therefore not a scientifically testable hypothesis. As such, the author concludes the hypothesis has no meaningful relationship to intercultural communication.

The issue of maintaining separate English classes for returnees at one Japanese university is examined by **Kenneth R. Rose** and **Naomi Fujishima**. A study of the views of both returnees and non-returnees indicated that while views are mixed, a larger percentage of respondents were opposed to separate classes. The central implication of the study is that issues other than language proficiency need to be considered in the development of language programs.

English language instruction styles at three elementary schools are examined by **Kyoko Suwa**. During observations of fourth through sixth grade classes, differences in objectives, methods, materials, L1 use, and amount of input and output in the target language were noted. The Communicative Orientation of Language Teaching (COLT) observation scheme was used to record classroom interactions. Implications for instruction at the elementary level are discussed.

Research Forum

The use of male and female pronouns in Japanese is examined by **Steven Brown**, with reference to the change in usage since Peng's (1973) study of male/female pronoun usage by native Japanese speakers. The shift in accepted usage suggests that linguistic data mirrors social change.

Reviews

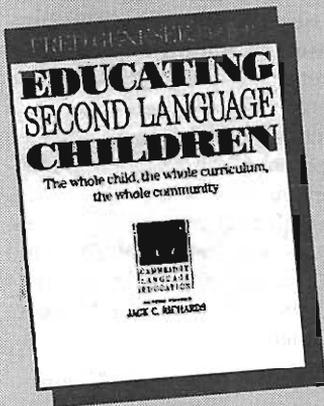
The Reviews section has descriptions and evaluations of 14 current publications in the field of language education, with reviews from **Charles Wordell**, **Wm. Thomas Hill**, **Françoise Carter**, **Shaun Gates**, **Kevin Varden**, **Guy Modica**, **Paul Hays**, **Virginia LoCastro**, and **Alan Maley**. Topics under discussion include the place of literature in language study, language literacy and illiteracy, a study of dialect differences in the British Isles, linguistics and philosophy, language testing, historical syntax, linguistics and aphasia, a collection of papers honoring John Sinclair, language and discourse, and an examination of the relationship between language and culture.

Erratum Notice

Kiyoko Tanaka, Tokai University, was co-author of the review of Yishai Tobin's *Aspect in the English Verb: Process and Result in Language* with Robert Baine. Professor Tanaka's name was inadvertently omitted from their joint review when it appeared in the June, 1994 issue, p. 125-127. The editors would also like to pass on their sincere apologies to Professor Tanaka for this unfortunate oversight.

CAMBRIDGE

ELT



Reflective Teaching in Second Language Classrooms

Jack C. Richards and Charles Lockhart

This book introduces teachers to techniques for exploring their own classroom experiences through a carefully structured approach to self-observation and self-evaluation.

Perspectives on Pedagogical Grammar

Terence Odlin

Grammar has long played a controversial role in second language teaching. The eleven articles in this collection address these recent concerns.

Educating Second Language Children

**The Whole Child,
the Whole Curriculum,
the Whole Community**

Edited by Fred Genesee

This volume deals with a wide range of issues affecting the academic and social success of language minority children.

I would like to receive further information about *Perspectives on Pedagogical Grammar*, *Educating Second Language Children*, *Reflective Teaching in Second Language Classrooms*. (Please delete as necessary)

Name _____

School/Institution _____

School Address _____

Post Code _____ Tel No _____



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press,
c/o United Publishers Services Ltd,
Kenkyu-sha Building,
9, Kanda Surugadai 2-chome, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo 101.
TEL: (03) 3295-5875 FAX: (03) 3219-8417
Kansai office PHONE/FAX: (078) 822-0994

Articles

Linguistic Determinism and Mutability: The Sapir-Whorf “Hypothesis” and Intercultural Communication

Gene Van Troyer

Gifu University for Education and Languages

This paper discusses the so-called “Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis,” which has long been considered a factor in intercultural communication. It briefly discusses empirical studies which have tended to validate the hypothesis, and then considers the hypothesis from the standpoint of scientific and empirical research requirements. It is shown that the hypothesis has never been formally defined for testing, and that it therefore does not exist as a scientifically testable thesis. As a result, all studies which have attempted to interpret empirical data according to the hypothesis are either flawed or invalid because they have tested something other than the hypothesis. It is concluded that the Sapir-Whorf “Hypothesis” exists only as a notion, and has no meaningful relation to intercultural communication.

言語決定論と可変性：

サピア＝ウォーフの「仮説」と異文化コミュニケーション

この論文は、長い間、異文化コミュニケーションの要素であると考えられてきたサピア＝ウォーフの「仮説」について論じる。初めにこの仮説の妥当性を証明してきた実証的研究について検討し、次に科学的実証的研究の必要条件という見地からこの仮説を検証する。そこでは、この仮説が検証可能なほどきちんと定義されたことが未だかつてなかったこと、したがって科学的検証の可能な命題としては存在していないことが示される。その結果、この仮説に基づいて実証的なデータを解釈しようとした過去のすべての研究は、仮説ではない何かを検証しようとしたという点において、欠陥があったか無効であったということになる。結論として、サピア＝ウォーフの「仮説」はたんなる意見でしかなく、異文化コミュニケーションにはいかなる意味ある関係も持たないという主張がなされる。

An experimental subject who puts on goggles with inverting lenses initially sees the entire world upside-down. At the start his perceptual apparatus functions as it had been trained to function in the absence of the goggles, and the result is extreme disorientation, an acute personal crisis. But after the subject has begun to learn to deal with his new world, his entire visual field flips over, usually after an intervening period in which vision is simply confused. Thereafter, objects are again seen as they had been before the goggles were put on. The assimilation of a previously anomalous visual field has reacted upon and changed the field itself. Literally as well as metaphorically, the man accustomed to inverting lenses has undergone a revolutionary transformation of vision. (Kuhn, 1970, p. 112)¹

—Thomas S. Kuhn

The Structure of Scientific Revolutions

The question concerns linguistic determinism and a hypothesis proposed more than 50 years ago by Edward Sapir, now known as the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis. That question is: To what extent is intercultural communication influenced by the linguistic phenomena that are central to the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis? A conclusive answer to this question will probably never be forthcoming; the question demands a quantitative assessment, and communication and understanding are qualitative in nature, beyond exact measure. There are the qualities of dynamism, and as Werner Heisenberg showed us in the 1920s, the measurements of a dynamic system cannot be determined with 100% certainty; by focusing on one or another aspect of a dynamic system, we lose clear sight of all the other aspects. In other words, a certain degree of indeterminism is always a feature of any observation of processes in nature.

Sapir, and subsequently his student Benjamin Lee Whorf, essentially posited that language acted as a mold for thought, forcing human thinking into *a priori* linguistic categories. Hence such notions as “linguistic relativism” or linguistic determinism can be applied to the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis with some justification, for what it attempts to establish is that the way we perceive the world is predetermined by the structure of the language we happen to speak. Controversy has surrounded the proposal since its inception, with most of the argumentation being of the “Free Will vs. Determinism” variety. While these arguments are stimulating, they are only peripherally concerned with the main focus of this paper and will not be touched upon. This paper will primarily focus upon a few of the empirical studies that appear to have bearing upon the topic.

This paper is an attempt at synthesis rather than original research. The truth of this particular matter lies somewhere between its two extremes, and it is the author's hope to sketch some outline of the shape of this truth. Quite enough original research exists already to make this kind of assessment possible as well as desirable.

The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis

Language is a code that all members of a specific language group learn and share, and through which a significant amount of what is known about the world is learned. So powerful is language as a force in our lives that it is only natural that we should come to regard it as fundamental to the way we perceive reality. As Sapir stated:

Human beings do not live in the objective world alone, nor alone in the world of social activity as ordinarily understood, but are very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for their society. It is quite an illusion to imagine that one adjusts to reality essentially without the use of language and that language is merely an incidental means of solving specific problems of communication or reflection. The fact of the matter is that the "real world" is to a large extent unconsciously built upon the language habits of the group (Sapir, 1949, p. 209)

In Sapir's view, the language habits of the individual's community effectively condition the perception of experience and the choices made in interpreting that experience. Whorf further refined this observation. Reality, Whorf said,

... is presented in a kaleidoscopic flux of impressions which has to be organized by our minds—and this means largely by the linguistic systems in our minds. We cut nature up, organize it into concepts, and ascribe significances as we do, largely because we are parties to an agreement to organize it in this way—an agreement that holds throughout our speech community and is codified in the patterns of our language. (in Hall, 1974, p. 143)

What Whorf iterated was that the grammatical structure of a language subtly and profoundly shaped the structure which the mind imposed upon reality. These two views as expressed by Sapir and Whorf are the central elements in what has come to be called the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis.

It is neither strange nor surprising that this hypothesis should be so readily applicable to intercultural communication. The hypothesis was an outgrowth of the Structuralist school of linguistics, which held as a basic tenet that meaning in language was primarily a result of structure (Pearson, 1977, p. 71)—an idea not far removed from those stated above. Structural linguistics itself was an outgrowth of the needs encountered by anthropologists for an objective means to classify the phonetic structures of non-Indo-European languages, particularly the languages of native American Indians. One of the progenitors of this school, the anthropologist Franz Boas (the founder of American anthropology), believed that cultural traditions were the forces that shaped people's lives, and he realized that attempts to understand a people's culture without a knowledge of their language would avail little in the way of useful knowledge. Edward Sapir was one of Boas's students, and his work was in many ways a continuation of his teacher's. Cultural implications are implicit in the anthropologically-oriented linguistic studies done by Sapir, as well as by his own student, Whorf, and the hypothesis presently under consideration is perhaps the most prominent of these.

Within the Sapir-Whorf framework, language is basically a set of structured sound signs that communicate thought and feeling. All languages have certain universals to deal with, primarily space, time, quantity, action, state, and so forth. It was Whorf who set out to prove that these functions create special modes or categories of thought, and it is his work that helped to establish partial validity for the hypothesis that bears his and his teacher's names.

Empirical Studies

For any theory to stand, it must establish a concrete base in the observable world. A number of studies have been conducted which tend to validate the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis, and many miscellaneous papers and observations as well have contributed some substantive evidence to the argument that language inevitably shapes the human perception of reality. The evidence concerns both the structural aspects of language, and the linguistic-cultural influence exerted on perception.

Whorf's evidence was linguistic. Through his study of the Hopi Indian language, Whorf arrived at a contrastive statement concerning both Hopi and what he termed Standard Average European (SAE) languages. SAE languages, he claimed, tended to break reality down in terms of *things* (tangible objects) and *non-things*. In other words, the SAE language is binomial in the way it breaks existence down into *is* and *is not* categories,

whereas Hopi divides reality in terms of events that are seen objectively or subjectively; that is, physically real events are expressed as outlines, movements and so forth, while subjective or physically intangible events are expressed in terms of "invisible intensity factors." This is quite unlike the SAE language, which gives equal status to the real or the imaginary. Furthermore, Whorf found a striking difference in views of *time* related to the differences in the structures the Hopi and SAE languages. Time as expressed in Hopi is holistic and flowing like a river unbroken, while in SAE it is discrete and categorized like a clock face, with no connection between one moment and the next (Whorf, 1974, p. 77).

A similar analysis of Navaho was conducted by Hoijer (1954). He found that the structure of the Navaho language led one to speak of "actors" and "goals" not as performers or receivers of actions, as would be the case in a language like English, but as actors linked to actions which had already been defined in part as pertaining to specific classes of beings. The form which in English would be *You have lain down*, would in Navaho be expressed as *You [belong to, equal one of] a class of animate beings which has moved to rest*. A second form, which in English would be expressed as *You have laid, put me down*, should be glossed in Navaho as *You, as agent, have set a class of animate beings, to which I belong, in motion to a given point*. According to Hoijer (1954), this very same aspect in the structure of the Navaho language is as well evident in the Navaho religious orientation. Just as the Navaho sees himself as adjusting to a universe that is given or connected to its events, so in his manner of speaking does he connect people to actions and movements—in other words, it is not that one *does* an action, but that one *is* the action.

Other experiments stimulated by the Sapir-Whorf thesis have also tended to lend support to the thesis. One such, conducted by Brown and Lenneberg, tested the relationship between the accessibility of linguistic terms and the psychological process of recognition. Using only the English language, the two researchers did indeed show that there is a relationship between language and the storage of information in the brain. What was basically established was that it is easier to remember something if there is a word for it (in Price-Williams, 1966, pp. 396-416). This seems obvious. Certainly every language user knows that the word *stone* is easier to both recall and communicate than a round-about description like "small ellipsoid composed of minerals and formed through sedimentation, great heat, or great chthonic pressures."

Another experiment by Chapman and Kowieski (1975) addressed a similar question: To what extent will first language learning effect the organization of verbal data in free recall? By analyzing data obtained

from native speakers of Chinese and native speakers of English, these researchers felt that they had established "linguistic relativism" in the Whorfian sense: by giving the Chinese speakers a list of words in Chinese and providing the English speakers with a list of words having equivalent meanings in English, they determined that the Chinese speakers showed a higher frequency of correct recall than did the English speakers, which "indicated that a linguistic relativity factor was indeed operative in the organization of the recall protocols" (p. 16).

In contrast to these studies, however, Malotki (1983), in a thoroughgoing study, demonstrated that Hopi has a richer system of expressions for time than Whorf accounted for in his earlier research into the language. This system, according to Malotki, is based on forms whose basic references are spatial; that is, they divide time and the physical world into sequential categories with just as much complexity as any SAE language. Another researcher, Comri (1985), asserted that Malotki's revelations stand as a complete refutation of Whorf's ideas of the Hopi world view as expressed in the structure their language; simply put, Whorf did not understand enough about Hopi to make the categorical conclusions at which he arrived. With regard to this, McNeill (1987) observed that, "Nevertheless, such temporal metaphors in themselves do not seem inconsistent with a world view in which time is cyclic and things in the world 'eventuate'" (p. 176), an empirically unsupported assumption that characterizes much thought intended to support the Whorfian "hypothesis."

In a consideration of the differences between Chinese and English syntactic structures with regard to counterfactual (or subjunctive) clauses, Scovel (1991) summarized research by Bloom (1981) that indicated English speakers, because of the structure of their language, were better able to ascertain the truth or falsity of a statement than Chinese speakers; as well as research by Au (1983) and Liu (1985), which demonstrated that Bloom's test materials (translations from English to Chinese) were faulty. As Scovel notes, this kind of research is "... Representative of the several experiments which have been conducted on syntactic differences between languages and their potential Whorfian influence ..." (1991, p. 50). As Scovel further notes, in over forty years of experimental research into the question of linguistic relativity, no study has ever succeeded in establishing its existence. He writes:

The experimental evidence is abundantly clear—differences among linguistic structures apparently do not affect the cognitive and perceptual processing of speakers of the different languages under investigation. (1991, p. 51)

The Non-Deterministic Viewpoint

Does language truly have such an overpowering affect on human consciousness? Is it as “tyrannical” as Sapir rather flamboyantly says it is? The empirical evidence cited previously clearly indicates that neither is the case.

Other investigators, in order to address such questions, have looked deeper, beyond the structure of language and into the structure of the brain. Most of them agree that the observed linguistic data indicates that some fundamental organizing principle is at work in the way human beings see the world, but that this does not mean language is *a priori* the cause of the patterning process (Piaget, 1970; Chomsky, 1975). In *Genetic Epistemology*, the psychologist Jean Piaget contends that the processes which pattern human perception are visible in children at the pre-linguistic stage of development, which means that a non-linguistically-based process of organization is at work in the human brain (1970). Noam Chomsky, in *Language and Mind*, writes that possessing a human language is associated with a specific kind of mental organization—an initial, innate structure that can be attributed to the mind (1972, pp. 88-89), and which Chomsky sometimes refers to as Universal Grammar (UG). Clearly both investigators feel that there is something more fundamental going on than just the surface appearance of language. If their hypotheses have any credence, they would tend to obviate the theoretical assumptions of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis.

It is Piaget's (1970) observation that at about the end of the first year of life or the beginning of the second year, the infant develops a sensory-motor intelligence with its own logic, a logic of action, which he says consists of patterns or “schemes” of behavior, meaning behavior which is repeatable. The process for arriving at this practical concept is the same as that which gives rise to more complex concepts at much later stages of development. The pre-linguistic child learns to coordinate these schemes into a kind of sensory motor intelligence which is the foundation for all mathematical-logical structures.² This practical, sensory-motor intelligence is not at the level of thought, but it allows the child to act in space with some sort of orderly competence. Between about the age of 1.5 to 7 or 8 years, the practical logic of sensory-motor intelligence is internalized, taking shape in thought at the level of representation.

Language, Piaget maintains, is but one form of representation. Another is semiotic function, which is the ability to represent something by a sign or a symbol or another object. That language is but one among many aspects of the semiotic functions, albeit an immensely important one, would appear to be confirmed by the work of Hans Furth, detailed

in his book *Thinking Without Language*. In this study Furth found well-developed logical thinking in deaf-mute children long before they had developed in terms of language abilities. In other words, they think without language as we are accustomed to understanding it (in Piaget, 1970, p. 46). Finally, Piaget notes about the eventual appearance of language that until the sensory-motor intelligence is more-or-less achieved, language does not appear in children .

Chomsky similarly proposes that pre-linguistic intellectual structures are at the foundation of logic and language, though unlike Piaget he speculates that language may be based on an inherited UG. The UG that Chomsky describes bears many similarities to the "sensory-motor intelligence" discussed by Piaget (1970). As Chomsky remarks:

The tasks of the psychologist, then, divide into several subtasks. The first is to discover the innate schema that characterizes the class of potential languages ... The second subtask is the detailed study of the actual character of the stimulation and the organism-environment interaction that sets the innate cognitive mechanism into operation ... It is not unlikely that detailed investigation of this sort will show that the conception of universal grammar as an innate schematism is only valid as a first approximation; that, in fact, an innate schematism of a more general sort permits the formulation of tentative "grammars" which themselves determine how later evidence is to be interpreted ... (1972, pp. 88-89).

In the frame of reference adopted by both Piaget and Chomsky, the Sapir-Whorf orientation is quite backwards: language does not predispose the mind to think in *a priori* categories; rather, pre-existent structures at the biological level in the brain are the shapers of language and of reality in general, and the surface utterances of language are always in thrall to the deeper, generative structures at the base of all language.

Does any of this establish that the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis is untenable? For that matter, do any of the proofs that appear to contribute to the validity of the hypothesis establish it as tenable? It was noted at the outset of this paper that much of the Whorfian notion defies experimental design, and therefore validation by experiment (Price-Williams, 1966). Condon and Yousef (1975) also comment that the "hypothesis" is not one that lends itself to being proven or disproven, and remark that "for some, this is sufficient reason to ignore it as an unscientific proposition" (p. 172). The authors note that in spite of its unscientific character and the scientific and academic controversy surrounding it, the Sapir-Whorf

"Hypothesis" doggedly refuses to go away. The tenacity of a theory, however, does not establish its validity.

Condon and Yousef acknowledge this dilemma when they decide to "ignore what Sapir and Whorf meant," and attempt to restate the proposition in more general terms (1975, p. 172). The tenacity which adheres to the original "hypothesis" suggests that it does contain the germ of an idea about how language might possibly influence—but not shape—the contents and organization of experience at any given time, and how this in turn then acts to influence the shape of a given verbal expression at a given time.

This leads inevitably to the question: If we deal with this so-called "hypothesis" only in terms of first redefining it, 1) are we even working within the framework of the original proposition; and 2) do we even have a hypothesis to begin with? The answer to both, as demanded by logic, is a categorical "No." Hypothesis-building requires a rigorously thought out body of propositions in the scientific sense, in order to establish through experiment that a thing or condition is or is not a fact. Since we are faced with a non-hypothesis, all questions pertaining to the conditions set in the original formulations by Sapir and Whorf, as well as by studies conducted in accordance to those formulations, dissolve and cease to be problems. The Sapir-Whorf "Hypothesis" for that matter vanishes, and a new hypothesis is required to account for the empirical data that, as a result of the "non-hypothesis," has been generated by the various studies and experiments on the relationship between language and reality.³ The outlines of such a hypothesis await further empirical research and theory-building. Perhaps fruitful results will grow out of observations and speculations related to avenues explored by Piaget, Chomsky, or various other researchers working in the areas of psycholinguistic or neurolinguistic science.

In view of the non-status of the Sapir-Whorf "Hypothesis," what then becomes of the question originally posed at the beginning of this paper, which concerned the effects on intercultural communication of the conditions described by the hypothesis?

The Cultural and Intercultural Context

The dissolution of the Sapir-Whorf "Hypothesis" does not invalidate the results of experiments designed to test the hypothesis. It merely places them in a different perspective where they require reassessment. It also shifts questions that seek to analyze the relation between language, perception, and human behavior into a more appropriate perspective.

We cannot, for instance, deny the results of Whorf's and Hoijer's respective studies of Hopi and Navaho (*supra* pp. 5-7), but the shift in perspective resulting from the dissolution of the original hypothesis forces us to consider factors that do not enter into the framework of "linguistic structures." A basic problem with the Sapir-Whorf standpoint was its very categorical limitation in considering cognitive perception as primarily a verbally-based phenomenon which was not necessarily connected to anything that might be happening in the language-user's overall environment. Such a view is quite static in that it overlooks process, the very real condition that numerous environmental factors exert influence upon any one given phenomenon.

In fairness, the Sapir-Whorf formulation inherited this weakness from Structural linguistics, which is philosophically biased towards scientific materialism of a narrow, exclusively empirical (even deterministic) nature that is interested in defining the world in terms of one-to-one, cause-and-effect relationships. From this Newtonian scientific point-of-view, anything which is not directly observable must be excluded from the scientific scheme of things. As a result, the world can be discussed only in terms of mutually exclusive categories. In terms of Structural Linguistics, this viewpoint means that out-and-out process rules were considered unacceptable in the "usual framework" of structuralism (Pearson, 1977, p. 119). It is not surprising, therefore, that a structuralist approach to the relation between language and perception—and by extension, culture—should be deficient. By attaching greater importance to surface appearances, a Structuralist approach could never accommodate factors that were not immediately observed, measured, and cataloged into a paradigm.

A structural approach could, for example, never account for the facts revealed by Piaget (1970). The entire hypothesis-building framework of the former ignores semiotic functions as significant factors in cognition, and ultimately in communication. This latter factor is attested to in studies by Doi (1973), who to some extent reverses the importance placed on verbal activity when he remarks, "One could say...that for Japanese verbal communication is something that accompanies non-verbal communication and not the other way around" (pp. 180-185). Even Sapir (1949), if somewhat indirectly, recognized the basic problem with his own "hypothesis" when he wrote:

It is impossible to say what an individual is doing unless we have tacitly accepted the essentially arbitrary modes of interpretation that social tradition is constantly suggesting to us from the very

moment of our birth. Let anyone who doubts this try the experiment of making a painstaking report (i.e. an etic one) of the actions of a group of natives engaged in some activity, say religious, to which he has not the cultural key (i.e. a knowledge of the emic system). If he is a skillful writer, he may succeed in giving a picturesque account of what he sees, or thinks he sees and hears, but the chances of his being able to give a relation of what happens, in terms that would be intelligible and acceptable to the natives themselves, are practically nil. He will find interesting what the natives take for granted as a casual kind of behavior worthy of no particular comment, and he will utterly fail to observe the crucial turning points in the course of action that give formal significance to the whole in the minds of those who do possess the key to its understanding. (pp. 546-547)

In other words, this hypothetical observer's emphasis will constantly be askew because he cannot look below the surface structure, and he will inevitably distort everything he sees. What Sapir is calling for, in the study that the above quotation is excerpted from, is an effort to understand the structure of different cultures through the key of their languages; curiously, as a formal investigation, such a search for understanding would stand quite outside any of the propositions advanced by his successors as representing some of the main features embraced by the Sapir-Whorf non-hypothesis. This is confirmed by a related study done by Pike on the "meaning" structure of human behavior in relation to language (1954). In this massive study, Pike attempts to apply the "etic" and "emic" approach of Structural Linguistics to human behavior, and describes to exhaustion such activities as a suburban American pool-side cocktail party. Language and non-verbal behavior are viewed as separate and distinct categories that touch, it would seem, only by mere happenstance.

It is interesting that Sapir recognized the significance of non-verbal behavior in defining the context in which speech occurs. The unfortunate assumption that both must be viewed as separate phenomena for the purposes of empirical study, rather than as complementary aspects of the same communicative phenomenon, can perhaps be attributed to a time when the philosophical and scientific atmosphere in the United States of America demanded mechanistic treatment even of dynamic systems.⁴ As it stands, the artificial emphasis of the one over the other in their respective studies makes them limited in terms of their utility in describing what is going on in culture. For all the detail that Sapir,

Whorf, Pike and others in their school compiled about language and culture, they only succeeded in suggesting what the relationship was between them, rather than understanding it.

Aspects of Intercultural Communication

It should be clear from the foregoing discussion that whatever effect language has on behavior and, therefore, upon culture, it can only be analyzed in relation to a number of other factors which are non-verbal as well as psychological. These factors enter one's language as much as anything to do with verbal performance insofar as they affect one's ability to achieve communication, especially with someone from a culture other than one's own.

An example of the psychological factors that can influence an individual's ability to communicate interculturally is found in Earl Stevick's *Memory, Meaning, and Method*:

The fluency requirement...(in speaking a foreign language)... may threaten a self-image ... Obviously, other things being equal, a person who sees him- or herself as the "strong silent type" will resist verbal interaction more than someone with an "out-going, gregarious" self-concept. More important, though less obvious, is the fact that many other threats to a student's ego may result in a withdrawing type of defense mechanism. "I usually succeed at what I try" is threatened by failures small or large; theoretically at least, "I'm no good at languages" might feel temporarily threatened by success. "I'm a professional preparing for an important job" is threatened by materials that seem irrelevant, and "I'm eye-minded" by the with-holding of written materials; "I'm a student, and students are supposed to be taught"⁵ reacts badly either to a poor teacher or to a good one who is less directive than expected ... Any of these threats to a student's ego will produce some kind of adaptive reaction, many of which are of a defensive nature. Some ... are aggressive, while others consist of some form of withdrawal, and the latter generally bring partial (or occasionally complete) loss of fluency (1976, pp. 61-62).

Stevick also stresses that the attitude which students have toward the culture that speaks the second language (L2) they are learning will have a great influence on their acquisition of the L2, as well as the fact that peer group pressures can either inhibit or encourage L2 learning (1976, pp. 47-85).⁶

What does this mean in terms of intercultural communication? It would seem that anything which affects language learning should also affect what one is able to learn about another culture. In the case of the examples provided by Stevick, most certainly these individuals would experience some difficulties communicating interculturally for reasons not involved with just verbal language.

As Franz Boas observed⁷, an understanding of any culture is predicated upon learning the language of that culture, and the more facile a grasp one has of a given language, the greater the understanding one is likely to have of the culture associated with that language. Moreover, it is not enough merely to learn the structural (that is, surface) features of a language to understand it; one must also acquire some sense of the psychological reality in which the language is spoken if one is to begin to understand something of the essence of both the language and the culture. Doi touches upon a similar theme when he observes that Americans avoid silence because they hate it, whereas Japanese seek silence because they value it—and members of each culture do so because they have been conditioned by their respective cultures to identify with these differing values (Doi, 1973). Unless one gains awareness of the non-linguistic factors which exert so strong an influence upon language and intercultural communication, one has little hope of understanding people of other cultures.

Conclusion

This paper began by asking a general question about the effect that language has on intercultural communication in terms of the so-called Sapir-Whorf "hypothesis." Some basic features of this "hypothesis" were set in a historical perspective and contrasted with other studies that were conducted from antithetical scientific and philosophical viewpoints, and the overall integrity of the "hypothesis" was breached. From the hypothetical standpoint, the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis does not exist, and any attempt to invoke its authority is tantamount to water-witching or necromancy. The answer to the initial question is that nothing central to the non-hypothesis influences intercultural communication. Logic requires this conclusion.

Yet the idea that the non-hypothesis hints at remains, that something basic to the way human beings interpret reality powerfully, ultimately, influences if not shapes our perception of the world, and by extension, of other cultures. Earlier in this paper it was noted by Chomsky (1972) that the proposition of a UG may be valid only as a first approximation

of how perceptual categories are organized to form the foundations of language. The experimental results of studies inspired by the Sapir-Whorf formulation seem to indicate that it, indeed, may have been a "first approximation" to the views espoused by Chomsky and Piaget. The results of the studies inspired by Sapir and Whorf appear—at least in terms of uninterpreted data—to be consistent on the biological level with the views suggested by Chomsky and Piaget, that some basic mechanism of a pre-linguistic nature in the human make-up molds the human perception of reality.

In any case, structure and dynamism are complementary aspects of a whole. They interact with and interpenetrate each other, just as do language and culture. As Condon and Yousef note, "... language participates in our perception and in our expression of that perception; we cannot divorce language from perception or thought ..." (1975, p. 181).

Language does influence us to emphasize certain distinctions and to minimize others. It is a tool which we use to describe, and therefore shape, the world in which we live. But the tool limits us only to the degree that we allow ourselves to not see that we can fashion our own tool at will, modifying it by examples set through the analysis of other languages. If we can see and accommodate it, and incorporate the new data into the structure of our own dynamic world view, then we, and our way of seeing the world, are changed forever. This does not happen because of the structure of the language we happen to speak; it happens through conscious, objective awareness of ourselves in a world inhabited by others, as well as through a willingness to accept a plurality of differences between speakers of languages other than our own.

This, finally, brings us back to that "oblique metaphor" proposed at the very beginning of this paper—that is, the introduction to a new way of seeing the world, be it the entry into a new culture or the acquisition of another language. The person who attempts either is very much the same as the experimental subject who dons the inverting lenses: for some time the entire world appears to be upside-down, but then it changes. Once the subject has adapted to the new conditions, everything seems right-side up again. The entirely direct implication is that, given time, patience, and an effort to understand, any initially confusing cultural situation will be resolved. Language is not perception, but merely a reflection of perception.

The author would like to thank professors Kenjiro Higa, Curt M. Rulon and Craig Allen Volker for their helpful suggestions in the preparation of this article.

Gene van Troyer is an assistant professor of English at Gifu University for Education and Languages. He earned his M.A. in TESOL from Portland State University (Oregon, U.S.A.), and is presently the editor of *The Language Teacher*.

Notes

1. The original experiments on inverted vision were by George M. Stratton, "Vision Without Inversion of the Retinal Image," *Psychological Review* (1897), pp. 341-360, 463-481.

2. Piaget (1970) discusses the relationships between mental operations, structures, and the "mother structures" of the Bourbaki mathematicians (structures that are isomorphic among all the various branches of mathematics), those structures being *Algebraic* (notion of group), *Order* (relationship), and *Topological* (areas, borders, approaching limits), and the appearance of same in pre-linguistic children.

3. See Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophical investigations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1953). The principles developed by Wittgenstein in this investigation are of a "therapeutic" nature—that is, they are designed to get scientific and philosophical problems out of bottle-necks by diagnosing when a "problem" is really a "*non-problem*." The so-called Sapir-Whorf "Hypothesis" is such a bottle-neck. Its "non-problem" status should be clear strictly on the basis that in order to deal with, researchers first have to redefine it.

4. See Thomas S. Kuhn, *The structure of scientific revolutions*. A significant portion of this important work addresses the problems involved in the scientific view of static (or mechanistic) and dynamic (or process) views of natural phenomena. The mechanistic view, Kuhn notes, seemed to be a domain inhabited primarily by American scientists and would-be scientists of all fields of enquiry.

5. In this context, the sentence "I'm no good at languages" metaphorically refers to A, who *thinks he is no good at learning languages*. In the same way *I'm no good at languages; I'm a professional ...; I'm eye-minded; and I'm a student ...* can be likened to students B, C, and D.

6. Stevick (1976) cites a broad spectrum of psychological studies to validate his observations.

7. c.f. the reference marked by Pearson.

References

- Au, K. F. (1983). Chinese and English counterfactuals: The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis revisited. *Cognition*, 15, 155-187.
- Chapman, G., & Kowieski, R. (1975). *Toward an empirical validation of the Theory of Linguistic Relativity through an analysis of clustering in free recall*. International Communication Association.
- Chomsky, N. (1972). *Language and mind*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Jovanovich.
- Chomsky, N. (1975). *Reflections on language*. New York: Random House/Pan-

theon Books.

- Comri, B. (1985). Conditionals: A typology. In *On conditionals*, Traugott, E., Ferguson, C.A., Reilly, J.S., & ter Meulen, A. (Eds.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Condon, J. C. & Yousef, F. (1975). *An introduction to intercultural communication*. Indianapolis: Bobs-Merrill Educational Publishing.
- Doi, L. T. (1973). The Japanese patterns of communication and the concept of *amae*. *The Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 59(2), 180-185.
- Hall, E. T. (1974). The organizing pattern. In *Language, Culture, and Society*, Blount, B.G. (Ed.). Cambridge, MA: Winthrop Publishers.
- Heisenberg, W. (1971). *Physics and beyond*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Hojer, H. (Ed.). (1954). *Language in culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kuhn, T. S. (1970). *The structure of scientific revolutions*. Vol. II, No. II in the International Encyclopedia of Unified Science. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Liu, L.G. (1985). Reasoning counterfactually in Chinese: Are there any obstacles? *Cognition*, 21, 239-270.
- Malotki, E. (1983). Hopi time: A linguistic analysis of the temporal concepts in the Hopi language. Berlin: Mouton.
- McNeill, D. (1987). *Psycholinguistics: A new approach*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Pearson, B. L. (1977). *Introduction to linguistic concepts*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Piaget, J. (1970). *Genetic epistemology*. Woodbridge Lecture Series Number Eight. New York & London: Columbia University Press.
- Pike, K. L. (1954). Language in relation to a unified theory of the structure of human behavior. Glendale, CA: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Price-Williams, D. (1966). Cross-cultural studies. In *New horizons in psychology*, Foss, B.M. (Ed.). London: Penguin Books.
- Sapir, E. (1949). *Selected writings of Edward Sapir in language, culture, and personality*, Mendelbaum, D.G. (Ed). Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Scovel, T. (1991). Why languages do not shape cognition: Psycho- and neurolinguistic evidence. *JALT Journal*, 13(1), 43-56.
- Stevick, E. W. (1976). *Memory, meaning & method*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House Publishers.
- Whorf, B. L. (1974). The relation of habitual thought and behavior to language. In *Language, Culture, and Society*, Blount, B.G. (Ed.). Cambridge, MA: Winthrop Publishers.

English-Speaking Returnees in Japan: An Exploratory Study at One University¹

Kenneth R. Rose

Hong Kong Baptist College

Naomi K. Fujishima

Kwansei Gakuin University

While the problems experienced by returnees in readjusting to life in Japan have been the focus of considerable research, the returnee issue has yet to receive much attention in the language teaching literature. This paper reports the results of a small-scale questionnaire and interview study which mainly addressed the issue of providing separate English classes for returnees in a new Intensive English Program for highly proficient university students. Impetus for the study was the concern of some Japanese faculty members that separate classes may result in social and psychological damage to returnees. Results of the study indicated that views of both returnees and non-returnees were mixed on the issue of separate classes, with a larger percentage opposed to separate classes for returnees. This underscores the importance of issues other than language proficiency in curriculum development.

日本の大学における帰国生の教育に関する一考察

帰国生が日本の生活に戻る際に経験する諸問題に関しては、相当数の研究や調査で取り上げられている。それにもかかわらず、言語教育の分野では、未だにあまり注目されていないのが現状である。この論文は、「習熟度の高い学生のための新しい『集中英語講座』に帰国生のための特別クラスを設けるべきか」という問題に関して行ったアンケートと面接形式の調査の報告である。「特別クラスを設けた場合、帰国生たちに生活面や精神面でダメージを及ぼす恐れがあるかもしれない」という一部の日本人教授の懸念が、この問題を研究しはじめるきっかけとなった。研究の結果、「帰国生の特別クラス案」に対しては全体的に反対意見のほうが多かったが、その中でも帰国生とそうでない学生との間で、微妙な意見の食い違いが見られた。このことはカリキュラム開発において、言語の習熟度以外にも考慮されるべき重要な問題があることを示していると考えられる。

This study is exploratory in nature, and our primary aim is to raise an issue which we feel merits attention: the role and status of English-speaking returnees at Japanese universities. While the *kikokushijo mondai*, or 'returnee problem', has been discussed extensively in Japanese, and several excellent studies have been carried out in English, there has as yet been little attention paid to the issues involving English language teaching (ELT) and English-speaking returnees. From among the issues of relevance to returnees and ELT, this paper reports the results of a small-scale study intended to assess returnee and non-returnee attitudes towards the establishment of separate English classes for returnees in a new Intensive English Program (IEP) at Kwansei Gakuin University (KGU). We first discuss the IEP and how our interest in returnees developed, followed by a brief account of the research in English on returnees. Following this, we discuss our study, which included a short questionnaire and interview. Although the results of this study are no doubt tentative, we hope to succeed in bringing this important issue to the forefront.

The Intensive English Program at Kwansei Gakuin

Our interest in returnees developed in the course of designing and implementing the curriculum for a new IEP at KGU. The IEP was intended to provide triple the usual number of contact hours in English per week (i.e., six 45-minute periods instead of two) for no more than the top thirty students from each of the seven departments at KGU (Business Administration, Economics, Humanities, Law, Science, Sociology, and Theology). Each year a new intake of first-year students would begin the program in their second semester. The first three semesters of the IEP would adopt an integrated skills approach (primarily emphasizing listening and speaking), after which advanced electives (in specific skill or content areas) would be offered. Prospective candidates were required to take both a TOEFL and an Oral Proficiency Interview (OPI).

One aspect of the IEP which we were unable to change was that each department was to have its own section. We considered this a disadvantage due to the resulting situation of having a wide range of proficiencies in each section, in one case 210 points on the TOEFL. We would have preferred dividing sections by proficiency level and not department, which would have produced a narrower proficiency range within each class. This problem was exacerbated by the presence of English-speaking returnees (i.e., students who had lived and studied in English-speaking environments for a year or more), whose proficiency

in English was generally significantly higher than that of non-returnees.

When we suggested the possibility of separate classes for returnees, two objections were raised by the Japanese faculty members overseeing the development of the IEP. The first was of a practical nature, that is, it would be virtually impossible to coordinate the schedules of all the returnees because of departmental conflicts. While unfortunate, this constraint was nonetheless not difficult to understand. The second objection, though, struck us as rather odd: We were told that by instituting separate classes for returnees we would likely further the social and psychological damage experienced by returnees upon their return to Japan. This was something we had not taken into consideration as part of curriculum development, but it seemed that the Japanese faculty took this matter quite seriously, thus provoking our interest. That is, it was quite clear that in this context there were issues more important than language proficiency which were to inform curriculum development.

The *Kikokushijō Mondai* ('Returnee Problem')

While the issue of returnees has received virtually no attention in the language teaching literature, the *kikokushijō mondai* ('returnee problem') has been the subject of considerable debate in other circles. According to Goodman,

... the word [kikokushijō] seems to have been invented by the Japanese Ministry of Education in the late 1960s when the government began to consider policy for returnee children. It is formed from the combination of four Chinese characters which, individually, mean 'return' (ki), 'country' (koku), 'child' or 'boy' (shi), and 'girl' (jo), but Monbusho [the Ministry of Education] appears never to have defined the term accurately. (1993, p. 10)

White (1992, p. 26) notes that the "number of school-age children (6-15 years) returning to Japan each year has risen from 2,000 in the late 1960s to over 10,000 in 1985" and is likely to continue rising. Why should this be a problem? Kidder (1992) maintains that returnees are marked physically, behaviorally, and interpersonally: they wear different clothes, have different hairstyles, have more animated gestures and facial expressions, don't use proper *keigo* ('polite speech'), and are too direct. In short, they are different, and it seems that being different in Japan is not a good thing. Kidder (1992, p. 384) also notes that "Japan is a relatively homogeneous and tight society, marked by beliefs about

Japanese uniqueness that place people from other cultures on the outside." Along these lines, Goodman (1993, p. 60) makes reference to *Nihonjinron* (theories of Japanese uniqueness) as a genre which maintains that "Japan, and the Japanese society are unique in the world—topographically, linguistically, culturally, even anatomically." (For more on *Nihonjinron*, see Dale, 1986; Miller, 1982.)

Attitudes towards nonconformity are reflected in the well-known Japanese proverbs 'The nail that sticks up gets hammered down' and 'Tall trees catch more wind.' For returnees, this can result in being subjected to *ijime* ('bullying') at the hands of their classmates, and even being referred to as *gaijin* ('foreigner') by other Japanese. Kobayashi (1991) reports the case of a boy who, upon returning from the United States, was bullied by his classmates and told that "Americans belong in America" (p. 206). The boy eventually developed an ulcer, and his mother wrote a best-selling book describing her son's experience. In addition, since returnees often have attained higher levels of proficiency than their Japanese English teachers, they can represent a threat to them and thus are sometimes subjected to harsh treatment from teachers as well. To avoid such treatment, returnees often learn to hide their English proficiency by speaking 'Japlish' or *katakana* English. Kidder (1992, pp. 389-390) quotes one returnee as saying that

in first grade of junior high I spoke English naturally ... but as time went on [other students] got aggressive about my English ... so I tried to master the Japlish and learned to speak in those tones ... and after that my classmates were not so aggressive anymore.

The treatment returnees are subjected to has led White (1992, p. 2) to assert that returnees may "find themselves with permanently flawed identities or isolated within the group as functional but problematic or marginal members." This is a rather bleak portrayal of the plight of returnees, but is it really that bad?

Goodman (1993) notes that extreme views of returnee problems have spread as a result of media attention in cases of both homicide and suicide involving what is perceived as the inability of returnees to adapt to Japanese culture and language upon returning to Japan, but he argues that much of the bad press may be unwarranted. He conducted a questionnaire survey of 105 teachers at a private school in which about 25% of the students were returnees and found surprising results. While it was clear that returnees had problems, the teachers were divided as to what caused them and whether they were any worse than the problems

of non-returnee students. Responses fell into two categories, "those who stress the need for *kikokushijo* to adapt back to Japanese culture and those who believe that *kikokushijo* should be seen, and treated, as valuable national resources" (1993, p. 139). In addition to the teacher questionnaire, a questionnaire administered to 72 students, both returnees and non-returnees, found that some returnees did have problems readjusting, but, again, it was not clear whether these problems resulted from their overseas experience, or were any more severe than the problems of non-returnees. In sum, Goodman's findings were quite different than the bleak media portrayal of the plight of returnees. He points out that other research conducted by Japanese scholars has also found the assumption of returnees having greater problems to be unjustified, even concerning Japanese-language skills.

But Goodman also notes that returnees do indeed face some problems. Concerning attendance in regular (versus international) schools, Goodman found cases of returnees attempting to hide their experience overseas by adopting an exaggerated Japanese accent in their otherwise fluent English, and going out of their way to ask English teachers not to call on them in class or refer to their experience abroad. Goodman also found that

... teachers in international schools believe that teachers in Japanese schools punish returnees for their poor Japanese and for not using the correct terms of respect. Worst of all, they say, the children are bullied by jealous peers and even teachers, especially English-language teachers, who feel threatened by them. (1993, pp. 152-153)

And like some Japanese faculty members we encountered at KGU, Goodman reports that a number of Japanese scholars studying the returnee issue maintain that psychological damage can result when returnees are given special treatment by being separated into returnee-only classes.

The Study

Given the conflicting accounts of the experiences of returnees cited above, we were interested in determining the views of returnees and non-returnees in our program concerning, among other things, preferences for separate classes for returnees. We think it is fair to say that had English proficiency been the only factor to consider, the choice would have been obvious. But it was clear to us that this was not the case. We decided to conduct an exploratory study involving a short

questionnaire administered to both returnees and non-returnees, and follow-up interviews with some of the returnees who completed the questionnaire.

Subjects: The departments of Law and Sociology were chosen for the study from among the seven departments represented because they had the highest percentage of returnees (approximately 40% in each class). Other departments had far fewer returnees, and one department (Science) had none. Questionnaires were administered to a total of 24 returnees and 32 non-returnees.

As far as English proficiency is concerned, it is instructive to consider the TOEFL and OPI scores for returnees and non-returnees. As mentioned above, all students were required to take a TOEFL and sit for an OPI. We assume most readers are familiar with the TOEFL. For the OPI, each student received two scores, one from a native-speaking English teacher (NS), the other from a Japanese English teacher (JT). A modified version of the Foreign Service Institute (FSI) rating scale (scores ranging from 0-18) was employed in assessing oral proficiency in the course of approximately five-minute interviews. The same pair of raters assessed all applicants from a given department, and while there were problems with inter-rater reliability across departments, reliability was generally high for each pair of interviewers (Pearson's $r > .85$).

Table 1 shows the mean TOEFL subscores and NS and JT scores for the OPI for returnees and non-returnees, and indicates that returnees scored significantly higher in all categories except reading. Differences for listening and the OPI were substantial. Since the IEP was to emphasize listening and speaking as much or more than other skills, the dif-

Table 1

Mean TOEFL subscores and OPI scores for returnees ($n=24$) and non-returnees ($n=32$), and ANOVA results

| | Mean | | F | Sig. of F |
|-----------------|--------------|----------|--------|-----------|
| | Non-Returnee | Returnee | | |
| TOEFL Listening | 47.41 | 56.42 | 51.787 | .000 |
| TOEFL Grammar | 49.46 | 54.21 | 16.126 | .000 |
| TOEFL Reading | 50.24 | 52.29 | 3.819 | .055 |
| OPI 1 | 11.14 | 14.46 | 10.218 | .002 |
| OPI 2 | 10.43 | 14.75 | 27.914 | .000 |

ferences in scores would normally be sufficient cause to establish at least two separate sections, one each for returnees and non-returnees.

Questionnaire: Again, our primary aim was to assess our students' attitudes towards having separate IEP classes for returnees because this was our most immediate concern in curriculum development. While scheduling separate classes was not an option for the initial year of the program, we felt the need to explore the issue further and perhaps make a case for separate classes for future years. To this end, a short questionnaire was constructed in Japanese (see Appendix for English translation) and administered at the end of the first semester of the IEP course. The questionnaire contained two sections, one each for returnees and non-returnees, in which slightly modified versions of the same questions were asked. There were items concerning the following issues: holding separate classes for returnees, the desirability of living abroad, differences between returnees and non-returnees, hesitation to use English, and returnees as helpful for non-returnees. There was also an optional open-ended item inviting further comments on returnees and non-returnees in the IEP.

Table 2 shows the summary statistics for the questionnaire responses of both groups, and Table 3 shows the ANOVA results for the question-

Table 2

Means, standard deviations, and mean differences
for questionnaire responses

| | Non-Returnee | | Returnee | | Mean difference |
|-------------------------------------|--------------|--------|----------|--------|-----------------|
| | Mean | SD | Mean | SD | |
| Item 1 [Separate classes] | 2.5484 | 1.4569 | 2.7197 | 1.4136 | 0.1713 |
| Item 2 [Like to live abroad] | 3.4688 | 1.3437 | 4.4517 | 0.8836 | 0.9829 |
| Item 3 [Returnees different] | 3.5000 | 1.3189 | 3.1667 | 1.3726 | 0.3333 |
| Item 4 [Hesitate to use English] | 3.2500 | 1.2952 | 3.0833 | 1.4116 | 0.1667 |
| Item 5 [Returnee helpful] | 4.4375 | 0.8007 | 2.9167 | 1.0180 | 1.5208 |

Table 3

ANOVA results for questionnaire responses

| | Sum of Squares | DF | Mean Square | F | Sig. of F |
|-------------------------------------|----------------|----|-------------|--------|-----------|
| Item 1 [Separate classes] | .801 | 1 | .801 | .387 | .537 |
| Item 2 [Like to live abroad] | 16.073 | 1 | 16.073 | 11.569 | .001 |
| Item 3 [Returnees different] | 1.652 | 1 | 1.652 | .902 | .347 |
| Item 4 [Hesitate to use English] | .275 | 1 | .275 | .150 | .700 |
| Item 5 [Returnee helpful] | 31.871 | 1 | 31.871 | 38.822 | .000 |

naire responses. As Table 3 shows, there were significant differences for only two of the five items: Item 2 (living abroad) and Item 5 (returnees as helpful). We will discuss each item below. However, we will also note that since the mean and standard deviation are not always the most representative measure of central tendency and dispersion for this type of data, we have also included tables for each item to provide a more balanced representation of the data (see Tables 4-8).

Table 4

Item 1 [Separate classes]

| | | Disagree | | | Agree | | |
|----------------|----------|----------|------|------|-------|------|-----------|
| | | 1.00 | 2.00 | 3.00 | 4.00 | 5.00 | Row Total |
| Non-Returnee | Count | 10 | 8 | 3 | 6 | 4 | 31 |
| | Row % | 32.3 | 25.8 | 9.7 | 19.4 | 12.9 | 56.4 |
| | Column % | 58.8 | 72.7 | 42.9 | 42.9 | 66.7 | |
| Returnee | Count | 7 | 3 | 4 | 8 | 2 | 24 |
| | Row % | 29.2 | 12.5 | 16.7 | 33.3 | 8.3 | 43.6 |
| | Column % | 41.2 | 27.3 | 57.1 | 57.1 | 33.3 | |
| Column Total | | 17 | 11 | 7 | 14 | 6 | 55 |
| Column Percent | | 30.9 | 20.0 | 12.7 | 25.5 | 10.9 | 100.0 |

Table 5

Item 2 [Like to live abroad]

| | | Disagree | | | Agree | | |
|----------------|----------|----------|-------|-------|-------|------|-----------|
| | | 1.00 | 2.00 | 3.00 | 4.00 | 5.00 | Row Total |
| Non-Returnee | Count | 4 | 4 | 5 | 11 | 8 | 32 |
| | Row % | 12.5 | 12.5 | 15.6 | 34.4 | 25.0 | 57.1 |
| | Column % | 80.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 61.1 | 33.3 | |
| Returnee | Count | 1 | | | 7 | 16 | 24 |
| | Row % | 4.2 | | | 29.2 | 66.7 | 42.9 |
| | Column % | 20.0 | | | 38.9 | 66.7 | |
| Column Total | | 5 | 4 | 5 | 18 | 24 | 56 |
| Column Percent | | 8.9 | 7.1 | 8.9 | 32.1 | 42.9 | 100.0 |

A cursory glance at Table 2 reveals that for all but Item 2, mean scores clustered around 3.00, which would seem to indicate a lack of commitment on any of these issues. However, the frequency tables for each item show that this is not the case. For Item 1 (separate classes, see Table 4), 41.8% of the subjects in both groups were actually on the extreme ends of the scale, with only 12.7% non-committal. No clear pattern emerges here, although more students (50.9% versus 36.4%) disagree with the idea of having separate classes for returnees. Responses to Item 3 (see Table 6) indicate that both groups feel returnees are

Table 6

Item 3 [Returnees different]

| | | Disagree | | | Agree | | |
|----------------|----------|----------|------|------|-------|------|-----------|
| | | 1.00 | 2.00 | 3.00 | 4.00 | 5.00 | Row Total |
| Non-Returnee | Count | 5 | 1 | 6 | 13 | 13 | 32 |
| | Row % | 15.6 | 3.1 | 18.8 | 40.6 | 40.6 | 57.1 |
| | Column % | 55.6 | 25.0 | 46.2 | 72.2 | 72.2 | |
| Returnee | Count | 4 | 3 | 7 | 5 | 5 | 24 |
| | Row % | 16.7 | 12.5 | 29.2 | 20.8 | 20.8 | 42.9 |
| | Column % | 44.4 | 75.0 | 53.8 | 27.8 | 27.8 | |
| Column Total | | 9 | 4 | 13 | 18 | 18 | 56 |
| Column Percent | | 16.1 | 7.1 | 23.2 | 32.1 | 32.1 | 100.0 |

Table 7

Item 4 [Hesitate to use English]

| | | Disagree | | | Agree | | |
|----------------|----------|----------|------|------|-------|------|-----------|
| | | 1.00 | 2.00 | 3.00 | 4.00 | 5.00 | Row Total |
| Non-Returnee | Count | 5 | 3 | 8 | 8 | 5 | 32 |
| | Row % | 15.6 | 9.4 | 25.0 | 25.0 | 15.6 | 57.1 |
| | Column % | 50.0 | 42.9 | 80.0 | 80.0 | 62.5 | |
| Returnee | Count | 5 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 24 |
| | Row % | 20.8 | 16.7 | 8.3 | 8.3 | 12.5 | 42.9 |
| | Column % | 50.0 | 57.1 | 20.0 | 20.0 | 37.5 | |
| Column Total | | 10 | 7 | 10 | 10 | 8 | 56 |
| Column Percent | | 17.9 | 12.5 | 17.9 | 17.9 | 14.3 | 100.0 |

different than non-returnees, with this sentiment being slightly stronger among non-returnees (62.5 versus 41.6%), but the difference was not statistically significant. Results for Item 4 (see Table 7) should come as no surprise to anyone who has spent time teaching in Japan: a majority of returnees (54.2%) and half of the non-returnees (50%) agreed that they were hesitant to speak English in front of their classmates. However, it is a bit surprising that 25% of the non-returnees and 37.5% of the returnees indicated that they were not hesitant to do so.

As noted above, there were significant differences for two of the five

Table 8

Item 5 [Returnees helpful]

| | | Disagree | | | Agree | | |
|----------------|----------|----------|------|------|-------|------|-----------|
| | | 1.00 | 2.00 | 3.00 | 4.00 | 5.00 | Row Total |
| Non-Returnee | Count | | 1 | 3 | 9 | 19 | 32 |
| | Row % | | 3.1 | 9.4 | 28.1 | 59.4 | 57.1 |
| | Column % | | 16.7 | 20.0 | 75.0 | 90.5 | |
| Returnee | Count | 2 | 5 | 12 | 3 | 2 | 24 |
| | Row % | 8.3 | 20.8 | 50.0 | 12.5 | 8.3 | 42.9 |
| | Column % | 100.0 | 83.3 | 80.0 | 25.0 | 9.5 | |
| Column Total | | 2 | 6 | 15 | 12 | 21 | 56 |
| Column Percent | | 3.6 | 10.7 | 26.8 | 21.4 | 37.5 | 100.0 |

items on the questionnaire. For Item 2, a majority of both groups expressed a desire to either live abroad again or live abroad for the first time (see Table 5). The difference is that while returnees were almost unanimous in their agreement (95.9%), not as many non-returnees were so sure (59.4%). This may indicate that whatever the difficulties of readjustment may be, living abroad is an experience the returnees would not want to give up. It may also indicate, as Goodman maintains, that returnees' problems have been exaggerated, and that the stigma of being a returnee is not such a bad prospect to the non-returnees. The other item which produced significant differences was Item 5 (see Table 8). While only 20.8% of returnees perceived themselves as helpful for non-returnees, 87.5% of non-returnees felt that this was the case. Whether this is an instance of humility (real or feigned) on the part of returnees is not clear, but such a strong sentiment among non-returnees could be one argument for not splitting the two groups.

On the open-ended question, few returnees commented, but a number of non-returnees took the time to write additional comments. Several non-returnees noted that the level difference made the class difficult for them, less challenging for returnees, and difficult for the teachers as well. Several non-returnees also commented that they felt stimulated by the presence of returnees, but the experience wasn't always easy. As one non-returnee put it, "Sometimes I get culture shock from them. It's a good stimulus." There were no negative comments concerning the presence of returnees in the class. On the contrary, non-returnees pointed out that having a mixed class made things more interesting, and a few noted making some good friends, despite differences.

Interviews. The main purpose of the interviews was to allow the returnees the opportunity to talk at length about their views on separate classes. In addition, we were also interested in hearing about their experiences in readjusting to Japanese life and culture upon their return. To this end, we solicited volunteers from among the returnees, which produced approximately fifteen interviews. Interviews were conducted individually in English.

The interviews did not yield results significantly different than the questionnaire on the issue of separate classes. As on the questionnaire, there was a wide range of views expressed in the interviews. However, one option not mentioned on the questionnaire was brought up by several returnees—the possibility of having both types of classes, that is, of keeping the current arrangement of combining returnees and non-returnees and also offering a few additional sections for returnees only.

The rationale expressed for this was that mixed classes allowed returnees to develop friendships with non-returnees, something a number of them mentioned as a valued result of mixed classes. At the same time, though, virtually all of the returnees were well aware that their English skills would be better served by separate classes, so when pressed as to which they would choose if there were an option, a number of returnees admitted that they would choose separate classes. But it should be kept in mind that this was not seen as ideal by any of the returnees we interviewed. That is, in the interviews none of the returnees attempted to make a strong case for separate classes.

As far as readjustment to Japan was concerned, again we found a wide range of experiences. Some reported few or no problems adjusting, others maintained that it took only a few months to fit right back in, while a few spoke of difficulties which continued to the present, up to several years after returning. As reported in the various returnee studies, some of our returnees had been subject to bullying, being called *gaijin* ('foreigner'), and even being harassed by Japanese English teachers. One returnee who spent four years in the United States was referred to in English class by her teacher as a walking English dictionary, and she was regularly picked on for answers. After being unable to produce accurate information on several lexical items peculiar to British English, her title was revised to a walking American English dictionary. She did not enjoy such treatment (to put it mildly) and often found ways of avoiding English class. Some returnees also reported adopting exaggerated Japanese accents in their English to avoid distinguishing themselves. In fact, this was observed in IEP classes. When we asked one particular returnee who often made a practice of speaking *katakana* English in small group work despite her ability to speak in a nearly flawless Australian accent, she replied that she did this because others expected her to speak English well and she felt that she did not. She wanted to hide what proficiency she had acquired during her time abroad. Another returnee we interviewed reported a similar experience. After approaching his English teacher about a 'B' grade he had received, the teacher (who he said couldn't speak English well) told him that he had become too proud of his English. After that, he decided not to speak in English class, and when asked to read aloud, would intentionally alter his pronunciation (e.g., *I wentu to a zoo*).

Discussion

The questionnaire and interview study we conducted is no doubt limited in both the issues and population it addresses, so any substan-

tive conclusions based on it must be seen as preliminary. There is clearly a need for further research in a variety of contexts which addresses more issues and draws on larger samples. Having said that, though, there are several comments which can be made based on our findings.

We set out primarily to address the issue of separate English classes for returnees based solely on the fact that their proficiency in English warranted their being placed into such classes. As noted above, we were rather surprised to learn of the possible problems associated with implementing such an approach in a Japanese context. In our experience, placing students into respective levels based on their proficiency was appropriate simply because it facilitated language learning and teaching. We had never considered the issue of social and psychological damage due to separation into proficiency levels as central to the development of an English language program, so we were reluctant to do so in developing the IEP. Results of the questionnaire showed that students had a wide range of views on the issue of separate classes for returnees, with more opposed to them than in favor. A number of students (mostly non-returnees) indicated on the open-ended questionnaire item that they were well aware of the problems caused as a result of the proficiency gap, yet many were still opposed to separate classes. And in the interviews, not a single returnee made a case for separate classes. Rather, most expressed a preference for mixed classes or special classes for returnees in addition to mixed classes. In fact, one returnee made a point of noting that she benefited just as much (if not more) from helping non-returnees as they did from receiving her help. So the views of students in our program did not support establishing separate classes for returnees. Given that a number of Japanese faculty members also expressed reservations about separate classes, it seems then that potential social and psychological damage to returnees is indeed a central issue for curriculum development.

A second issue we were interested in was the readjustment experience of our returnees. As noted above, there are conflicting accounts of the problems caused by the experience abroad, but it is perhaps fair to say that the prevalent picture is rather bleak: stories of bullying by students and teachers, and difficulties with both spoken and written Japanese are common. There are even cases of suicide and homicide which have been linked to this issue. However, results of our interviews suggest that while returnees do experience problems, these problems may not be as serious as believed, and they are certainly not common to all returnees. In fact, several of the returnees we interviewed indicated that they experienced few or no problems in readjusting. It should come as

no surprise that individual experiences will vary—despite common perceptions of homogeneity among the Japanese (which do have some factual basis), there are indeed substantial individual differences on a number of variables. It would be reasonable, then, to expect variation in returnee experiences based on things such as age of experience abroad, gender, personality, and any other of a number of variables. How these individual differences affect readjustment is a question for further research, which raises one final area we would like to address.

There are a number of issues concerning returnees and ELT that merit further study. We will mention only a few. One major issue which we have not addressed is the tendency to place all returnees into the same category. Throughout this paper, we have been referring to English-speaking returnees, but the general practice is not to differentiate among returnees from various countries. That is, Japanese children returning from, say, the United States, Colombia, Hong Kong, Germany, Indonesia, or Switzerland would all be given the same label (i.e., *kikokushijo*) and most likely the same (or similar) treatment. There are likely some important differences obscured by this practice. Another key area involving returnees is that of language attrition. It would be of interest to see what impact the constraints on utilizing language proficiency gained abroad have on language attrition. It would probably be fair to say that the great pressure returnees feel to hide their foreign language proficiency does not do much to aid language maintenance. More central to ELT issues, it would be of interest to carry out classroom ethnographies to investigate the nature of classroom interaction involving returnees and the impact of their presence on non-returnees. While the perception is that returnees are generally reluctant to demonstrate language proficiency in the presence of fellow Japanese and non-returnees are intimidated by the superior skills of returnees, classroom ethnographies would provide data to support or refute such perceptions. Also, we should expect to find variation according to, for example, age of students or percentage of returnees in a given class. These are only a few of the many possible research questions involving returnees. There are no doubt additional issues which merit attention.

Conclusion

In this paper, we have primarily addressed one issue involved in developing English language programs which contain a significant proportion of English-speaking returnees, that is, whether returnees should be placed into separate classes based on higher English proficiency. In

efforts to design and implement a curriculum which included placement by proficiency, we encountered the issue of social and psychological damage to returnees which could result from separation. To assess student preferences for separate classes, we conducted a small-scale questionnaire study with follow-up interviews of some returnees. Results indicated that setting up separate classes was not preferred by either returnees or non-returnees. So perhaps the most central finding of this study is that questions of a social and psychological nature may be of more importance in curriculum development than language proficiency. However, any conclusions based on this study must be viewed as preliminary, and it is our hope that future returnee research will shed further light on this hitherto neglected area.

Kenneth R. Rose (Ph.D., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign) teaches advanced undergraduate and graduate courses at Hong Kong Baptist College. He has also taught in the U.S. and Japan.

Naomi K. Fujishima (M.A. TESOL, Monterey Institute of International Studies) develops curriculum and teaches in the Intensive English Program at Kwansai Gakuin University, Nishinomiya, Hyogo, Japan.

Note

1. Earlier versions of this paper were presented at the 19th International JALT Conference, Omiya, October 1993, and the 28th Annual TESOL Convention, Baltimore, March 1994. We would like to thank the students (returnees and non-returnees) who took part in this study, and the audience members at both conferences for helpful comments.

References

- Dale, P. (1986). *The myth of Japanese uniqueness*. London: Routledge.
- Goodman, R. (1993). *Japan's international youth*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Kidder, L. (1992). Requirements for being Japanese. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 16, 383-393.
- Kobayashi, Y. (1991). Japanese schools can't cope with cosmopolitan kids. In B. Finkelstein, A. Imamura & J. Tobin (Eds.), *Transcending stereotypes: Discovering Japanese culture and education*. Yarmouth, Maine: Intercultural Press.
- Miller, R. (1982). *Japan's modern myth: The language and beyond*. New York: Weatherhill.
- White, M. (1992). *The Japanese overseas*. Princeton University Press.

Appendix: English translation of questionnaire

1. Are you a returnee? a. Yes b. No
If you answered 'yes', please complete questions 2-10.
If you answered 'no', please complete questions 11-16.
2. In what country did you live (outside of Japan)?
3. How long did you live there?
4. How old were you when you went there?

Please circle the number that most closely represents your degree of agreement.

- 1 = Disagree strongly
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Neither agree nor disagree
- 4 = Agree
- 5 = Agree strongly

5. The IEP should have a separate class for returnees. 1 2 3 4 5
6. If I could, I would live abroad again. 1 2 3 4 5
7. At times I feel I am different from other Japanese. 1 2 3 4 5
8. I hesitate to speak English in front of other Japanese. 1 2 3 4 5
9. In the IEP, I can help other students with their English and also make use of my English skills. 1 2 3 4 5
10. If you have any comments about returnees and non-returnees in the IEP, please write them below.

11. The IEP should have a separate class for returnees. 1 2 3 4 5
12. If I could have, I would like to have lived abroad. 1 2 3 4 5
13. At times I feel that returnees are different from non-returnees. 1 2 3 4 5
14. I am hesitant to speak English in front of returnees. 1 2 3 4 5
15. Having returnees in the class is a good stimulus for my English. 1 2 3 4 5
16. If you have any comments about returnees and non-returnees in the IEP, please write them below.

A Case Study of English Teaching at Japanese Elementary Schools

Kyoko Suwa

Kyoto Tachibana Women's University

The present classroom study was conducted to investigate current methods, materials and language use in the fourth to sixth grades in three elementary schools. Employing the observation scheme, Communicative Orientation of Language Teaching (COLT), differences were found among the schools in teaching objectives, methods, materials, amount of Japanese, and amount of input and output. No class was conducted entirely in the target language; the amount of Japanese (L1) used in class varied. The implications of the findings for instruction are that there is a need for improvement in such areas as teacher-training and team-teaching and, above all, a need for understanding how foreign languages (FL) are learned and taught in Japan. The status of classroom research within the community and society is briefly explored.

日本の小学校における英語教育のケース・スタディ

この授業研究は、3つの小学校の4年生から6年生の授業で現在使われている教授法、教材、言語について検証するために行われた。観察方法としてCOLT (Communicative Orientation of Language Teaching) を用いた結果、学校によって教授目標、教授法、教材、使用される日本語の量、インプットとアウトプットの量が異なることが明らかになった。目標言語だけで授業をされているクラスは一つもないが、使われる日本語（第一言語）の量はさまざまである。ここで明らかになったことによる教育的な示唆としては、教師養成やティーム・ティーチングなどの改善の必要性、また日本において外国語がどのように学習され教えられているかについての理解の必要性である。社会とコミュニティの中での授業研究の位置づけについてもかんたんに言及されている。

In March 1992 the Japanese Ministry of Education reported that the future implementation of an English program at public elementary schools would be decided at the next meeting of the Curricular

Reform Council ("Implementation," 1992). This was in accordance with a suggestion made by the Special Policy Reform Committee in December 1991 that such a program might help learners to acquire communicative skill in foreign language speaking. Currently, pilot programs at two public schools are under study by the Ministry.

The suggestion was also favorably viewed by the Japanese Teachers' Union, whose president commented that the time had come to teach English education for "daily use" ("Implementation," 1992). Voices have long been raised for a need to teach communicative English at an earlier stage. Just how this can be done is not easy to determine, however, for no experimental data are available on such factors as how, what, and when to implement language instruction. Specifically, this study, conducted between July and October 1992 at three private elementary schools in the Kansai area, looks at the methods, materials and uses of both L1 and L2 in the English language classroom in order to assess the extent to which instruction in these programs involves genuine communicative English. The institutions, schools B, C and D, each of which promotes female pupils to affiliated middle and high schools, consider themselves to be in the educational vanguard. This explains why they offer English courses, and perhaps why they allowed observation by an independent outsider. Considering that the stated goals of early EFL education invariably involve the ability to communicate, the researcher sought to ascertain the extent to which the conception and execution of these programs involve genuine communication.

"Second-language classroom research, in studying the processes and circumstances of second-language development, aims to identify the phenomena that promote or hamper learning in the classroom" (Van Lier, 1988, p. 71). Long (1980) distinguishes two broad approaches: (a) interaction analysis, which entails observing and classifying the behavior of students and teachers according to a classification scheme (see also Richards, Platt and Weber, 1985), and (b) anthropological observation, which involves relatively unstructured observation of classrooms in the sense that what is to be observed is not predetermined by the researcher but rather depends on the observer's developing understanding of what is significant. Anthropological research is distinguished from interaction analysis not only in the manner in which observation is carried out but also by the use of verbal report data (Cohen, 1987). Among the advantages of anthropological research is that it helps to identify variables which have not been previously acknowledged (Gaies, 1983). The fact that ethnography holistically describes behavior in relation to the whole system of which that behavior is a part (Firth, 1961) makes it

an approach ideally suited to gaining insight into such micro-contexts as teacher variables—experience, training, proficiency in the learners' L1—as found in such macro-contexts as administrative goals and their articulation, implementation and follow-up.

The present study draws upon both approaches. If much that is observed can indeed fall into predetermined categories, and as such be captured by a reliable, systematic interaction-analysis instrument, then employing such an instrument can free the researcher to spend more time observing the less structured aspects of the situation. The flexibility of the anthropological approach allows the researcher to wait until all the data have been collected before making a final determination as to the relative weight of the structured instrument. However, this study by no means purports to fulfill all the criteria for full-scale ethnographic research. Rather, it follows the typical approach of L2 researchers in seeking to describe and analyze specific areas of interaction (Chaudron, 1988), focusing on the role of classroom organization in student access to types of language input or practice rather than on individual language learning problems (Watson-Gegeo, 1988).

As at present there does not appear to be any reliable evaluative component for any of these settings, the study did not impose an "outcome" dimension but rather has concentrated upon "process," determining what actually goes on in the classrooms. A low-inference ethnographic approach was adopted, consisting of charting and coding classroom interaction by direct observation, as Rohlen did (1983), along with follow-up review of audio tapes of the observed classes and interviews of teachers and administrators. Further, as descriptive studies of classroom instruction do not seem to exist in the literature on Japanese elementary education, or even high school education (Rohlen, 1983), there is no tradition of allowing in an "outside" observer. It is hoped that the findings of the present study might serve as a baseline for further research.

While posing a number of explicit hypotheses, based on language acquisition theory and/or current classroom practice and verifiable by what is taken to be an objective observation and coding scheme, this study is largely guided by the implicit: the researcher's values, attitudes and assumptions pertaining to how well a social aim is translated into the social reality of the classroom through the agency of school administrators and classroom teachers. This focus harmonizes with the ethnographic perspective on language learning as one of language socialization rather than language acquisition (Watson-Gegeo, 1988). What performance objectives, if any, are there (Nunan, 1993)? Do these take into consideration the learners' backgrounds (age, level, L1)? It was hypothesized that:

1. The classes would be devoted entirely to listening and speaking. Understanding languages appears to be a necessary condition for acquiring language (Rost, 1990). For acquisition-oriented classrooms Ellis (1990) recommends large amounts of listening. It is widely assumed that the ability to communicate in a foreign language necessitates comprehending and speaking it, and that in natural acquisition speech precedes the ability to write. For the vast majority of Japanese pupils, initial exposure to spoken English comes in seventh grade, along with reading and writing. These elementary classes were perceived as providing pupils a "head start" with the spoken language, just as learners in natural settings have.
2. The curriculum would be devoted mainly to vocabulary plus greetings and other basic sociolinguistic formulae, reflecting the limited time available as well as the absolute-beginner level of the learners.
3. The material would be presented through immediate context. The learners are in a FL setting with virtually no opportunity to acquire L2 outside the classroom. This and the learners ages (9-12) indicated that contexts would have to be provided through readily accessible topics or objects.
4. The L1 would be used for classroom management. As absolute beginners, the learners would be unused to L2 as a means of communication and would possess near zero L2 vocabulary.
5. The interaction would be mainly whole class. Group work is an essential feature of elementary school education in Japan, at this level with 40 or more pupils per class. However, it is practically impossible to get L2 learners to stay in the target language when given group tasks.
6. Comprehension would be checked and output elicited through the use of display questions. As Long (1980) observed with typical English language instruction, it was expected that teacher questions designed to have only one acceptable answer would be common.
7. Games and other semi-pedagogic activities would be used at least half of class time in order to channel the learners' enthusiasm into motivation to use and thereby to acquire the target language.

Given the stated aim of fostering communication in the language, it was decided to use the Communicative Orientation of Language Teaching (COLT) scheme as the observation instrument, which, according to Allwright (1988), is a fully developed system dedicated to the communicative approach. Anticipating, however, that seldom, if ever, does communication attain "fully developed" status in a language classroom, the researcher made

certain modifications in the scheme in advance of the actual observation (see Appendix), and implemented others during the observation period.

Method

Subjects: The study was conducted with a total of 17 classes, from third grade to sixth, at the three different elementary schools. Each class contained about 40 pupils who were taught all subjects by their home room teacher, except for English which was provided once a week. This English instruction was offered voluntarily by the schools, as English is not compulsory until seventh grade. In accordance with Ministry of Education policy, there was a virtually even mix of girls and boys. The sixth-graders were also involved with preparations for competitive middle-school entrance examinations, which do not include English as a subject. Some characteristics of the schools and grades can be noted as follows:

School B: The program is for third to sixth grades. Each grade consisted of two classes of 41 students. School B's teaching objective was for students to acquire such communicative skills as greeting, requesting, apologizing, and responding. A test was administered at the end of each trimester. Team-teachers, a paired Japanese and native speaking teacher with licenses to teach English, were employed. The school has a language laboratory (LL) facility for its English program.

School C: The program at School C is for fourth to sixth grades. Each grade consisted of two classes of 42 students. The teaching objective was to accustom students to English sounds and the use of simple vocabulary, at least to the extent that they do not regard English speaking or an English speaker as a curiosity. There was no test. The teacher, who had an intermediate level of Japanese, was a native speaker with a teaching license.

School D: The program at School D is for third grade to fifth. The single class in each grade consisted of 42 students. The teaching objective was that students "get used to foreigners," and learn simple vocabulary and socially functional sentences. There was no test relating to the objectives. The teacher, sent by an outside agency, was a native speaker without a teaching license and with little Japanese language skill.

The Observation Instrument

As Malamah-Thomas (1988) points out, use of language is highly observable, whereas learning is not, and talking is often equated with teaching in the hundreds of existing classroom observation instruments,

all of which she states are essentially adaptations, extensions or simplifications of the Flanders (1970) categories of Teacher Talk, Pupil Talk, and Other (p. 20).

The observation system employed, COLT, was derived from a mode of communicative competence and a review of current issues in language teaching. Spada, Frohlich and Allen (1985) found reliability of the COLT observation scheme for capturing differences in the communicative orientation of programs investigated. The COLT scheme takes into account the nine considerations for interactional analysis set forth by Long (1980): recording procedure (by category/frequency), kind of items (high/low inference), number of categories, multiple coding (same event, multiple categories), real time, focus (e.g. pedagogic, discourse), source(s) of variables, unit of analysis, and purpose (teacher training, research, or both).

The COLT scheme, designed to elucidate certain moves—units of discourse, consists of two parts. Both parts were developed to analyze classroom interaction. Part A categories are derived primarily from pedagogical issues in the communicative language teaching literature, and describe classroom instruction in terms of the types of activities that take place. The five major parameters, Activity, Participant Organization, Content, Student Modality, and Materials, and their subsections, are designed to measure the extent to which an instructional treatment may be characterized as communicatively oriented; with the primary focus on speaking and listening. Part B reflects issues in first and second language acquisition research, and describes the verbal interactions which take place within activities. Because of factors affecting elementary learning environments in general, and the Japanese in particular, a number of adjustments were made to the observation instrument. Anticipating that, because of the students extremely limited ability, their immaturity, and the low-motivation EFL setting, the learners could hardly be expected to exert any control over topics, and that the teachers would present mainly vocabulary and short sentences, the researcher abandoned the categories of Topic Control and Other Topics in the area of Content in order to attend to Management (subsuming Procedure and Discipline) and Language (embracing Form, Function, Discourse, and Sociolinguistics). In Part A the Use of Materials category was dispensed with for similar reasons.

Numerous other adjustments were made during the course of the observations. The decision to omit almost all of Part B came when it became evident that there was virtually no pupil-to-pupil contribution to target language instruction. As there were almost no interactions be-

tween groups or individuals, inside or outside a group, the only usable category from Part B was the use of the L1. Therefore, only Part A and this sole category from Part B were employed.

Understandably Japanese was the language spoken for interactions between learners; procedural explanations by teachers were, as expected, in Japanese. Furthermore, at one school all were taught in a team-teaching setting; in the others, the homeroom teacher occasionally helped to maintain discipline while the native English speaker was teaching, but in general observed silently or was out of the room. These differences suggested need for additional categories, so the following were added: in the major category of Content-Teacher to Teacher Interaction in Activity; Procedure or Discipline by the Japanese teacher, Procedure in Japanese, and Discipline in Japanese by the native English speaking; in Student Modality-Learners' Interactions in Japanese (see Appendix).

Procedures

Observation for each class was conducted once for the entire 45-minute class period by the researcher, who sat in a corner in the back of the classroom. The researcher did not interact with the pupils or teacher at any time during the class, largely because of the possibility of both the Hawthorne effect, wherein the results of an investigation are more closely related to the pleasure subjects feel at being included, and the halo effect, which involves responding positively to a liked person (Brown, 1988). For each three seconds of real time, the researcher coded what was happening in the classroom into one or more categories contained in the modified observation instrument. The entire lesson was audio taped for later confirmation of the on-line coding. After each class, the researcher asked the teacher(s) for comments on points noted to inquire about, both for that class and previous classes observed.

In an ongoing effort to question and reevaluate the reliability (Nunan, 1992) of data which had been collected under the discipline of attending the three-second time frames, when necessary and possible the researcher checked the coded entries, drawing on the audio taped record and the teachers' recollections. Four educators active in ELT in Japan independently rated the coding scheme and categories employed as good.

Results and Discussion

Classroom Observation: The data were obtained by calculating the percentage of classroom time spent on activities and pertaining to the individual categories under each of the other four major headings. The primary category checked during an activity always received credit for the entire length of time that activity lasted. For example, during an activity in which the teacher and students were interacting meaningfully, the occasional choral repetition of a word or phrase would not be counted although it was coded. Thus, only those categories which marked primary features of an activity are presented in the following tables. The tables present the average percentage of observation time, coded for various categories, spent by school or by grade.

Participant Organization

Percentages were calculated for the following categories: Whole Class, Group Work, Individual Seat Work, and the combination of Group Work/Individual Work. Whole Class is further subdivided into teacher interacting with an individual student or with the entire class (T-S/C), students interacting with the class or with other individual students while one central activity is going on (S-S/C), and Choral Work. The mean percentage of interaction time is shown in Table 1, and the mean percentage of observed time by grade appears in Table 2.

A considerable amount of whole-class interaction, with the teacher addressing either the whole class or individual students, as well as a substantial amount of choral work, was expected. An additional as-

Table 1

Participant Organization — Whole Class
Mean Percentage of Observed Interaction Time by School

| School | T-T | T-S/C | S-S/C | Choral | Group | Individual | Group/ Individual |
|--------|-----|-------|-------|--------|-------|------------|----------------------|
| B | 4% | 48% | 2.2% | 17.5% | 5.8% | 16% | 6.8% |
| C | 0% | 51% | 0% | 26% | 0.4% | 23% | 0% |
| D | 0% | 46% | 0% | 41% | 0% | 12% | 0% |

Note: T-T refers to interaction between teachers; T-S/C is between teacher or student/class; S-S/C is between students and class; Group/Individual is among group or combination of these.

Table 2

Participant Organization — Whole Class
Mean Percentage of Observed Interaction Time by Grade

| Grade | T-T | T-S/C | S-S/C | Choral | Group | Individual | Group/ Individual |
|----------|-----|-------|-------|--------|-------|------------|----------------------|
| School B | | | | | | | |
| 3 | 9% | 57% | 13% | 27% | 0% | 0% | 0% |
| 4 | 0% | 49% | 28% | 11% | 18% | 0% | 20% |
| 5 | 8% | 35% | 0% | 15% | 5% | 29% | 7% |
| 6 | 4% | 52% | 0% | 17% | 0% | 27% | 0% |
| School C | | | | | | | |
| 4 | 0% | 39% | 0% | 34% | 0% | 27% | 0% |
| 5 | 0% | 53% | 0% | 29% | 0% | 18% | 0% |
| 6 | 0% | 62% | 0% | 15% | 2% | 22% | 0% |
| School D | | | | | | | |
| 3 | 0% | 47% | 0% | 49% | 0% | 4% | 0% |
| 4 | 0% | 46% | 0% | 39% | 0% | 15% | 0% |
| 5 | 0% | 44% | 0% | 38% | 0% | 18% | 0% |

sumption was that instruction would center on vocabulary and a few structures, and to some extent employing realia.

The data supported these expectations to the extent that all the EFL programs were characterized by a considerable amount of whole-class interaction (see Tables 1 and 2). Briefly, the third grade at School B showed more whole-class interaction than other grades, with the fourth, fifth and sixth grades showing that some group, individual, or group/individual interaction was taking place during use of the Language Laboratory. At School C, all grades showed similar patterns, that is, input, oral practice, and reading or visual work. At School D, the pattern of interaction was clearer than at the other two schools, featuring mainly new input with some visual work and oral practice, primarily choral work, without any group activities.

Content: The Content parameter describes the subject matter of the activities, that is, what was being talked about, read, written about or listened to. These are as follows:

| | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| <i>Management</i> | <i>Other Topics</i> |
| Classroom procedures | Narrow range of reference |
| Disciplinary routines | Limited range of reference |
| | Broad range of reference |
| <i>Explicit Focus on Language</i> | <i>Topic Control</i> |
| Form | Control by teacher |
| Function | Control shared by teacher & student(s) |
| Discourse | Control by student |
| Sociolinguistics | |

As expected, the range of Other Topics was narrow, and Topic Control was by the teacher. Percentages were calculated for amount of time spent on Management and Language by school (see Table 3). At schools B and D, English was primarily spoken for Procedure and Discipline; however, at School C primarily Japanese was spoken for these two subcategories.

Table 3

Percentage of Management Time & Language

| <i>Table 3a: Percentage of Management</i> | | | | | |
|---|-------------|-------------|-----------|--------------|--------------|
| School | Procedure-E | Procedure-J | J-Teacher | Discipline-E | Discipline-J |
| B | 48% | 4% | 0% | 48% | 0% |
| C | 10% | 24% | 1% | 6.5% | 58% |
| D | 48% | 0% | 4% | 48% | 0% |

Note: E is English; J is Japanese.

| <i>Table 3b: Percentage of Language</i> | | | | |
|---|------|----------|-----------|------------------|
| School | Form | Function | Discourse | Sociolinguistics |
| B | 76% | 19% | 3% | 2% |
| C | 95% | 5% | 0% | 0% |
| D | 93% | 7% | 0% | 0% |

The subcategory Language shows that schools C and D focused primarily on form, consisting entirely of vocabulary with no grammar taught, and functions used in greetings as authentic interaction between the teachers and students. In School B substantial amounts of activities for form were seen, not only for vocabulary but also for such grammatical forms as third-person-singular -s. In addition, functions such as apologies and requests were practiced through classroom interaction and in

the language laboratory. The content of these activities was sometimes discourse or sociolinguistic features, or form with discourse and sociolinguistics. At School C, 58% of class time was devoted to management, Discipline in Japanese, and a further 24% in Japanese for Procedure, all by the native speaker of English. Schools B and D, however, were each able to limit the use of L1 in Management to 4%.

Student Modality: Student modality is defined by Spada et. al. (1985) as the particular skill or combination of skills involved in a classroom activity. The categories afford useful information about the amount of time devoted to the four skills; however, they provide no insight into how these skills are being developed or processed during the observation (Spada et al., 1985). As reported, the subcategory L1 was added as another parameter, in the hope of providing some insight into how students could followed the teachers and be remained involved without private talk with peers.

Table 4

Student Modality with L1

| School | Listening | Speaking | Reading | Writing | Others | L1 |
|--------|-----------|----------|---------|---------|--------|-----|
| B | 45% | 33% | 0% | 0% | 13% | 9% |
| C | 32% | 30% | 7% | 3% | 11% | 26% |
| D | 37% | 35% | 0% | 0% | 6% | 22% |

As the data show, the more the teacher spoke L1, the more the students used L1. School C and D, 26% and 22% respectively, showed a much greater amount of student time in L1 than School B (9%). This may be attributed to the absence of testing in those two schools, the teacher's predominant use of L1 in School C, and the teacher's inability to keep the pupils from talking to one another at School D.

Materials and Source: In the final categories, differences among the schools in Type and Source of Materials are presented. Materials were classified as Text, Audio, or Visual. As students were taught mainly vocabulary and short sentences, Text use was minimal, and therefore the subdivision Text was not considered.

The second category in Materials refers to the origin and purpose of the teaching materials used. Pedagogic materials are those designed for

L2/FL teaching and learning. Non-Pedagogic are those originally developed for some other use and presented as is. Semi-Pedagogic refers to non-pedagogic or authentic materials adapted for instructional purposes.

Table 5

Type of Materials

| School | Audio | Visual | Pedagogic | Semi-Pedagogic | Non-Pedagogic |
|--------|-------|--------|-----------|----------------|---------------|
| B | 11% | 20% | 12.5% | 88% | 19% |
| C | 0% | 36% | 55% | 1.3% | 1.3% |
| D | 0% | 47% | 45% | 8% | 0% |

Table 5 shows the mean percentage of Type of Materials and source of Materials by school. C and D schools used text materials but School B did not; in all schools visual materials predominate. However, an even more telling difference was found among the schools. Rather than use a textbook, the teachers at School B made their own original materials, drawing upon such authentic sources as "Sesame Street," realia, large flash cards, VTR, and utilizing a language laboratory. The ratio of audio to visual materials at School B was 35/65; at School C and D all materials were visual.

Table 6

Source of Materials

| School | Pedagogic | Semi-Pedagogic | Non-Pedagogic |
|--------|-----------|----------------|---------------|
| B | 18% | 55% | 27% |
| C | 85% | 13% | 2% |
| D | 85% | 15% | 0% |

The second category in Materials, Source, refers to the origin and purpose of the teaching materials. The data in Table 6 show that again there is a difference among the schools. Schools C and D used primarily pedagogic materials; published textbooks with pictures of vocabulary words for students to color. The semi-pedagogic materials at School B included a hand-made phonics board with eye-catching pictures, flash-cards for SVO structure, color cards for abstract vocabulary, VTR mate-

rials, and hand-made dolls. Schools C and D used ordinary published textbooks which show pictures to illustrate vocabulary words; the students were to color these.

Allocation of Time: The teachers at School B spent an average of 5.7 minutes on each activity and provided an average of 6.6 activities per lesson. At School C, the teacher averaged 7 minutes for each activity, with an average of 6 per lesson. At School D, the teacher spent 6.8 minutes on each activity, also averaging 6 per lesson. The teacher at C school used the least time for introduction, explanation or other actions unrelated to lessons, spending 42 minutes on actual activities during each 45-minute lesson. The teacher at School D spent 40.8 minutes on activities, although the number of the activities was the same as at School C. The teachers at School B spent 37.6 minutes on activities, allowing more than 7 minutes for greetings, introductions and explanations.

Interviews

Interviews were conducted with each principal and classroom teacher. Unlike the post-class coding confirmation sessions mentioned above, these focused on the overall rationale and objectives of the ELT program.

School B: The native speaker teacher insisted that she wanted the students to be comfortable within an English environment and enjoy learning English; the main emphasis would be, therefore, on listening to and understanding English while helping broaden their schematic knowledge; she also hoped that students would be able to use appropriate English in context. The Japanese teacher of English said that the primary objective for teaching English was to enable students to use and function in English, and that to evaluate how well this objective is being fulfilled, tests were conducted. "Grade-school kids are more quick to learn English than older pupils. Somehow, unlike, say, high school students I have taught, they do not adopt a negative attitude if they don't catch on right away." The principal, while expressing satisfaction with the program, voiced the need to keep improving it, and to expand to the lower grades. Out of an enrollment of approximately 480, there are about 100 students who are returnees; the Japanese teacher believes that their performance helps motivate their classmates, and reported that students have become more motivated since the arrival of the native speaking teacher.

School C: The native speaking teacher is apparently unsatisfied since her comments were mostly negative: she said she did not have enough

time to teach because the classes were often canceled; the school requires use of a textbook, although she does not like to use one; the school does not assess the English classes; there are perceptible differences in attitude and motivation, which she attributes to differences in class management by individual Japanese teachers; the Japanese teachers are often "not cooperative." (While the observation was being carried out, some Japanese teachers, mostly male, cooperated by helping to keep order by giving hand signals and offering verbal support, but others did not. They sat marking papers or left the room.)

The principal commented, "The English class itself is an extra class for students and the school provides the class for them to broaden their interest; therefore, a test is not necessary. Just as anywhere else in Japan, the higher the school grade, the less motivation for learning English students have because English is not a target subject for entrance examinations for junior high school." However, the principal voiced the belief that to learn English from a native speaking teacher would be helpful for enabling students to gain an "internationalized sense and understanding." (When asked, he did not explain what he meant by internationalization.) Only two returnees are accepted for each grade.

School D. The native speaking teacher reported that she had recently arrived in Japan and was contracted out to the school by an agency which told her that the teaching objective was to cover the textbook. The agency supplied a teacher's manual for her to follow. She stated that this was all she felt capable of doing. This teacher had learners repeat mechanically, and often seemed like a "shouting machine" when the room was noisy. The principal commented that the board of trustees had recommended English classes be offered in order for students to "have an internationalized mind and sense."

Conclusions

Although L2 listening and speaking combined took up 62% and 72% of class time at schools C and D respectively (See table 4, Student Modality), such activities as coloring and drawing seemed unchallenging; L2-unrelated pupil-pupil talk led in turn to the teacher's procedural or disciplinary use of the L1, all of which seemed to interfere with rather than to focus on the communicative use of the target language. Therefore, hypothesis 1 was not supported. Neither, at schools C or D, was hypothesis 7. Considering all the aural-oral activity going on, surprisingly little time was devoted to games or other semi-pedagogic activities. However, at School B almost all the class time was spent on both games and non-pedagogic

activities. The teachers at schools C and D, instead of giving pupils activities, introduced words and sentences in a lecture style. Then, they asked the pupils to repeat this new input, and went on to drill. It seems clear from this procedure that pupils were not given a chance to implement and explore learning strategies. They were expected to repeat what they were hearing or color what they were looking at.

Moreover, individuals, even where given a chance to answer the teacher, invariably chose to consult with their peers—in L1. Therefore, the pupils at schools C and D were not afforded opportunities to build intentionally and sequentially, through trial and error, learning strategies, metacognition, cognition or social elements (Bruner and Haste, 1987).

The findings consistently supported hypothesis 2: what was presented was mainly vocabulary and formulae. As question forms were not taught, the interaction was one-way, from teachers; the focus was on the forms alone rather than on form and meaning, so the process by which learners derive meaning and make it their own (Prabhu, 1987) was neglected.

The remaining hypotheses were also supported, with School B generally providing an exception. The context in all settings observed was immediate, but at School B hand-made props and realia were employed, enriching the context. Only a textbook and some handouts were used at schools C and D. The difference in materials prepared was immense; learners seemed to feel closer to the hand-made ones, which could be expected to result not only in their paying more attention in class (Prabhu, 1987), but also in easier internalization of input. Morgan (1993) suggests that "Where a message is too pre-packaged and securely and expertly delivered, perhaps it is too easily heard and dismissed rather than being internalized" (p. 73).

In support of hypothesis 4, it was found that L1 was used for classroom management, but the quantity and quality, when and what for and by whom, of L1 use varied. The use of L1 for Discipline not only means less input or listening practice in the target language, but also serves to encourage less attention to content, which would relate to less motivation (Ellis, 1990). Some students, the high input generators, are actively involved and, like a child, cause input to be directed at them by calling out or answering out of turn. Still other students, the low input generators, sit quietly but rarely and in some extreme cases never participate unless specifically asked to do so (Seliger, 1977, p. 26-7).

Hypothesis 5 was supported. More than half of the interaction was between teacher and whole class, strictly speaking between those pupils who were paying attention to the teacher or to classmates respond-

ing to one another rather than privately. This consisted of either the teacher addressing the pupils or the pupils answering in chorus—except at School B. Voluntary participation in class, related positively with pupils' motivation (Chaudron, 1988), was seen only at School B. The team teaching at School B gave examples of input through teacher-to-teacher interaction. Explanations in L1 by the Japanese teacher came only after pre-class discussion when he judged that the input to be given by the native speaking teacher was potentially incomprehensible. This helped pupils to become input generators, in accordance with the school's teaching policy. At schools C and D there appeared to be no notion of the value of getting learners to generate input.

Hypothesis 6 was consistently supported. At School B the teachers used a lot of horizontal repetitions in display forms of sentences and questions in order to elicit certain words/sentences from pupils:

Teacher: This is a yellow circle. That is [.....]?

Pupil : That is [a blue circle].

At School C the teacher checked learners' comprehension through display questions, as well as having them color the target words. Although display questions tend to produce only short answers which may result in less sense of communicative purpose and less motivational drive for using the target language (Chaudron, 1988), they were used primarily in drills to check comprehension and output. At all the schools, teachers copiously used display questions themselves, yet none taught the question forms to enable learners to ascertain the meaning.

Based on the desiderata set forth by Ellis (1985) the teachers at School B can be considered to be practitioners of the "learning to use English" version of Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) as they provided activities which simulated spoken language use. Their counterparts at schools C and D appeared to be attempting the "use English to learn it" version. However, having pupils repeat variants of "this is a triangle" hardly appears communicative, and arguably violates the "use English to learn it" principle that input needs to model language that the learners are to acquire.

The withholding of reading and writing, along with the sparseness of the language data (vocabulary, formulae) presented, was in accordance with the minimize-input, maximize-practice principle (Paul, 1992) advocated for the early stages of communicative learning. However, this is not like the way one learns L1, going through errors, trials, and strat-

egy building in stages which are intentional and sequential (Bruner and Haste, 1987). To unnecessarily shield young learners from such trials—which to them need not be tribulations—is not only to handicap them but is also a waste of the opportunities afforded by the critical period (Lenneberg, 1967), during which it is believed that learning an L2 with L1 methods may enable one to achieve native-like competence. Withholding reading and writing may well be cast in a negative light by empirical research showing that, contrary to the usual oral-skills-first dictum in L2 learning, students from the kanji countries (i.e., where Chinese characters are employed in the L1) tend to learn more quickly by writing (Ellis, 1990).

Further, and by no means least, contributing to the impoverishment of the input was the use of the L1 for class management at schools C and D. To varying degrees, the classroom teachers, whether aware of it or not, seem to be following a product-oriented syllabus, although at School B pupils seem to be making progressive gains in skills for handling information and strategies for going through interactions and procedures which are characteristic of a process-oriented syllabus (Nunan, 1988).

What was observed at all three schools reflects planned Ministry of Education reforms, which, according to Juppe (1993), have been delivered nationwide and are up to individual private schools to implement. Given the youth of the learners and the still evolving conception of what using a foreign language is all about, the instruction, of necessity, fell far short of the “strong” version of communicative language teaching: 100 percent of class in the L2.

The statements of aims by the principals, together with the respective criteria for teacher selection, training and assignment, reveal naive beliefs about communication. These appear to include the uncritical perception of (L2) native speakers as founts of communicative competence and of dedicated team-teacher pairs as formulators of valid, attainable goals, such as those found at School B. While Smith (1993) finds potential value in contextualized explorations being made by teams such as that observed at School B, the elementary schools observed have no evident feedback mechanism for the modification of goals and strategies.

Where goals are not clear, teaching (including methods and testing), choosing materials, and teacher training are all less effective. Individual teachers, no matter how well educated, experienced, and personable, suffer in the absence of clear goals. Some may impose their own, which may not necessarily harmonize with their learners’ best interests; others may tolerate working with ad hoc day-to-day or even moment-to-moment goals. In either case the learners may well be wondering where it will all lead to.

The inconsistency of teaching goals, even of such broadly based objectives as those outlined above, may well betray an uneasiness as to the extent to which the tenets of CLT are valid for Japanese learners. Too often teaching appears only to serve the needs of teachers and institutions, as borne out by the frequent scene of learners talking in the L1, with the teacher switching from the L2 to the L1 to maintain discipline—as is abundantly evident in the present study. Further, the lockstep context maintained, especially at schools C and D, seems to indicate that the parties involved are indiscriminately using L2 and L1. What is needed for improvement is new perceptions of L2 teaching and learning, perceptions that arise out of a firmer grounding in L2 acquisition, particularly as undertaken by Japanese-L1 learners.

The present study is a private, not an institutional, undertaking. The researcher's access to the settings and persons involved "was entirely dependent on the goodwill and hospitality of teachers and administrators" (Rohlen, 1983, p. x). Unlike much of the Western world, involvement of the community in instruction is almost non-existent in Japan. Even in grade school, pupils are preoccupied with advancing up the ladder to "better" schools and have no call to empathize with the presence, let alone the needs, of anyone outside their circle of family, teachers, and peers. The host schools trusted the researcher, after (a) having been appropriately introduced, to enter their premises, and (b) to complete the on-site labors as independently and unobtrusively as possible. None of the schools were a direct "stakeholder" in the research findings. This is not to say that the researcher was operating in a vacuum of detached unconcern. The study was conducted to gather observations for use in the training of future teachers, as well as data to serve as a base for further research.

As private institutions which, over years and even decades, have voluntarily offered English, the elementary schools investigated in the present study can not be taken as typical. However, unless such basics as curriculum, class size, teacher qualifications and behavior, and age of initial L2 instruction undergo substantial change, it is expected that replication of the study will yield similar findings. Future researchers might consider making "stakeholders" out of the school personnel and even the pupils by drawing their attention to such variables as how much of the L2 is being taught and learned, how often both teachers and pupils are uttering the L2 communicatively and more.

The author would like to thank Dr. James D. Brown, University of Hawaii at Manoa, Dr. Gladys Valcourt, Temple University Japan, William Kumai and Susan Scott for their comments on earlier drafts of this paper, and Jack Yohay for his help with this manuscript.

Kyoko Suwa, M.Ed. in TESOL from Temple University Japan, was a research student at Osaka University. She currently teaches at Kyoto Tachibana Women's University and Soai Women's Junior College.

References

- Allwright, D (1988). *Observation in the language classroom*. London: Longman.
- Brown, J. D. (1988). *Understanding research in second language learning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bruner, J. and Haste, H. (Eds.). (1987). Introduction. In *Making sense: The child's construction of the world* (pp. 1-26). London: Methuen.
- Chaudron, C. (1988). *Second language classrooms*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cohen, A. (1987). Using verbal reports in research on language learning. In Faerch, C. and Cook, V. (1991). *Second language learning and language teaching*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Ellis, R. (1985). *Understanding second language acquisition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ellis, R. (1990). *Instructed second language acquisition*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Firth, R. (1961). *Elements of social organization*. Boston: Beacon.
- Flanders, N. A. (1970). *Analyzing teaching behavior*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Gaies, S. (1983). The investigation of language classroom processes. *TESOL Quarterly*, 17, 205-218.
- Implementation of English teaching at elementary schools. (1992, March 7). *Nihon Kyoiku Shinbun* [Japan Education News], p. 1.
- Juppe, R. (1993). Plotting a course for foreign language education. *Team Teaching Bulletin*, 1(3), 18-20.
- Lenneberg, E. E. (1967). *Biological foundations of language*. New York: Wiley & Sons.
- Long, M. H. (1980). Inside the 'black box': Methodological issues in classroom research on language learning. *Language Learning*, 30(1), 1-42.
- Malamah-Thomas, A. (1988). *Classroom interaction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Morgan, C. (1993). Attitude change and foreign language culture learning. *Language Teaching*, 26, 63-75.
- Nunan, D. (1988). *The learner-centered curriculum*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Nunan, D. (1992). *Research methods in language learning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Nunan, D. (1993). Action research: What, how, and why? *The Language Teacher*, 17(8), 15-18.
- Paul, D. (1992). Training Japanese children to be active learners. *The Language Teacher*, 16(8), 13-14.
- Prabhu, N. S. (1987). *Second language pedagogy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Richards, J., Platt, J. & Weber, H. (1985). *Longman dictionary of applied linguistics*. Burnt Mill: Longman.
- Rohlen, T. P. (1983). *Japan's high schools*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.
- Rost, M. (1990). *Listening in language learning*. New York: Longman.
- Seliger, H. W. (1977). Does practice make perfect? A study of interaction patterns and L2 competence. *Language Learning*, 27, 263-278.
- Smith, R. (1993) Contents and activities in team teaching: Lessons from observation. *Team Teaching Bulletin*, JALT Team-Teaching N-SIG, 1(3), 22-24.
- Spada, N., Frohlich, M. & Allen, P. (1985). Differences in the communicative orientation of L2 Classrooms. *TESOL Quarterly*, 19(1), 27-57.
- Van Lier, L. (1988). *The classroom and the learner*. London: Longman.
- Watson-Gegeo, K. A. (1988). Ethnography in ESL: Defining the essentials. *TESOL Quarterly*, 22(4), 575-592.

A Call for TOEIC® Research

The Test of English for International Communication (TOEIC) is an English language proficiency test for nonnative speakers of English. Organizations around the world use TOEIC to evaluate the English ability of their employees. The TOEIC test is produced by Educational Testing Service (ETS), a not-for-profit, private corporation located in Princeton, New Jersey. ETS prepares and administers a variety of academic and vocational tests and is a leading center for educational measurement research.

In an effort to continue providing quality research for the TOEIC test and related services, ETS has formed a Research Committee to establish and direct a program of TOEIC research. The Technical Panel of the TOEIC Research Committee is pleased to invite research proposals in the following areas: score interpretation, natural language use, curriculum development, innovative response formats, and definition of language constructs. Proposals will be considered on an ongoing basis.

Organizations or individuals interested in receiving additional information about the research agenda or the procedures for submitting funding proposals for related research should contact:

TOEIC Research Committee
Institute for International Business Communication (IIBC)
TOEIC Steering Committee
Sanno Grand Building
2-14-2 Nagata-cho, Chiyoda-ku
Tokyo 100, Japan
FAX 03-3581-5608



Copyright © 1994 by Educational Testing Service. All rights reserved.

EDUCATIONAL TESTING SERVICE, ETS, the ETS logo, TOEIC, and TEST OF ENGLISH FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION are registered trademarks of Educational Testing Service.

Research Forum

Gender, Japanese Pronouns and Social Change: A Preliminary Investigation

Steven Brown

University of Pittsburgh

Peng (1973) reported that Japanese female and male junior high school students used different pronoun address systems. His study was replicated, with modifications, in 1993 at a women's junior high school. This newer study found evidence of language change in pronoun use, with current women students feeling comfortable using previously "male" speech.

ジェンダー、日本語の代名詞、社会変化についての予備的考察

Peng(1973)は日本人の中学生が性別によって異なった人称システムを用いていることを報告した。この研究は、Pengの調査を一部改訂して1993年にある女子中学校で再度実施したものである。この研究は、代名詞の使用法に変化が起きていること、女子中学生が「男ことば」を使うことに抵抗を持っていないことを明らかにした。

One of the first things a foreigner learning Japanese as a second or foreign language is told is that there are separate "languages" for men and women. This difference has been explored in a rich sociolinguistic tradition of language and gender studies (c.f. Ide, 1982; Ide, Hori, Kawasaki, Ikuta, & Haga, 1986; Ide & McGloin, 1990; Shibamoto, 1985; Smith, 1992; Takahara, 1991).

Smith (1992), in reviewing the literature, finds two main explanations for the differential in male and female speech. The first is the comparatively low status of women in Japan. As Kramer (1975) put it in her study of American address forms, "The asymmetry in address forms points to one way that asymmetry in social rights is reflected and maintained" (p. 209). Ide (1982) sees this asymmetry from a different angle,

claiming that "owing to their label-less status in society" women "by using honorifics, markers of good demeanor, ... try to impress others as being a member of a prestige group" (p. 382). Smith's second explanation finds the differential in the two domains men and women frequent. In Ide et.al.'s (1986) formulation, "men most frequently engaged in interactions in the domains of employment, while women most often engaged in sociable interactions in private domains" (p. 35). This suggests that as women enter the workplace, linguistic change may well follow.

Yet, if language can be shown to be in flux at a point before women join either domain, social or private, it would seem that the argument for differentiation based on status would be supported. Research using a comparative-historical perspective within micro-sociolinguistic analyses could show how language is situated in time and how much it has changed or is changing. A comparative-historical view would also require us to look at different domains within Japanese culture to see where change is occurring and where it is not.

Despite the general interest in Japanese language and gender, little research has been done on an everyday marker of gender difference in language: the male and female pronouns in Japanese. The exception is Peng (1973), who used interviews and questionnaire data in a survey of junior high school students in Tokyo to investigate pronoun usage. Junior high school was chosen as the domain to study because it marks the end of compulsory education and thus provides a wider sample than would be possible later. Peng did his research at three different junior high schools, each one in a different socio-economic area. One hundred and eighty-seven questionnaires (out of 275 given out) were deemed complete enough to analyze. Of the pronouns, only "atakushi" was not investigated; it was not included among the pronouns commonly used by junior high school students (p. 37).

Peng found that first-person pronouns "show complete complementation, in that the male subjects do not use a form that can also be used by the female students and vice versa." Second-person pronouns "show partial complementation; some of these words are shared by both sexes but some others cannot be so shared." Hearer's sex, age and relative status "seem to influence significantly the speaker's choice of a pronoun" (p. 38).

As Paulston (1976) pointed out, pronoun selection can give an interesting window on social change, with linguistic changes following from the social. Much has changed in the twenty years since Peng's study. If we find a different pattern of pronoun use in Japan today, we might

argue that this new pattern mirrors a change (or at least the beginnings of a change) in male/female relationships.

The Study

Because it is the change in women's roles and the subsequent change in their language that is of interest, a women's junior high school was selected for study. Admittedly, this was a convenience sample and some would argue that little can be generalized from it. Peng's sample was not representative of Japan at large either. The school selected is a Christian-affiliated junior high on a campus that also contains a high school and a college with both two- and four-year programs. The school is in the prefectural (indeed regional) capital of an agricultural area known for its conservatism. This conservatism can be seen as part of the argument: if linguistic change is in evidence in a conservative area, it is likely to be seen in the rest of society. A liberal area would not be generalizable in the other direction. The women surveyed are part of a student body of middle- to upper-middle class women who represent a well-off population not known for its cultural radicalism.

The questionnaire took its categories and pronouns from Peng's results, with one exception. Peng found that a large number (66.3%) of female respondents omitted second-person pronouns. Because the variable of interest was the pronouns that are used, my questionnaire substituted "other" for "omitted" and gave a space for comments. Respondents could choose as many "correct" answers as they wished.

Self-report data is notoriously difficult to interpret. An open-ended role play was added to the questionnaire to elicit pronouns in context and to look at the omission of pronouns. A situation revolving around a violation of norms of punctuality was constructed. The respondent was to write a dialog in which she spoke to a friend who had kept her waiting so long that the two of them had missed the beginning of a movie they planned to see together. This situation was chosen because it was hypothesized that, because the Japanese dislike tardiness, the speaker's imagined anger would elicit rougher, less polite, more "male" speech.

A total of 107 third-year (ninth grade) students were surveyed in their home rooms; the questionnaire was in Japanese. The students were asked, "Which pronoun would you use when speaking to the following people?" The people listed were male/female *senpai* (elder), male/female in the same grade and male/female *kobai* (junior).

Definitions

Japanese, when speaking, must assess the relative social importance of the hearer as well as assess his or her age in order to choose the correct pronoun to use. Japanese can also choose to omit the pronoun entirely. It is, however, "the distinction between male and female speech ... [which is], for Japanese, second in sociolinguistic importance only to the distinction between adult and child speech" (Shibamoto, 1985, p. 53). Not only pronouns, but post-positions, verb endings and honorific expressions are differentially used by men and women in Japan. Ide (1982) provides this table, with descending order (most polite to least) and asterisks indicating relative politeness (p. 358; her romanization has been kept):

| | Men's Speech | Women's Speech |
|-------------------|--------------------------------------|--|
| a.) first person | watakusi** watasi* boku ore | watakusi** atakusi* watasi atashi |
| b.) second person | anata kimi omae | anata anta |

The traditional sociological categories of status, power and age are thoroughly intertwined in the case of Japanese schools. In schools, age is position and power. Everyone has a *senpai*, a superior, and a *kohai*, a subordinate. Even seniors have *senpai*, those who graduated before them. (Rohlen, 1983, p. 190).

Results and Discussion

The complete results are reported in the Appendix, in percentages, with Peng's data on the left and mine on the right in parentheses.

Data analysis presented a number of problems. Because respondents could select more than one pronoun as appropriate, statistical assumptions of independence of observations were not satisfied. This would not have presented an insurmountable problem if the percentages could have been seen as scores and means compared. Because this was a preliminary study, the best solution seemed to be to present the data descriptively, in percentages, let the numbers speak for themselves and perhaps reconsider the design of the questionnaire to make it easier to analyze.

The first thing that is clear from the comparison of 1973 and 1993 data is while no female respondents found "*boku*" or "*ore*" acceptable in 1973, small numbers of women felt free to use these "male" pronouns today, particularly with their same sex/same age peers (1.87% for "*boku*," 4.67% for "*ore*"). They also find these pronouns acceptable when speaking to young men of the same and of lower status. Though "*ore*" was acceptable, no one felt "*boku*" was an option when speaking to female *kobai*. Neither pronoun was acceptable for anyone of higher status.

For second person pronouns, "*omae*" is now considered acceptable for speaking to all but people of higher status and, curiously again, women *kobai*. "*Omae*" has been considered a "male" pronoun. Men use it typically to people of lower status: to younger people or to wives/partners. It can also "be used by older women to address children and pets" though its use even by older women "is very restricted" (Shibamoto, 1985, p. 56). Perhaps it is the masculine nature of the pronoun that makes its use inappropriate when speaking to younger women. Perhaps it is thought best to make an extra effort to be "ladylike" when speaking to one's *kobai*, to be a good example. Why, then, is "*omae*" acceptable when speaking to a male in the same grade (5.6%) or lower grade (4.67%) and to a same sex/same age peer (8.41%)? Follow-up interviews would make this clearer. What is clear is that Japanese junior high school women feel comfortable using language formerly used exclusively by men.

Also evident from the data is an increased casualness. The number of women saying they use "*watakushi*," the most polite form of "I," has decreased while the number using "*anta*," the most casual exclusively "female" pronoun, has increased in all cases. This might be seen as part of an increased sense of equality in Japan, or it might simply reflect adolescent usage that disappears with maturity.

Indeed, the extent to which all of these results may be attributed to the culture of junior high school is an open question. Reynolds (1990, pp. 140-141) notes in passing a rise in young women using "*boku*" in conversations inside school culture, but claims that they code-switch when speaking to people outside school. Reynolds suggests that this is done to equalize a situation in which young women and men are competing for grades. Yet this increased use of "male" pronouns has been documented here in an all-women school. She also asks whether their "rebellious behavior" might be part of adolescence, abandoned when they graduate.

There was some confusion in responses to the second-person question. Twenty-one respondents wrote words like "*sumimasen*," "*ano*," and "*nee*" under "other." These words are equivalent to "Excuse me."

These respondents were apparently unclear whether they were being asked which word they used to address people or whether they were being asked which word they use to catch people's attention. This might reflect confusion over the appropriateness of the second-person pronoun. Peng found that about two-thirds of his women respondents omitted second-person pronouns. Perhaps these 1993 respondents could not imagine using these pronouns and thought that the researcher must mean something else. This is another area that would be interesting to follow up with interviews.

The questionnaire also asked the students to write a dialog responding to this prompt (both the prompt and response were written in Japanese):

You were going to meet your friend. You were going to see a movie together. Your friend came late, so you couldn't see the movie. Write a conversation scolding your friend for coming late.

Of interest was the omission of pronouns. Indeed, only ten respondents (.09%) included any pronoun in their dialog. One respondent included two instances of "*anta*" and underlined both, suggesting she had been primed by the questions above. Of the eleven pronouns included, there were eight instances of "*anta*," two of "*watashi*," and one of "*omae*." The significance of the fact that more pronouns were omitted in this study (99.91%) than in Peng's (66.3%) is unclear. It probably has to do with the nature of the task; Peng asked only for judgments, soliciting no production of language. This once again shows that more than one method of data collection is necessary to get a complete picture of language use.

Conclusion

Despite its preliminary nature, this study does suggest that linguistic data mirrors social change. Japanese society is different today than it was twenty years ago and women's speech is adapting to it (Smith, 1992), apparently at a relatively early age and in a non-co-educational school domain. Some young women who answered my questions are not as gender-bound as their elders. They accept, at least for now, use of "men's" speech by women. Perhaps they feel, or will feel, more comfortable in "men's" roles than their elders. What seems to be clear, given the still small numbers of these women, is that the process of social change is slow.

Gender is not the only place where change has been felt in Japan. Other studies might look at changes within different areas of society, such as in parent/child or employer/employee relationships, to view the fit between societal change and language. Is language mirroring change, running ahead of it, or trailing behind? In these studies, as well, an historical, comparative approach to language and gender studies would prove useful.

Thanks to Christina Bratt Paulston, Marc Helgesen and Robin Guenzel for comments on and support of this project.

Steven Brown teaches and trains teachers at the English Language Institute, University of Pittsburgh, and has co-authored several textbook series.

References

- Ide, S. (1982). Japanese sociolinguistics: Politeness and women's language. *Lingua*, 57, 357-385.
- Ide, S. & McGloin, N.H. (Eds.). (1990). *Aspects of Japanese women's language*. Tokyo: Kurocio Publishers.
- Ide, S. Hori, M., Kawasaki, A. Ikuta, S. & Haga, H. (1986). Sex differences and politeness in Japanese. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 58, 25-36.
- Kramer, C. (1975). Sex-related differences in address systems. *Anthropological Linguistics*, 17, 198-210.
- Paulston, C.B. (1976). Pronouns of address in Swedish: Social class semantics and a changing system. *Language in Society*, 5, 359-386.
- Peng, F.C.C. (1973). La parole of Japanese pronouns. *Language Sciences*, 25, 36-39.
- Reynolds, K.A. (1990). Female speakers of Japanese in transition. In S. Ide & N.H. McGloin (Eds.), *Aspects of Japanese women's language*. (pp. 129-146). Tokyo: Kurocio Publishers.
- Rohlen, T. P. (1983). *Japan's high schools*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Shibamoto, J.S. (1985). *Japanese women's language*. Orlando: Academic Press.
- Smith, J.S. (1992). Women in charge: Politeness and directives in the speech of Japanese women. *Language in Society*, 21, 59-82.
- Takahara, K. (1991). Female speech patterns in Japanese. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 92, 61-85.

Appendix

First person

| | <i>kimi</i> | <i>omae</i> | <i>anata</i> | <i>anta</i> | omit/other |
|----------------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|------------|
| male <i>senpai</i> | 0 (0.9) | 0 (0) | 15 (5.6) | 0 (0.9) | 83 (26.17) |
| female <i>senpai</i> | 0 (0.9) | 0 (0) | 12 (3.74) | 0 (0.9) | 86 (26.17) |
| male same yr. | 7 (3.74) | 0 (5.6) | 34 (14.95) | 2 (25.23) | 68 (23.36) |
| female same yr. | 0 (5.6) | 0 (8.41) | 34 (14.95) | 5 (27.1) | 59 (23.36) |
| male <i>kobai</i> | 26 (12.15) | 0 (4.67) | 11 (12.15) | 2 (11.21) | 56 (21.5) |
| female <i>kobai</i> | 0 (7.48) | 0 (0) | 48 (16.82) | 6 (7.48) | 46 (21.5) |

Second person

| | <i>boku</i> | <i>ore</i> | <i>watashi</i> | <i>atashi</i> | omit/other |
|----------------------|-------------|------------|----------------|---------------|------------|
| male <i>senpai</i> | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 59 (83.2) | 9 (1.87) | 9 (1.87) |
| female <i>senpai</i> | 0 (0.9) | 0 (0) | 62 (82.2) | 8 (1.87) | 6 (1.87) |
| male same yr. | 0 (0.9) | 0 (1.87) | 52 (61.7) | 4 (0) | 0 (1.87) |
| female same yr. | 0 (5.6) | 0 (4.67) | 51 (64.5) | 5 (3.74) | 0 (2.8) |
| male <i>kobai</i> | 0 (0.9) | 0 (1.87) | 60 (68.2) | 3 (0) | 0 (9) |
| female <i>kobai</i> | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 62 (65.4) | 8 (0) | 7 (2.8) |

Peng, 1973 (author, 1993)

Reviews

Review Essay: The Place of Literature in English Language Study

Literature and Language Teaching. Christopher J. Brumfit & Ronald A. Carter. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986. xii + 289 pp.

Literature in the Language Classroom: A Resource Book of Ideas and Activities. Joanne Collie & Stephen Slater. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987 (Cambridge Handbooks for Language Teachers series). 266 pp.

Teaching Literature. Ronald Carter & Michael N. Long. Harlow, England: Longman, 1991 (Longman Handbooks for Language Teachers series). viii + 200 pp.

Literature and Language Teaching: A Guide for Teachers and Trainers. Gillian Lazar. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1993 (Cambridge Teacher Training and Development series). xiv + 267 pp.

Reviewed by

Charles B. Wordell
Nanzan University

The goal of language study in the Western tradition of education was, for centuries, the ability to understand and translate the literature of other cultures, initially the classics of Greece and Rome, and later the great works written in non-European and modern European languages. A shift occurred after World War II, however, initiated by the behaviorists who had developed intensive language programs during the war, and continued by adherents of the communicative school of language instruction. Presently, English for communication and for specific purposes are the two most common forms of instruction practiced by those trained in EFL techniques. Rivers (1981, rev. of 1968 1st ed.) states that, if the educational goal is instruction in culture, students are better advised to read works of literature in translation. The grammar-translation method falls short with ordinary students, she writes, because it neglects communication skills such as accurate pronunciation and intonation: "Average students have to work hard at what they consider laborious and monotonous chores...without much feeling of progress in the mastery of the language and with very little opportunity to express them-

selves through it" (p. 31). Blatchford's 1972 article expressed this theme succinctly in its title—"ESOL and Literature: A Negative View."

Simultaneously in Britain, a tradition developed which used linguistic analysis to deal with literature, based to a large extent on Leech (1969), *A Linguistic Guide to English Poetry*. This approach, termed stylistics, was broadened by Widdowson (1975) to encompass EFL instruction in *Stylistics and the Teaching of Literature*. American authors also contributed landmark works, such as Marckwardt's 1978 volume, *The Place of Literature in the Teaching of English as a Second or Foreign Language*; however there are few signs that American research has penetrated to British scholars, as is evidenced by an examination of the bibliographies of the four books under consideration in this review. (This may not be parochialism. During the past decade, only a handful of articles on literature instruction have appeared in *TESOL Quarterly*.)

Brumfit and Carter's (1986) *Literature and Language Teaching* fits distinctly into this tradition, and subsequent to its publication a large number of practical and theoretical books have appeared whose titles contain combinations of the key words "literature" and "language." It has a pivotal position and is cited and quoted in the three practical works under review; thus it is included here, although published eight years ago. The review will discuss those articles which bear most on the teacher handbooks.

Literature is a subspecies of EFL instruction, and in Brumfit and Carter's work it is a speculative one. Because many of the articles are theoretical, the book is instructive rather than satisfying. These are works in progress, prologues to teaching literature rather than prescriptions. As the editors point out in the preface, "[C]lassroom developments cannot proceed before key theoretical and practical issues are identified and debated" (ix). The editors do just that, dividing the book into four sections: introduction, theoretical issues, literature in the classroom, and the intensive/extensive reading debate.

The first of two introductory essays, English Literature and English Language, makes four theoretical points, establishing them as guidelines which most of the subsequent articles adhere to and which may be used to judge other writing in the field. Point one is that stylistic analysis should underlie both the creation of activities for the EFL literature classroom and the analytical tools given to students. The second is that "literary language" is not a distinct variety of English. The third point raised has to do with the nature of literary discourse. Ordinary discourse usually serves a practical function, refers to objects in the real world, is unambiguous, uses appropriate syntax, and does not

call attention to the text, which serves as background. The function of literary discourse, however, is delight. It refers to objects in the literary text itself, is often ambiguous, places no limits on syntax, and often calls attention to the way the text is constructed. When literary discourse is representational, it is so in the way a painting is—the object of literature gives writers opportunity to employ their art. The final theoretical point is that literature cannot be divorced from culture, so the “norms and expectations” of a culture have to be taught if they are to be used in making sense of literature.

The second half of the introduction discusses the place of literature in the language classroom. In a well-reasoned discussion, the editors advise that the literary syllabus have two stages: “The first stage will be concerned with enabling students to ‘experience’ literature; the second will enable them to describe, explain, or otherwise ‘account for’ the experience” (p. 31). The main implications are that students must be trained in reading, and teachers must select texts which will maximize opportunities for student response. The introduction concludes with the assertion that literature is literature: it should be taught for itself and not for the purpose of instruction in either language or culture.

Part One of the book, *Literature and Language*, begins with Michael N. Long’s, *A Feeling for Language*, in which he gives a method of reading and discussing literature in class which employs intensive questioning as an “aid to response”: “[T]he questions are not random, and are not formulated merely to practise structure...but to assist the reader towards a simple evaluation of the reason for a particular combination of words, and an appreciation of their special quality” (p. 45). Long, who collaborated with Carter to produce one of the practical books under review, gives a good model lesson plan which can easily be adapted to other fiction for in-class use. A schematic figure showing the relative responsibilities of student and teacher (p. 55) indicates that teacher preparation time will be quite long. Students go through a process which leads to a “creative response”: first they answer questions in a “verbal response,” then undertake a group “activity response,” and finally experience an “individual response to the text” (p. 57).

The next article, Graham Tregrove’s, *What Is Robert Graves Playing at?*, discusses registers—language varieties found, for example, in prayers, political speeches, corporate reports, and congratulatory statements. Poetry, he states, gives good examples, and knowledge of registers contributes to the reading of poetry. Continuing this theme of sensitivity to language, Walter Nash’s, *The Possibilities of Paraphrase*, argues that paraphrases of proverbs and poems can: (a) explicate, (b)

demonstrate the achievement of literature, and (c) be used as a basis for the discussion of literature. Unfortunately, Nash does not make it clear whether he has tested these recommendations in the classroom.

On the other hand, Michael H. Short and Christopher Candlin's article, *Teaching Study Skills for English Literature*, does report actual practice. It describes a series of courses they gave for college teachers of EFL and EFL literature which focused on stylistic analysis, reading, and curriculum design. Short and Candlin are in theoretical agreement with the editors, and the article reflects, in miniature, the contents of the book. However, the analytical methods put forward are not necessarily guides for classroom practice. The authors state, for example, that stylistic analysis is an invaluable tool for teachers, "but this does not necessarily mean that such methods of analysis should be automatically passed on unfiltered (or even at all!) to the pupils" (p. 94).

Co-editor Ronald Carter's *Linguistic Models, Language, and Literariness*, continues the book's emphasis upon linguistics as a source of analytical tools for EFL students of literature. However, once theoretical allegiance is affirmed, Carter presents "language teaching strategies" for use with literature that are taken from standard language learning activities: prediction, cloze, summary, debating, interpretation, and rewriting. He gives evidence that many activities had been used successfully by students, yet the "linguistic model for narrative structure" which Carter next introduces—based on an analysis of Black English developed by the American sociolinguist Labov (1972)—seems far too technical for use with most students. The text Carter uses to illustrate his method does not fill several of the categories derived from Labov, reinforcing the feeling that he is speculating rather than advising.

Henry Widdowson, in *The Untrodden Ways*, presents an admirable method of teaching lyric poems. However, depending as it does on sophisticated knowledge on the part of the teacher, the method seems to be more suited to lecture presentation than preparing for Widdowson's avowed goal, "to set up conditions whereby students can infer their own [interpretations]" (p. 139).

Braj B. Kachru, a champion of the validity of non-native varieties of English, recommends the study of Non-native Literatures in English, warning that choice of texts will be governed by variety (e.g., Singaporean, Indian, or Nigerian English) and register (whether the English represents a specific caste, religion, or professional occupation). Extracts from literary works, on the other hand, may be very poor sources of instructional materials, as Guy Cook argues in *Texts, Extracts, and Stylistic Texture*.

The second part of the book, *Literature in Education*, is an attempt by the editors to “examine a number of key educational issues that arise when we attempt to teach literature in the schools” (p. 169). The first article in the section, *Is Literature Language? or is Language Literature?*, deals with native speakers studying literature in England at the secondary level. Authors S. J. Burke and C. J. Brumfit consider that the valuable aspects of literature are best communicated “by treating it as a completely separate subject area from English language” (p. 173). This short piece is puzzling because, apart from the fact that it does not treat EFL instruction, it does not make much of a case for literature in the language classroom. It is one of five pieces written or co-authored by Brumfit, none of them appearing for the first time here. Although this article (as well as the other Brumfit pieces) is relevant to the general drift of the book, fresh articles written specifically for the book would probably have been more effective and valuable.

William T. Littlewood’s article, *Literature in the Foreign-Language Course*, unlike most of the writing in the book, is tightly focused and leaves the reader with a memorable message. He ranks “perspectives on literature” in order of increasing difficulty: language, style, plot, theme, and literary significance—perspectives which affect both the selection of texts and language teaching methodology.

Sandra McKay’s, *Literature in the ESL Classroom*, offers further advice for instructors. She balances arguments against literature in ESL classes with its benefits. Once the decision to teach literature is made, McKay advises selecting books from literature for young adults or books whose themes readers can identify with. McKay divides reading skills into “efferent” (bearing away or reading for practical purposes) and “aesthetic” (reading for pleasure), noting that teaching techniques must reflect this division. In particular, she feels that language related activities should be undertaken only in so far as they contribute to the experience of aesthetic reading. For example, she emphasizes that factual questions about a literary passage are an imposition of efferent responsibilities upon a text designed for aesthetic appreciation. Similarly, drawing distinctions in tense use—an activity which is possible in a passage McKay has selected—is unwise because such a contrast was far from the intention of the author. However, exploring politeness levels in the passage is valid because the author used these distinctions to signal the backgrounds and motivations of the characters. Likewise, students may be encouraged to state their opinions about characters in a passage, or to put themselves into the story and state what they would do.

Testing Language with Students of Literature in ESL Situations, by J. P.

Boyle, is a rich source of ideas for making tests with integrative as well as discrete-point questions (17 are listed). However, some exercises seem only tenuously related to literature (e.g., showing a picture of the Mona Lisa and asking students to describe the face), while others seem terribly difficult (e.g., under listening tests Boyle cites a 10-line poem by Yeats and suggests that students be asked to explain a key metaphor). The most telling shortcoming of the article is that there is no clear evidence that Boyle has used any of the recommended exercises—all are described using *can* or *would* verb forms, and no comments on results are given.

The final section of the book, *Fluent Reading Versus Accurate Reading*, is perhaps the least successful. The first three articles, all reprints, discuss two strategies for testing literature in East Africa—one by focusing on a few important works, the other by encouraging students to read widely from lists of books with common themes.

The next chapter, a reprint of Brumfit's 1979 article, "Wider Reading for Better Reading," does fit the topic of "fluent reading" better than the earlier chapters. However, the program described was created for British secondary school students, and is suggestive rather than definitive so far as EFL students are concerned. Like this reprint, the book's final article, G. D. Pickett's, *Reading Speed and Literature Teaching*, is based on teaching literature in a British secondary school context. However, the author deliberately relates his findings to EFL instruction, a tactic which would have improved the previous article. Pickett cites research that shows most readers read slowly, and subsequently advises "that we teach literature on the basis of a few texts analysed in detail" (p. 264). The relatively few fast readers might be allowed to make use of a more extensive syllabus, and thus readers would be divided into two streams.

As a whole, *Literature and Language Teaching*, is suggestive rather than instructive. Its authors raise questions and advise teachers and researchers on how to go about their jobs, but they do not give us results which we can use to shape or alter our literature classrooms. Thus this book is more valuable to those who wish to experiment with EFL literature instruction—or to follow the history of the field—than it is to teachers seeking methods.

Literature in the Language Classroom, by Joanne Collie and Stephen Slater (1987), is a collection of activities which enable a teacher to use English-language literature as a basis for teaching EFL. A practical book, it is aimed at secondary school EFL teachers or those teaching non-specialist groups of adults. As the authors put it, they intend to "let the student derive the benefits of communicative and other activities for

language improvement within the context of suitable works of literature" (p. 10). In other words, literature is the excuse, not the object. The tremendous wealth of activities argues strongly that the authors have succeeded in their purpose. Refreshingly, all the recommended exercises have been tried and proven by the authors, a fact which gives a great deal of authority to their writing.

The bibliography gives evidence that the authors are aware of the tradition. However, this is one of the first practical handbooks to develop within that tradition, rather than a continuation or refinement of theoretical issues. Stylistics, for example, is not even mentioned in the index.

The book has three main sections: a defense of using literature in the language classroom (13 pages); a descriptive guide to using literature in the classroom (57 pages); and specific activities for specific works of literature (154 pages). The authors defend the use of literature on the grounds that it supplies valuable authentic material which enriches students' knowledge of culture and language and which appeals to students because they become personally involved with texts—they enter the world of the book. The authors advise care in selecting materials, keeping the abilities and interests of students in mind when choices are made. They feel that teacher-centered instruction, depending on background information, line-by-line explication, and use of the metalanguage of criticism is inappropriate for students at this level. Instead, activities should be student centered, and instruction should incorporate a wide variety of approaches including role play, improvisation, creative writing, discussions, questionnaires, and visual representations of materials read. Students, they feel, should explore their own responses to literature, use the target language as much as possible, and concentrate on learning language rather than literature. Four pages at the end of the first section address problems commonly encountered by teachers new to this approach. While short texts (stories and poems) are ideal for one-class presentation, the authors stress that novels and plays can be taught easily if teachers concentrate on key excerpts during class time.

The second section of the book, *Practical Activities in Outline*, attempts to give guidelines for introducing works, maintaining interest and continuity as a long text is presented, exploiting highlights, and ending study of particular texts with exercises that will fix elements of the work in students' memories. There are literally dozens of clearly described activities, most of which can be easily adapted to other works. As I read the book I marked interesting activities and made comments about how I might use them—a procedure I recommend to anyone reading practical textbooks. One appealing activity for introducing a

work, Choose the Prediction, has students read the first section of a text and then choose one of four possible developments for the story (to be prepared by the teacher). Another activity, Star Diagrams, would be good for alerting students to the setting and mood of a work. In it, students write a descriptive word in each of the five points of a star outline. The authors' example includes what you can see, hear, feel, and taste or smell. Then quotations pertaining to the descriptors are written outside the five points.

The practical activities section of Collie and Slater's book deals with problems such as maximizing limited classroom time, furthering language skills, and assigning homework. In all, the authors show great inventiveness in creating activities which address such widely different areas as grammar drills, summary writing, categorizing vocabulary, and making dramatic interpretations of works of literature. The activities—vaguely directed toward preparing students for essay examinations or to increase the enjoyment of reading—seem primarily to be language exercises, and as such are valuable to language learners. However, only a few seem valuable to a literature teacher in a Japanese setting, partly because their preparation would be so time-consuming. One questionnaire for the British novel *Lord of the Flies*, for example, consists of a 40-word introduction and seven questions with four alternative answers each. Time constraints in college literature courses scarcely allow teachers to create, administer, and evaluate numerous activities, particularly when homework time is needed for reading. However, the authors allow that activities must be used selectively, and the variety they introduce gives teachers a good many ways to present a work of literature.

The third section, Working with a Complete Text, gives numerous detailed activities for the novel *Lord of the Flies* and the plays *Romeo and Juliet* and *The Sandbox* (by Edward Albee). Eight stories are outlined in the short story portion, and six poems are featured in the final portion. One way to test the value of the authors' suggestions would be to choose one of these texts and select from the activities offered to see how successfully the method works with a particular group of students.

What emerges when one considers the authors' method is the simple fact that activities must grow organically from a specific part of the text. For example, after reading a section of *Lord of the Flies* which shows how boys who have been marooned on an island go about setting up their society, students may be asked to analyze the moral viewpoint that lies behind the selection of rules. Teachers, in order to create such exercises themselves, must become intimate with texts being studied and with their students' abilities and needs. These are worthy goals.

Teaching Literature, by Ronald Carter and Michael N. Long, like the previous volume, is a collection of activities which enable a teacher to use English-language literature as a basis for teaching EFL. However, it goes beyond advice for teachers of secondary school/non-specialist students to include information about teaching at advanced levels. Designed for self-study or use in teacher training, each section of the book is accompanied with useful questions intended to stimulate thought in readers or to generate activities for teachers' courses. Although it does not suggest grand strategies which will fit all poems, novels, stories, and plays, the book rarely makes recommendations without explanations, and the methods are more stimulating than those suggested by Collie and Slater. *Teaching Literature* addresses many topics, argues them intelligently, gives theoretical positions, and is more adaptable to the teaching situation in Japan. As in the previous book, the activities have been tried and proven in the classroom.

Because Carter was co-editor of the theoretical *Literature and Language Teaching*, with Long contributing a major article, there is naturally continuity with the tradition which includes the stylistic approach of Widdowson (1975). The theory and refinements of stylistics are not promoted, however, and only four pages are devoted to a rudimentary explanation of activities which students may use. The authors cite Collie and Slater's *Literature in the Language Classroom* in their bibliography, along with sufficient post-1987 publications to indicate that the field of EFL literature instruction is receiving serious consideration. The absence of an index, however, makes it difficult to trace specific influences (or to locate specific topics).

As the authors state, "The emphasis is on language-based approaches," but only because "language provides a 'way-in' to the text" (vii), and indeed the activities and their explanations reinforce this message. In order to present and elaborate their ideas, the authors divide the book into three sections: Literature in the Classroom (positions and explanations); Classroom Procedures (activities); and General Issues (comments on curriculum and critical theory). The first section explains that studying literature as culture is really the realm of the specialist, and using literature to study language may be uneconomical. However, literature study is a good means of combining language education with personal growth. Literature, in this sense, is a source and not a subject. Other issues are discussed, including the question of what literature is—"language which is patterned for particular expressive purposes" in the authors' words (p. 6). Thus literature study which is "language based" embraces all levels and sources of literature, and is undertaken using language teaching methods.

Carter and Long recognize that not all students have an appreciation of literature, and in the Literature in the Classroom section they lead readers through a series of exercises which can be transposed to the classroom to develop students' interest in specific works. As they write: "Students need to be *prepared* for reading a literary text. The initial preparation should be as concrete and specific as possible. Teachers should try, where possible, to help students to use their own actual experience" (p. 23). They also insist that the "infectious enthusiasm" of the teacher is crucial to students' enthusiasm. Yet the class must be student-centered, and a good goal for a course is to allow "learners to make their own judgements and to refine and develop their techniques for doing so" (p. 25). While students must explore for themselves, the teacher has a role as a guide.

The second section, Classroom Procedures, outlines what a good guide does, especially asking the right thing—moving from "closed," "lower-order" questions ("Who sent the flowers?") to "open," "higher-order" ones ("What do the 'weather beaten' primroses tell you about the sender?"). Such questions lead students to the essential connection necessary for appreciation of literature: "to try to establish a relationship between the author and themselves" (p. 39). One aspect of that process is for students to discover themes and meanings for themselves—a standard form of instruction that goes back to Socrates. Another aspect is for students to imagine themselves in situations related to their reading; this can best be accomplished by asking what or how they would feel if something were to occur (rather than the closed question of whether they have already experienced something). Other topics Carter and Long introduce to students through questions include prediction, character, and viewpoint, most often illustrating the topics with activities using poems. (Indeed, one of the limitations of the book is that it deals primarily with short works; although advice is given concerning novels and plays, the authors treat only one story in full detail, contrasting with the full treatment Collie and Slater give to a novel and two plays.)

Further elaborations of language-based approaches to literature include activities such as "jigsaw reading" (each member of a group gets a portion of the text), matching beginnings and endings of stories, gap-filling (cloze), reading aloud, and creative writing. While these activities may be found in Collie and Slater, their treatment here includes a rationale and warnings. In the gap-filling activity, for example, Carter and Long explain that the activity is good because making word choices requires students to examine the entire text. Furthermore, filling the gap with the right word is *not* the point of the activity—rather it is making choices which can be explained. These activities and others introduced

in the first part of the book are illustrated in action in the fifth chapter, a case study of how to teach O. Henry's short story, *Hearts and Hands*. Though brief, the case study serves as a good model for presenting other stories; it features pre-reading activities, a prediction exercise, numerous questions, and post-reading activities. The chapter concludes by showing parallels between the exercises and the reader-response theories of Wolfgang Iser and Roman Ingarden.

The sixth chapter describes activities for advanced classes. Students are given ways of placing any written passage (including ordinary conversation) on a scale of "literariness." Furthermore, Carter and Long introduce an ingenious method for dealing with figures of speech. Instead of teaching such terms as personification, metaphor, and synecdoche, they advise calling any use of words which is unusual or special a "trope" (which does mean "figure of speech"), and teaching students to place tropes on scales of appropriateness, originality, and centrality to the meaning of the passage. Such a process shifts student attention away from the surface of a work and onto the effects produced by language. Another activity, rewriting in another register (poem to news report, for example), both shows how much students understand of the text and gives them a new text which shows "where the language of the literary text cannot be transferred to the rewriting" (p. 121). Two pages in this chapter show how a rudimentary form of stylistic analysis may be introduced to advanced students. The chapter closes with advice on studying plays, using background research, and organizing class debates on issues raised by works of literature.

The final section of the book, *General Issues*, discusses curriculum planning and theories of criticism. The authors advise teachers to formulate practical tasks mentally as they consider particular texts for inclusion in the curriculum. They also offer comments on the use of graded readers, which can be compared with original works in much the same way as texts produced by rewriting. Other topics include literary culture shock, world literatures written in English, and testing. Concluding each topic, the authors ask questions which require readers to identify their own opinions or to make decisions on how to make use of the information they have learned. The book concludes with a concise guide to twentieth century trends in literary criticism, and notes that the authors' method is grounded in the belief that "theories of literature are important" because they deal with the relationship of the reader to the text—the basic thrust of the book is to establish such a relationship. In this section, as in the rest of the book, Carter and Long are successful in introducing attractive ways of exploring texts with EFL learners.

In *Literature and Language Teaching: A Guide for Teachers and Trainers*, Gillian Lazar covers the territory of the two previous books, citing them as sources of further activities in several chapters. She also shows, through a brief treatment of stylistics, in suggested readings at the end of chapters, and in her bibliography, that she is part of the British tradition of using literature to further EFL studies, and she devotes four pages to a rudimentary introduction to stylistics. In fact, the title of the book, *Literature and Language Teaching*, is the same as the Brumfit and Carter (1986) collection. In most instances, she differs from the two other practical works only in layout and emphasis. Similarities (and some differences) can be seen by examining her chapter titles and page allotments.

| | |
|---|----------|
| 1. Using literature in the language classroom: The issues | 21 pages |
| 2. Approaches to using literature with the language learner | 26 pages |
| 3. Selecting and evaluating materials | 14 pages |
| 4. Reading literature cross-culturally | 9 pages |
| 5. Materials design and lesson planning: Novels and short stories | 23 pages |
| 6. Materials design and lesson planning: Poetry | 39 pages |
| 7. Materials design and lesson planning: Plays | 34 pages |
| 8. Reflecting on the literature lesson | 12 pages |
| 9. Literature and self-access | 10 pages |
| Answer key | 27 pages |
| Trainer's notes | 39 pages |

The titles of chapters one through seven reflect topics covered by the other authors, and to a great extent the activities Lazar recommends are likewise similar. However, this is a teacher training text for use in the classroom. The contents of Chapter 2, Approaches to Using Literature with the Language Learner, shows this. Before advising a language-based approach to teaching literature, she questions readers on their opinions about other approaches. Here as elsewhere Lazar shows many sides of each issue, both to avoid missing any truth and to give readers a range of viewpoints from which to choose. Besides discussion of the issues, the chapter includes nearly a hundred questions to readers, over thirty directions, 25 tasks (for which ten have answers in the answer key), three quotations from books on teaching, six comments by teachers, four literary excerpts, ten short quotations from literature, two lesson plans, and 20 suggestions for further reading.

Lazar constantly changes pace—the book is almost a multimedia approach with literary quotations, questions, critical quotations, lists, tasks, and instructions to consult the answer key at the end of the book.

As a result, recommended instruction strategies seem fragmented, aimed at a particular language learning goals rather than at creating a relationship between the student and a work of literature. Also, there are so many questions it is difficult to see which ones are most important. Here the trainer's notes are valuable, for they *do* make clear what is most important in a chapter. In them, Lazar gives hints on what to stress or drop if time is a problem, on how to organize activities, and what to do with specific tasks. This section is not much use to a reader, however, because leaping back and forth from chapter to answer key to trainer's notes is time consuming and tedious.

Chapter 8, Reflecting on the literature lesson, is a new direction. In it, she gives eight outlines for setting up class observations and teacher counseling. However, none of the observation procedures are specific to literature teaching, and she admits that they are drawn from Williams's 1989 article, "A Developmental View of Classroom Observation." Her other innovation is found in Chapter 9, Literature and self-access, which outlines a project for establishing a self-access reading center. This is a more germane contribution. Lazar must be praised for the extensiveness of her presentation, as well. Her tasks and questions cover most of the ground of the other two teacher's handbooks, and the book is a rich source of activities—many for adult and advanced learners.

Each of these three practical guides has its virtues. Collie and Slater's *Literature in the Language Classroom* is the most detailed, giving as it does precise treatments for a novel, two plays, eight stories, and six poems. Their book has been well received, with a sixth printing in 1992. Carter and Long's *Teaching Literature* is, for me, the best of the three because it includes careful examination of the philosophy behind activities—and behind the entire enterprise of teaching literature to EFL students. It contains the best advice for advanced classes, as well. Lazar's *Literature and Language Teaching* is the most extensive, taking into account all the methodologies which have been introduced in recent years. It is also most easily adapted to teacher training programs. Together these books demonstrate that literature has a valid place in the language classroom, and that there is an extensive collection of resources for the EFL teacher who decides to work with literature.

References

- Blatchford, C. H. (1972). ESOL and literature: A negative view. *Culture and Language Learning Newsletter*, 1, 1, pp. 6-7.
- Labov, W. (1972). *Language in the inner city*. Philadelphia: University of Penn-

sylvania Press.

Leech, G. (1969). *A linguistic guide to English poetry*. London: Longmans, Green.

Marckwardt, A. H. (1978). *The place of literature in the teaching of English as a second or foreign language*. Honolulu: East-West Center.

Rivers, W. M. (1981). *Teaching foreign language skills*, 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago.

Widdowson, H. G. (1975). *Stylistics and the teaching of literature*. London: Longman.

Williams, M. (1989). A developmental view of classroom observation. *ELT Journal*, 43, 2.

Agendas for Second Language Literacy. Sandra Lee McKay. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993. 176 pp.

Reviewed by

Wm. Thomas Hill

Senshu University

A new book by Sandra McKay is always something to look forward to. *Agendas for Second Language Literacy* is no exception. It will be welcomed as a basic handbook on the social, political, and economic aspects of literacy issues for teacher trainers in Anglophone countries all over the world. For those already versed in the issues, McKay's extensive experience in literacy projects east and west will add many helpful ideas and provide much food for vigorous debate.

The book is divided into six chapters with an extensive list of references. Chapter 1 gives a basic introduction of what to expect in the four core chapters of the book, each of which covers various agendas for second language literacy. Chapters 2 through 5 cover the sociopolitical, economic, family, and educational agendas respectively. Chapter 6 functions as both an overview of the text and as a call for further research in areas of specific need.

Chapter 1 tackles the difficult task of unsettling our easy definitions of literacy and illiteracy. From a pedagogical perspective the strongest point of this chapter is that she does not come up with "etched in stone" definitions of these terms. Instead, she shows the difficulties and raises questions about the prevailing views and leaves the difficulties and questions open to further discussion.

Chapter 2 discusses the sociopolitical issues of literacy in language, constantly reminding the reader that it is human beings that are under

discussion, not social or political problems. Throughout the book we look at the struggles of specific individuals and families with particular needs, and we look at the way these people are able to have their needs met. We also look at the way their specific agendas are thwarted by the various forces with which they come into contact in many Anglophone countries.

In this chapter, we look at the stated and unstated agendas established in Australia, the United States, and Great Britain for “dealing with the problem of illiteracy” as it is often viewed. We look at the pluses and minuses of having a stated national language policy or, as is the case in the United States, having no stated policy at all.

Chapter 3 examines the very real economic needs of both the newcomer to the Anglophone country and the economic needs of the country itself. Here again we look at the stated and often unstated agendas of Anglophone countries which have to serve the needs of various groups of people entering the country, while at the same time protecting the interests of citizens who wish to protect their own jobs. Thus, issues of examinations for professional certification and labor union requirements for employment and promotion often serve a gatekeeper function in deciding who will or will not gain these various forms of acceptance.

Chapter 4 explores the family’s role in literacy education in two ways. As McKay explains, “First there is the role of literacy in the family; second, there is the role of family members in the development of literacy abilities” (p. 76). In the first instance, we look at the research that has been done as well as how that research is used for good or ill. In conjunction with this, we look at some of the family literacy programs designed by education professionals and others based on these research projects. In the second instance we look at the internal dynamics of family literacy. What happens when the roles are reversed and the children have a better command of the language of the dominant culture than their parents do? What are the implications of this for designing family literacy programs? In other words, how can family literacy programs be developed in such a way as to promote family unity?

Chapter 5, which looks at the educational agenda, opens with a discussion of literacy education viewed as a “process” where language is taught in meaningful contexts versus a “skills based” view where language is taught as a set of separate skills. As most programs in Anglophone countries find themselves tossed between these two very different views—with most leaning closer to the skills based approach—the author takes a close look at several examples of these programs and discusses their strengths and weaknesses.

As McKay is quick to point out, there are a number of competing interests involved in organized literacy programs. First, of course, is the students' agenda. Most often students need to work, so this means that their schedules, their child care needs, as well as other financial considerations make any kind of literacy education difficult. Unfortunately, under the force of other interests, the students' agenda is usually the first to be ignored. Second is the instructors' agenda which is usually to further certain theories of education. Third is the program administrators' agenda which must be concerned with staffing and providing materials. And finally is the funders' agenda.

Funders, whether they are from business or government, need some way of evaluating how well their money is being spent. For this reason, standardized testing is usually employed. After effectively showing the evils of standardized testing, McKay suggests some alternatives; however, her suggestions like everyone else's raises more questions of feasibility than answers. As she says, "The way a program is evaluated depends to a great degree on who is evaluating the program, so it is important for educators and funders to specify the criteria by which they are evaluating a program" (p. 123). In other words, people have to work together to find some testing criteria to fit everyone's testing needs.

Chapter 6 serves to pull the entire text together. The reference to Rose on pages 126-27 is to Mike Rose's *Lives on the Boundary* (1989) and did not find its way into the references. This chapter also serves as a call to educators to take a stronger leadership role in designing a greater variety of literacy programs to meet the agendas of a growing population of individuals who need them. It also suggests areas of research that need to be met in order to meet the agendas of everyone involved, from those new to Anglophone countries, to their instructors and the administrators that employ them, to those who provide funding for these programs and who must give an account of how the money is being spent.

The weakness of the book, in my view, is that unlike Freire and Macedo's *Literacy: Reading the Word and the World* (1987) or Giroux's *Schooling and the Struggle for Public Life: Critical Pedagogy in the Modern Age* (1988), it has neglected the weightier matters of the law, justice and mercy, and so on. She gives only passing mention in her introduction and again in Chapter 5 to Freire's discussions of literacy and illiteracy as terms of oppression used by a dominant society. These are critical issues which must be addressed in any discussion of literacy. And while book would serve well as a general overview of the issues involved, any course on literacy would have to be supplemented with a discussion of the weightier issues that deal with empowerment.

But this is a very tightly woven little book. McKay accomplishes an enormous amount in very few pages, and she does this skillfully, raising important questions and then leaving them for the reader's further consideration.

References

- Freire, P. & Macedo, D. (1987). *Literacy: Reading the word and the world*. South Hadley, MA: Bergin & Garvey.
- Giroux, H. (1988). *Schooling and the struggle for public life: Critical pedagogy in the modern age*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Rose, M. (1989). *Lives on the boundary*. New York: Penguin.

Real English: The Grammar of English Dialects in the British Isles. James Milroy & Lesley Milroy (Eds.). London & New York: Longman, 1993. 344 pp.

Reviewed by
Françoise Carter
Ehime University

Since 1986 the British educational system has been undergoing radical reforms. We have seen the introduction of a National Curriculum, compulsory testing for all children at the ages of 7, 11, and 14, and new examinations at the age of 15+. Concern for falling standards of literacy has been accompanied by increasing pressure on teachers to teach standard English and to assess children's oral as well as written English. The majority of children in Britain speak non-standard dialects, and teachers need to be able to distinguish between non-standard forms and grammatically 'incorrect' language so that they can teach children with sensitivity and tact, while valuing the importance of the language and culture of the child's home.

Until recently dialectologists and sociolinguists have focussed on vocabulary and pronunciation in dialects rather than on grammar, and much of the available material on grammar is not easily accessible. The authors of *Real English: The Grammar of English Dialects in the British Isles* set out to give accurate and up-to-date information on regional variation in the use of the grammatical constructions of English in some areas of Britain, and to direct readers to those resources where further information is available. To this latter end, a valuable and comprehensive directory of English dialect resources is included. The volume as a

whole is aimed at teachers, clinical psychologists, and speech therapists, as well as teachers of English as a FL/L2. No prior knowledge of linguistics is presupposed, and a useful glossary of grammatical terms is provided for the reader new to the subject.

Part I, *Dialect in Education*, consists of three chapters. Chapter 1, *Syntactic variation in non-standard dialects: background issues*, gives a brief historical overview of the development of standard English. A variety of different English regional dialects was spoken and written between 1100 and 1500, but written English did not have the status it now has since French was the language mainly used until 1300 for administrative and legislative purposes and for literature. The 16th century saw a rapid development of the English language for all purposes. It was only after 1500 that the dialect of London and the south-east was adopted as standard English for writing purposes, albeit only by the best-educated and most powerful people, but even then it was not considered necessary to be consistent either in spelling or in grammar. During the 18th century prescriptive grammarians codified standard English grammar, often following Latin models such as the division of strong verbs into present, past, and past participle (e.g., write, wrote, written). During the 16th and 17th centuries it was quite acceptable to use the two-way pattern (e.g., the letter was wrote), but since the 18th century it has become increasingly stigmatized. The result is that regional grammatical forms are not always recognized as regional variants, but are seen as corruptions of grammar, whereas many regional variants are to be found in, for example, the works of Chaucer and Shakespeare. The difference is that the rules for standard English have been set down in grammar books, whereas the rules for the dialects have not. Standard English forms have become associated with education, with the dominant, institutionalized culture, and with a relatively high social status; non-standard forms have become associated with the family, friends, and neighbourhood loyalty. The way we speak is very closely bound up with our social identity and personal identity. Research has shown that the frequency with which non-standard forms are used has a social distribution correlating with socio-economic class as well as a regional distribution.

Chapter 2, *Sociolinguistics in the classroom: exploring linguistic diversity*, describes a survey of British dialect grammar carried out between 1986 and 1989. This survey was specifically designed to contribute to our understanding of the relationship between standard and non-standard English syntax. It was an attempt to incorporate sociolinguistics directly into the classroom, with the short-term aim of enlisting teachers

and their pupils as researchers, collecting data on local dialect grammar and completing a questionnaire. Pupils were consulted as the experts on their own local dialects. These activities are a valuable educational experience, encouraging children to think and write creatively about standard and non-standard English, and to consider peer-group pressures and attitudes towards different language forms.

Chapter 3, Non-standard English and dialect levelling, is concerned with a preliminary analysis of the data from the Survey of British Dialect Grammar. The researchers' original intention was to draw on schools throughout the British Isles, but for unforeseen reasons only 87 schools took part. However, the data that they obtained give very good coverage of the more heavily populated urban regions of the country. There seems to be evidence of direct levelling in towns as a result of general population movement away from rural areas. There also seem to be certain grammatical features that are common to the English spoken in the major urban centres of Britain—the development of a 'standardising' non-standard variety. Some of these features occur in some styles of written English as well as spoken English, and the authors suggest that the use of *sat* and *stood* after the auxiliary *be*, for example, may soon be accepted in standard English grammars (e.g., She was sat [sitting] in a chair watching TV. He was stood [standing] in the middle of the road.). In my experience, there is no doubt that this usage is common among educated people from the north of England, but it is not usual among educated southerners. But this natural language evolution underlies the difficulty of applying the categories of standard English and non-standard English to specific grammatical features. It is not always easy to differentiate between non-standard and standard forms, and colloquial educated speech.

Part II is divided into four chapters, each one concerned with case studies of regional variation in English grammar: Scottish English, Irish English, Tyneside and Northumbrian English, and Southern British English. These studies reveal some of the educational problems facing non-standard English users. In Scotland, for example, a new Standard Grade examination to be taken at 14+ is designed to encourage more pupils to stay on at school and obtain skills, knowledge, and formal qualifications. This is essential in our technological society with its demand for skilled workers and the lack of the traditional type of manual jobs. Already language problems have been revealed, since many candidates cannot cope with the complex language in which mathematics and examination questions are written. Forty years ago such children would not have been called upon to take formal written tests and display mastery of written

English, but without such skills today people are excluded not only from higher education and positions of power and influence in society, but also from the skilled jobs that have replaced manual jobs.

While all non-standard speech has a low status, non-standard south-eastern speech is particularly stigmatized. From earliest times differences between the standard and south-eastern dialects have been inextricably linked with social class differences. Research repeatedly shows that speakers with Received Pronunciation (Queen's English) are considered to be more intelligent and more competent than those who have a regional accent. This often results in lost job opportunities, although recently differences in pronunciation are far less important than grammatical differences. Many more TV and radio personalities and programme presenters than in the past, for example, have regional accents, although newsreaders, especially on the BBC and ITV, tend to use RP because it still carries more authority. But the traditional association of language codes and social class has resulted not only in prejudice on the part of standard English users towards non-standard users, but also in prejudice on the part of non-standard users for whom 'talking posh' is often associated with the south of England, especially London. Children in the survey refer to Londoners as "stuck up snobs" (p. 42) and "Yuppies" (p. 46). The authors address the problem of the prejudices of standard English users, but not those of non-standard English users. This kind of prejudice and intolerance is, in my view, equally damaging. Our aim should be for mutual respect and understanding.

It is not always clear how one should teach standard English to children who habitually speak non-standard dialects at home and with their friends. The authors of Chapter 3 agree that "every child is entitled to learn not only the functions but also the forms of standard English" (p. 41) but at the same time have reservations about correcting children's speech. As an example they give a misunderstood usage of *lend* and *borrow*. Because the children had already been corrected but still made mistakes, the authors deduce that "correcting pupils' speech is ineffective" (p. 40). I would suggest that the difference between the two words had not been sufficiently clearly explained. Moreover, it seems to me that this example has little to do with non-standard and standard English; it is a usage which many children (and even adults learning English as a foreign language) find difficult, regardless of which code they speak. If it is agreed that children should learn standard English, then surely they need to be corrected.

Other uncertainties are revealed by the authors of Chapter 1. Having pointed out that people alter the frequency with which they use non-

standard forms as a way of demonstrating their attitude towards the person to whom they are talking, they then express doubt as to whether children *could* be taught to use standard English syntactic forms in their speech on certain occasions. However, code switching is quite common among Broad Scots users (p. 100), and my own experience of teaching in a British comprehensive school in the south-east shows that most children who speak non-standard English tend to try to use standard English with their teachers and in written work. After all, school readers and text books are written in standard English and all children are exposed to standard English on television and in the media. As the author of Chapter 5 points out, teaching standard English does not mean eradicating non-standard usage. Experience in other parts of the world confirms the value of teaching the standard language as an additional linguistic resource while acknowledging the independent status of vernaculars (p. 179).

In connection with Chapter 7, The grammar of Southern British English, I was surprised that the author makes no reference to the growing trend of 'Estuary English'. This is a mixture of non-regional and local south-eastern English which can be heard throughout London and the Home Counties. The term was coined by David Rosewarne in 1984; the estuary is the Thames estuary. Sociolinguists such as Paul Coggle (1994, 1993) believe that Estuary English is spreading geographically as well as socially, especially among young people. There is no doubt that there has been considerable levelling of pronunciation and syntax since the Second World War: one has only to listen to the marked upper middle-class speech of Celia Johnson in the film *Brief Encounter* (1946), or compare the present Queen's speech with that of some of the younger royals such as the princesses Anne and Diana. Non-standard south-eastern Estuary English seems to be gradually losing its former stigmatization, if not among the older generation, then certainly among the young.

But *Real English* is a valuable contribution to our understanding of non-standard dialects in Britain (although I was disappointed that Welsh English is not included). It will be of interest to teachers of English as a FL/L2 who wish to know more about the richness of British English, and particularly those who are concerned with the 'New English' debate as recently put forward by Akihito Higuchi (1992) and Ian Gleadall (1993). The message is clear: "dialects are internally consistent and rule-governed, and not, as is commonly believed, the product of sloppiness or illogicality" (p. 234). With a clearer understanding of regional linguistic differences, teachers will be able to introduce non-standard English speak-

ers to standard English without making them feel that their language is inferior or inadequate. The method used in the Survey of British Dialect Grammar seems to me to be admirable: involve children directly in research into their own dialects, and at the same time teach them the forms and functions of standard English. The democratic right of every child is to have access to and to share in the cultural heritage and social and educational opportunities of his or her country. So long as standard English is required for this access, the knowledge of standard English is a passport which no child should be denied. This volume should go a long way towards helping teachers in their task of providing that passport in a sensitive and informed way, while respecting the child's non-standard dialect. And, I would add, sensitivity and respect must be a two-way process.

References

- Coggle, P. (1994, August 28). The changing sounds of English. *The Sunday Times*.
- Coggle, P. (1993). *Do you speak Estuary? The new standard English — How to spot it and speak it*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Gleadall, I. G. (1993). "Cultural English," "international English," and language "standards." *JALT Journal*, 15(2), 209-212.
- Higuchi, A. (1992). New English in the education system — Focussing on Singaporean English. *JALT Journal*, 14(2), 159-171.
- Rosewarne, D. (1984, October 19). "Estuary English." *The Times Educational Supplement*.

Understanding and Developing Language Tests. Cyril Weir. Hemel Hempstead: Prentice Hall International (UK), 1993. 203 pp.

Reviewed by

Shaun Gates

Doshisha Women's College

Books on language testing tend to fall into two groups. One group reflects the concerns of researchers and theorists, the why of testing (see Bachman, 1990). The other deals with techniques and methods, or the how of testing, and represents the interests of teachers and administrators (see Hughes, 1989). In *Communicative Language Testing* (1990) Weir covered enough ground to interest both sets of readers and blunt the charge that theoretical advances in language testing have outstripped

practical developments (Davies, 1990, p. 72). In less than 90 pages Weir defined the communicative approach to testing and the constraints it imposes on test design, outlined the stages of test construction, and described the advantages and disadvantages of numerous test methods (Gruba, 1993).

Understanding and Developing Language Tests also shows an admirable link between theory and practice, or more accurately between theories and practice, since Weir has attempted to shape testing practice in the light of recent research into the four language skills. Even those interested primarily in teaching rather than testing will benefit by browsing through the operations and performance sections in Chapters 2 to 5. They may find, as I did, that they need to overhaul their understanding of what each skill involves. *Understanding and Developing Language Tests* could, then, be read for insights into the latest thinking in communicative testing, but it serves better as a manual. The exercises with comments, checklists, and procedures will guide the reader to design better tests.

Appropriately enough, the first chapter begins with a series of tests—for the reader. Weir tries to remind us what taking a language test involves. Some of the tests are a little far-fetched (the candidate's level of proficiency is ignored) but the reasoning is sound. If we as readers feel stress taking these mock tests, how much more stress do test candidates have, particularly if their future depends on the test score? Weir argues that the way to reduce excessive stress is to obey the "communicative imperative" and create tests which reflect real-life language use. In achievement testing, this means setting tasks to see whether students have mastered the objectives of their communicative syllabus. In proficiency testing, it means designing tasks that measure a candidate's ability to perform in a target situation (e.g., writing academic papers).

The test writer who is preoccupied with the fiddly details of test construction may be blind to its faults. To illustrate this point, the next exercise in the book asks us to evaluate some faulty test items. The tester must look over the work of other test writers with a critical eye, but at the same time should offer up work to the scrutiny of colleagues. In other words, tests are best moderated in groups. The three guiding principles for evaluating a test are validity, reliability, and practicality. In addition to these general principles, moderators need to pay attention to specific guidelines, the marking scheme, and the standardisation of examiners. A handy summary is provided on page 27, but I think it is important to see this as a checklist as much as a blueprint. Teachers who do not have time to develop tests from scratch might want to use it as a guide to choosing and modifying published tests.

Part I of *Understanding and Developing Language Tests* ends with the author outlining his approach for testing the language skills. In Part II he devotes a chapter to each skill, which is examined under two headings: framework and formats. The latter introduces various test items through exercises and then points out their pros and cons. Teachers tired of gap fills and multiple choice questions will find a range of alternative test items. One particularly interesting item is a task that elicits a written description of a humane mousetrap (p. 149). The rest of this review will concentrate on the framework, which is more important because it proposes a logical method for designing communicative tests.

In the first part of the framework, operations, the reader is asked to reflect on the nature of each skill. The argument is that once we establish what the components of speaking and reading are, we are in a better position to design a valid test. (This exercise in introspection, as indeed all the exercises in the book, could be profitably used in a workshop with participants comparing their views with those of the author.) But deciding what operations constitute a skill is the most controversial part of *Understanding and Developing Language Tests*. First, there is the problem of which set of operations to choose from. Consider writing. Weir states that many of the operations associated with process writing (e.g., reflection and collaboration) have to be ignored because they cannot be incorporated into a timed test that seeks to measure individual performance. Instead he suggests genre based writing as a source for operations (p. 132). Test items derived from these operations will not violate reliability or test security. Furthermore, getting students to write paragraphs and essays in the genre that interests them should lead to positive washback. Some teachers, though, may be reluctant to dismiss process writing so lightly.

The second problem concerns the nature of the operations themselves. Weir equates his speaking operations with Bygate's (1987, pp. 11-41) routine and improvisational skills. Although he does not evaluate these skills (nor offer an alternative theory of speaking), they can at least be observed. This also holds for writing, but not for the skills of reading and listening where the operations are still very tentative. As Weir notes (p. 99), they may not even be divisible or easy to arrange in a simple hierarchy. The test writer should treat the list of operations for each skill as a rough guide that still needs to be verified.

The second part of the framework rests on firmer ground. Having analysed the constituents of a skill, the writer now has to consider the conditions under which that skill is performed and then try to build them into the test. For listening Weir identifies the following constraints:

purpose; number of speakers; speaker related variables; nature of the texts; organisational, propositional, and illocutionary setting; channel of presentation; size of input; and method factor/response mode. At first, this long list can seem rather daunting. Certainly the test writer will have to keep them in mind when writing a test, but the brief notes and examples accompanying each condition also provide the means to generate a wide range of test items. In any case, test writers will find that the lists of conditions for reading and writing differ only slightly from those given above (the differences are greater for speaking), so they will not have to learn a new set for each skill.

The final stage of the framework, level of achievement, concerns assessment. The section on assessing writing in Chapter 5 is carried out in detail so the reader may want to begin here. The reader marks a set of scripts from Appendix C, first unaided, then with a global impression scale, and finally with a multi-trait marking scale. The exercises should convince the reader that extensive writing can be marked to a high degree of reliability. The advantage of the multi-trait scale is that it may also show us the candidate's strengths and weaknesses. A multi-trait scale for speaking taken from Weir's *Test in English for Educational Purposes (TEEP)* can also be found in *Understanding and Developing Language Tests* (p. 43). The number of criteria and levels an examiner can cope with is a question that has not been resolved, but Weir claims this scale gives a reliable profile in what, through necessity, must be a fleeting assessment.

The assessment of the productive skills depends on the candidate producing something which can be measured—sounds in the air or marks on paper. In contrast, assessment of the receptive skills is more problematic since most of the candidate's performance goes on in his or her head. For Weir, this lack of product forces the tester to fall back on experience and expectations of performance. The test writer devises a test at a level of difficulty such that students who pass a set cut-off score (Weir suggests 80%) can be said to have performed satisfactorily. What if as a test writer you do not have enough experience? One solution is to remember the advice given in Chapter 1 about piloting and moderating test items. To see what this involves in practice, the reader should look at the procedure for the design of extended listening tests on page 109.

The final chapter of *Understanding and Developing Language Tests* gives a brief overview of language testing and points out areas for future research. The gravitational pull from the communicative approach and the influence of studies on language domains have led to a revolution in testing over the last ten years. However, perhaps because of the

link between research centres, exam boards, and publishers, progress has been concentrated on proficiency tests. As Weir notes, research on achievement testing has been neglected, particularly in the following areas: the relationship between testing and language development, formative testing, and the adaptation of band scales to measure changes in performance over short periods of learning.

To sum up, one of the most attractive features of *Understanding and Developing Language Tests* is the range of readers it should appeal to. Researchers have a framework for carrying out a systematic investigation into communicative testing. Teachers and test developers should find that the lists and formats will help them write better tests, and anyone running a workshop could structure it around the exercises found in each chapter. There is even a set of instructions for invigilators in Appendix B. Whether you see yourself as a tester, teacher, or somewhere in between, *Understanding and Developing Language Tests* will show you how tests can be made more relevant to teaching practice.

References

- Bachman, L. F. (1990). *Fundamental considerations in language testing*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bygate, M. (1987). *Speaking*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Davies, A. (1990). *Principles of language testing*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Gruba, P. (1993). [Review of *Communicative language testing*]. *JALT Journal*, 15(1), 95-97.
- Hughes, A. (1989). *Testing for language teachers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Weir, C. J. (1990). *Communicative language testing*. Hemel Hempstead: Prentice Hall.

English Historical Syntax: Verbal Constructions. David Denison. Essex, England: Longman. 1993. 530 pp.

Reviewed by
Kevin Varden
Meiji Gakuin University

I have always been fascinated with the development of English; Old English is no less than a foreign language when compared with Modern English. However, I am a phonologist; I am by no means fluent in the intricate details of any syntactic theory. I therefore approached this re-

view with a bit of trepidation. My fears were for the most part unfounded, however; I found the book to be accessible, and anyone with linguistic training or who is interested enough in the topic to persevere will find it accessible also.

According to the preface, the book is meant to fulfill three purposes: to provide researchers with a central reference work, to contribute to the body of research on historical English syntax, and to be used as a textbook for both undergraduate and graduate seminars. It appears to fulfill all three of these functions quite well. Both researchers and seminar instructors should find it a virtual treasure-trove of material. Additionally, Denison has sliced up the data and accompanying analyses into useful topics that allow either an overview of many topics or a detailed analysis of a particular topic to be pursued.

One very useful feature of the book is that advanced topics are presented in separate sections in smaller type; this makes it easy for someone not interested in these topics to skip them. Denison also helpfully recommends which sections of a particular chapter are crucial for understanding later material.

Despite its high level of scholarship, the book is clearly written. Denison manages to make the discussions accessible to the average linguist—not an easy task, given the subject matter and the state of the data. It is not, however, an easy read. This is because both the data and the analyses are quite complex, not because Denison's writing is unclear.

Denison has contributed a significant amount of research himself, but the main strength of the text is the number of analyses that are brought together for comparison. The text discusses both synchronic and diachronic analyses within the various frameworks of the secondary source material. The discussion of these analyses includes substantial amounts of data, with primary and secondary source material drawn from the full range of researchers' holdings. The various analyses are compared, with support and agreement noted; mistakes in previous work are also pointed out. Owing to the large number and range of quality of analyses, some are only cursorily mentioned; others are presented in blow-by-blow detail. This is a solid piece of scholarly work.

Another great strength of the text is that in comparing analyses, Denison does not tie the text to any particular syntactic theory. He provides background discussion on various generative and non-generative theories of syntax, making them accessible to even someone like myself. Denison recommends Sells (1985) for an overview of GB, Lexical Functional Grammar, and Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar; I found Droste & Joseph (1991) to be an accessible introduction to

these and six other frameworks, some of which are discussed in this text.

The text is admittedly not exhaustive; Denison has chosen what he feels are the most interesting aspects of historical English syntax. English teachers will not find such topics as the development of the article system or the 's'-plural system, but these topics would not be particularly interesting in a graduate historical syntax seminar. For those who are interested in overviews of English as a whole, Denison recommends Strang (1970), and notes that the *Cambridge History of the English Language* (Hogg, 1992), is also excellent. The amount of material presented here that would interest a graduate historical syntax seminar is quite substantial.

The book consists of 15 chapters, arranged in six parts. Part I contains a chapter introducing the methods of data collection, comparison, and analysis, a chapter covering the background history of English, and a chapter on the nominal morphology of all three stages of English (Old, Middle, and Modern). The first chapter contains an excellent discussion of the limitations of all historical research (refreshing in its candidness), and the second contains an interesting (albeit cursorial) sketch of the language and the people who defined it. The third contains analyses of nominal case couched within several frameworks.

Part II consists of one chapter on word order. It discusses many of the analyses dealing with both word order in Old English and the shift from various Old English word orders to the present-day orders. Denison admits that he does not have much to contribute to this aspect of research, but he goes through some seventeen analyses of both generative and non-generative, synchronic and diachronic nature. It does not contain any easy answers to preferred word order in Old English, nor any possible progression of preferred word order throughout the ages, simply because there is no easy answer to either question.

Part III concentrates on the relationships between subjects and verb phrases. It contains three chapters, covering impersonal constructions (clauses without subjects), dative movement and the indirect passive (sentences like 'Tom gave Mary presents' and 'Mary was given presents by Tom'), and the prepositional passive ('John was laughed at'). The various types of these constructions and many in-depth analyses of them are covered here.

Part IV contains two chapters on control verbs and subject raising. (Control verbs are verbs like *expect* in sentences like 'John expects me to wash the car', where 'me' is both the object of 'expect' and the subject of 'to wash the car'. Subject raising is posited with verbs such as *appear*, *seem*, and *happen* in sentences like 'Tom appears to be rich'.)

Again, there is substantial discussion of the various types of these constructions and analyses posited for them.

Part V contains six chapters covering the auxiliaries: periphrastic *do*, the modals, the perfective, the progressive, the passive, and constructions with multiple auxiliaries—again, a wealth of material. Part VI contains a glossary of technical terms (indispensable for the non-syntactician), lists of both secondary and primary sources (referenced and indexed), an index of the verbs given in the numerous examples, and a general index. In addition to the above, the preface contains useful information on the use of the book as a textbook.

This text is excellent for its target audience—researchers and students of English historical syntax. Its strengths include its wide-ranging comparison of various approaches to the data, not being limited to any one syntactic framework, and a division into parts and chapters that allows zeroing-in on a particular topic. It is clearly written, and contains a wealth of both primary and secondary source material. It will not interest those looking for cursorial overviews of any aspect of English syntax, or the language in general.

References

- Droste, F. & Joseph, J. (Eds.). (1991). *Linguistic theory and grammatical description*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Co.
- Hogg, R. (1992 / in press). *The Cambridge history of the English language* (6 volumes). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sells, P. (1985). *Lectures on contemporary syntactic theories*. (CSLI Lecture Notes, 3.) Center for the Study of Language and Information, Stanford.
- Strang, B. (1970). *A history of English*. London: Methuen.

Linguistics and Aphasia: Psycholinguistic and Pragmatic Aspects of Intervention. Ruth Lesser & Lesley Milroy. Essex: Longman, 1993. 377 pp.

Reviewed by
Guy Modica
Nagoya Shoka Daigaku

Language educators are certainly familiar with the Language in Social Life Series, of which this volume is the fifth in the series. Two earlier offerings, *Language and Power* by Norman Fairclough and *Planning Language, Planning Inequality* by James Tollefson, are indispensable

readings which address issues of clear relevance for those who teach language to non-native speakers. Lesser and Milroy's contribution to the series will probably stimulate less interest in language educators, as it is written primarily as a survey text for aphasia therapists. Apart from satisfying a general curiosity in linguistics, psycholinguistics, and disordered language, however, *Linguistics and Aphasia* provides a window to another domain of applied linguistics, which in turn may inspire a new perspective on the language development of second language learners, the classroom methods we employ, our research agendas, and the controversies we mull over.

The text is organized into three parts. Part I outlines the book and offers a (too-) brief clinical discussion of aphasia typology based on the Boston classification, including also a set of common therapeutic approaches. The most extensive section, Part II, rehearses models and methods in linguistics, psycholinguistics, and pragmatics (including conversation analysis) that have currency in aphasiology. Part III then reports how psycholinguistic and pragmatic models inform the design of intervention strategies.

It is unsurprising that clinicians find little of utility in generative theory (a framework with Chomsky its most well-known practitioner). Generative grammarians function at a high level of abstraction, idealizing away from production errors, eschewing the gathering of authentic data, and concentrating on the identification of innate principles and parameters that underlie all languages. Lesser and Milroy repeat an oft-made criticism: generative theories have scant claim to any psychological reality, and have often produced unclear results when applied by psycholinguists in experimental research. Theoretical linguistics hypothesizes a speaker's *abstract knowledge* of language; aphasiacs suffer physical damage that inhibits *processing* for production and comprehension. While students of the management and remediation of aphasia may suffer no deficit from this cursory treatment of formal linguistics (functionalism is represented only by Halliday, and given only perfunctory attention), the single paragraph covering the pharmacology of aphasia, a development of the past decade, is inadequate coverage for a survey text such as this.

The model of cross-modal processing for individual lexical items (Patterson and Shewell, 1987; Ellis and Young, 1988) and the Garrett-Schwartz model of sentence-level processing (Garrett, 1982; Schwartz, 1987) are given a lengthy exegesis. These models have aided in taxonomizing disorders of naming, reading, writing, and speech, allowing therapists to formulate hypotheses about where in the processing mechanism the impairment arises. Psycholinguistic theories of linguistic

processing have driven both research and assessment for the past quarter century, but as Lesser and Milroy point out, they have encountered limitations. Brain trauma is rarely cooperative enough to isolate a circumscribed set of linguistic symptoms, and while syntactic, lexical, or semantic modules may be discrete, research has often be unable to trace the linguistic difficulties of an aphasic subject unambiguously to a deficit in a single module. Moreover, compensatory strategies employed by aphasiacs such as reorganization of tasks to the right hemisphere, as well as strategies of a non-linguistic nature, can mask deficiencies that would otherwise appear in their utterances.

Perhaps the authors' most serious criticism of the value of psycholinguistics in remediation is the underspecified nature of the models. For example, the components *phonological input lexicon* or *phonological assembly buffer* are poorly elucidated in theory. Transcortical motor aphasiacs fail to produce echoic speech. This could result from limits on short-term memory resulting from the trauma, problems in accessing the phonological output lexicon, damage to the output lexicon itself, or damage to the phonological assembly buffer. None of these components is well understood or specified in the model, circumscribing assessment and intervention gains from this type of psycholinguistic evaluation.

In their discussion of pragmatics the authors rehearse the work of Austin (1962), Searle (1979), and Grice (1975) on speech acts and conversational maxims. Both these pragmatic theories and the psycholinguistic models mentioned above come under repeated criticism in the volume for their *top-down* approach to aphasic data. As an alternative, conversation analysis is presented as a *bottom-up* method that could have important value for assessment of aphasia. The authors introduce turn-taking, repair, the notion of topic, pause and repetition, and other familiar concepts of discourse micro-analysis, and exemplify how this inductive method leads to much different conclusions about aphasia deficits than theory-driven methods.

Finally reaching their discussion of intervention strategies in Part III, the authors endorse a mix of both psycholinguistically- and pragmatically-derived therapies. After their criticisms of a psycholinguistic approach in earlier sections of the volume it is surprising that they ultimately defend its use against the critical remarks in Carramazza (1989) and Basso (1989), particularly since Carramazza echoes their "underspecified" argument. Rather than summarize here their reply to these critiques or their discussion of strategies, reference to selected points from this section is made below.

What can a language educator insightfully bring away from this text? This reader found some interesting parallels between the concerns and methods of aphasia therapists and those in second language acquisition. In the late seventies both groups were exploring "the premise that aphasic patients' [or students'] difficulties were compounded by anxiety, and that release from this would allow better functioning of language to be revealed" (p. 16). Lesser and Milroy point out that for psycholinguistic research to be informative to hypothesis-building it needs to filter out "the placebo effect of supportive interest" (p. 272). For an instructor this might be suggestive of the importance of supplementing *whatever* methods and materials are chosen with "supportive interest" in students both as learners and as individuals to stimulate just such a "placebo effect."

Another analogous interest is expressed in the authors' response to Basso's (1989) comment:

As in all disciplines, in speech language therapy there is a time for research and a time for application.... The clinical speech pathologist[s]...task is to apply what he has learnt, to learn from his clinical experience and provide treatment for all patients who request it. It is not his task to demonstrate that what he does is effective. (p. 79)

In a passage that could have been drawn from Nunan's (1990) entreaty for instructors to become classroom researchers, Lesser and Milroy reply:

The only gap between the 'researcher' and the 'applier' (to take Basso's distinction) is in the time each can devote to this study. The practising clinician contributes to the development of the field, and brings to it the benefit of an extending and intimate knowledge of the continuing nature of the disorder, rather than receiving and applying prescriptions formulated elsewhere.... Particularly if response to therapy is to feed back into the development of both models and of further refinement of therapy, as we have advocated, a separation of scientist-researcher and applier-therapist is not tenable. (p. 240)

Further, the tension between approaches to remediation based upon psycholinguistic or pragmatic models is mirrored in some ways in the current debate in second language acquisition over the benefits of explicit grammar teaching versus communicative activities. Intervention

based on psycholinguistic models is focused almost exclusively at the word and sentence level, much as explicit grammar study emphasizes structural aspects of syntax (e.g., *infinitive* versus *gerundive*) and morphology (e.g., roots and affixes). Intervention from a pragmatic orientation targets "total communication" by teaching productive strategies and an "emphasis on use of materials which are of relevance to the patient's everyday life and interests" (p. 293), just as the communicative approach in second language acquisition often adopts a functional/notional syllabus and stresses "communicative competency." The "interdisciplinary" mindset expressed in Lesser and Milroy's conclusion that psycholinguistic and pragmatic approaches can coexist in therapy would perhaps be useful to the classroom practitioner, allowing him or her to employ both explicit grammar instruction and communicative activities in one syllabus. This suggests that the attitude in second language acquisition that these two methodologies are antithetic demands further reflection.

Consider some therapies suggested by the authors. Following the diagnosis (in a psycholinguistic model) of difficulties in the mapping of semantics to syntax, a program of overtly identifying thematic roles (e.g., *agent*, *instrument*, *location*) can be adopted. For patients with deficits in the syntactic planning/comprehension of sentences, who demonstrate problems with empty categories (i.e., phonologically unrealized syntactic positions marking ellipted or moved items), they suggest work on locating these gaps in utterances and on identifying referential dependencies (i.e., antecedents of gaps or pronouns). While wholesale application of therapies for aphasiacs directly to unimpaired language learners is not being suggested here, perhaps in addition to the exercises one often finds in reading texts requiring identification of pronoun antecedents explicit attention to thematic roles and gaps would be helpful for language learners. Learners may benefit from hearing sentences and identifying syntactic categories (e.g., *preposition*) or thematic roles, aiding the development of their fluency in the mapping of ideas to an unfamiliar L2 syntax, or in syntactic planning and comprehension.

Some pragmatic therapies also bear mention. Green's (1982) total-communication approach includes teaching production and comprehension strategies that may be fruitful.

For expressive strategies, the patients can attempt to learn to...use an alternative communication system, for example drawing, pointing, ...give the listener an associated word, ...avoid silences by producing a word even if it is known to be wrong, and then self-correcting, ...use fillers to maintain attention, ...request help.

For comprehension strategies Green suggests...requesting repetitions, ...telling the speaker that you do not understand, ...clarifying what was said by repeating it, ...asking questions. (pp. 294-5)

Some of these same strategies would no doubt be useful if inculcated in second language learners (though instructors often encounter resistance when simply asking for "asking questions"). The "checklist of conversational abilities" reproduced from McTear (1985) could also be tacitly employed by instructors to evaluate and prompt students toward more functional fluency.

Indirect therapy, "methods by which conversational partners can improve interactions" (p. 303), is directed at patients' friends and relatives, and indicates some ways instructors can sharpen their own skills as collaborators in student-teacher conversations. Coherent conversation with aphasiacs is aided when "the conversational partner or therapist support[s] comprehension with gesture" (p. 304). Other aphasic research has shown that past time reference is more easily understood in conjunction with *have + en* forms, future time reference clearer if *be going to + V* is used in place of *will + V*, and all forms of temporal marking on verbs become more transparent when adverbial expressions of time are liberally inserted. Classroom practitioners might be encouraged by this type of therapy to give more attention to the *form* of their own contributions, experimenting with and refining their *teacher talk* to enhance the communicative success of interactions with students.

Appropriateness is one important element of collaboration necessary to construct a successful dialog. In their discussion of coherent discourse Lesser and Milroy include an authentic exchange that must be familiar to every instructor:

A: Hi.

B: Thank you.

Though the appearance of incoherence arises from the omission of the required reciprocal greeting by B, context may allow A to interpret B's contribution coherently. In their example A has quickly returned a call from B, made while A was unavailable. Though the response seems incoherent, a violation of Grice's maxim of relevance, B is indicating "recognition of A's voice and appreciation of the speedy return of the call" (p. 153).

In the case of second language learners, such seeming inappropriateness may not signal infelicitous use of language, but rather demon-

strate to us that cross-linguistic collaborative conversation requires stronger inferential skills than those in mono-linguistic conversation. It may be that an instructor (A) has missed the intent of B's comment, namely that "I appreciate that you (as an instructor) have taken the time to offer a salutation to me (a student)," or perhaps "I acknowledge your greeting with thanks for all you have done to help me." B may be answering quite coherently in the context of the conversants' roles within a mutually acknowledged social hierarchy. Rather than ignoring or simply repairing instances of seeming inappropriateness, an instructor may find it enlightening to question his or her initial contextualization of a student's contribution, looking for a sense of the comment that maintains appropriacy.

Although *Linguistics and Aphasia* may not be mandatory reading for second language practitioners, the volume stimulated some worthwhile reflection on second language learning in this reviewer. Theoretical knowledge of language, command of resources from across the disciplines, an ability for research on the run, supportive interest and an outsized capacity for patience are attributes of both these clinicians and educators. Sharing through this volume the struggle of clinicians who must *reteach* language strengthens one's resolve in tackling the challenges of second language instruction.

References

- Austin, J. L. (1962). *How to do things with words*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Basso, A. (1989). Therapy of aphasia. In F. Boller & J. Grafman (Eds.), *Handbook of neuropsychology*, Vol. 2. Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- Carramazza, A. (1989). Cognitive neuropsychology and rehabilitation: an unfulfilled promise? In X. Seron & G. Deloche (Eds.), *Cognitive approaches in neuropsychological rehabilitation*. Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Ellis, A. W. & Young, A. W. (1988). *Human cognitive neuropsychology*. Hove: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Garrett, M. (1982). Production of speech: observations from normal and pathological use. In A.W. Ellis (Ed.), *Normality and pathology in cognitive functions*. New York: Academic Press.
- Green, G. (1982). Assessment and treatment of the adult with severe aphasia: aiming for functional generalisation. *Australian Journal of Human Communication Disorders*, 10, 11-23.
- Grice, P. (1975). Logic and conversation. In P. Cole & J. Morgan (Eds.), *Syntax and semantics 3: speech acts*. London: Academic Press.
- McTear, M. (1985). Pragmatic disorders: a question of direction. *British Journal of Disorders of Communication*, 20, 119-27.
- Nunan, D. (1990). Action research in the language classroom. In J.C. Richards &

- D. Nunan (Eds.), *Second language teacher education*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Patterson, K. & Shewell, C. (1987). Speak and spell: dissociations and word-class effects. In M. Coltheart, G. Sartori & R. Job (Eds.), *The cognitive neuropsychology of language*. Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Schwartz, M. (1987). Patterns of speech production deficit within and across aphasia syndromes: application of a psycholinguistic model. In M. Coltheart, G. Satori & R. Job (Eds.), *The cognitive neuropsychology of language*. Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Searle, J. R. (1979). *Expression and meaning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

To Honor John M. Sinclair: Festschrifts on his 60th birthday

- Data, Description, Discourse*. Michael Hoey (Ed.). London: Harper Collins, 1993.
- Text and Technology*. Mona Baker, Gill Francis, & Elena Tognini-Bonelli (Eds.). London: Routledge, 1993.

Reviewed by

Paul R. Hays

International Christian University

As language teachers, perhaps no theoretical linguist has had more influence on what we do in the classroom than John M. Sinclair. From his early work on the discourse of the classroom, to the theoretical and practical underpinnings of the Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary, John Sinclair has changed the face of applied linguistics. On the occasion of his sixtieth birthday in 1993, four volumes were published to honor him. This review looks at two: *Data, Description, Discourse* and *Text and Technology*. (The other two were published in Singapore, one a series of papers by other researchers, the second a collection of Sinclair's writings over the past 30 years.) The two volumes reviewed here are surprising in their breadth and in the people who have chosen to honor him. Michael Halliday, Robert Kaplan, Michael Hoey, and Malcolm Coulthard, are among the colleagues who contributed to these collections. For teachers in the field, these two volumes provide an interesting look at some of the major trends in applied and

theoretical linguistics in Britain over the past thirty years and give indications of where the future lies.

In *Text and Technology*, research reflecting the wide ranging ideas of John Sinclair is presented. This volume starts with a survey of British linguistics by Michael Stubbs. While this paper does offer a chronology of changes, it goes beyond personalities and gives an insightful account of those principles which make British linguistics so different from the American tradition of linguistics. These principles have been the foundation of British linguistics and Sinclair helped to shape them. (Stubbs's account highlights some of the points McCarthy (1993) made in his review of *Anti-Linguistics*.) While Stubbs lists nine principles and covers them in depth, I only want to touch on a couple of them briefly and show how Sinclair helped formulate them.

The first principle is that linguistics is a social science and an applied science. The accomplishments of the British Council in many parts of the world hold testimony to the applied point of view for British linguists. The theoretical linguists in Britain have always been at the heart of debates on the language planning and curriculum. Stubbs lists many of the accomplishments of John Sinclair in the areas of educational linguistics. As Chair of the journal *Language Awareness* and co-editor of the series *Describing English Language*, Sinclair has always pushed for accurate knowledge about language as the basis of sound language teaching. Stubbs points out that Sinclair has always argued, "that it is patronizing to think that teachers are incapable of an academic training which is as demanding as that given to doctors" (p. 5). As teachers we know that linguistics is applied.

A second point is that language must be studied in actual use in actual texts. Time after time, we are faced with materials which present us with unusable language for our students. Often the focus is on isolated sentences and language taken out of context. Our students see through this and they ask embarrassing questions about the materials we have selected for them. (Or even worse are materials which we are forced to teach, even though we have no choice in selecting them.) British linguistics has always looked at texts and the ways language is actually used. John Sinclair has been at the heart of this. His work in discourse analysis and corpus linguistics are impressive. The culmination of this work was his editing of the Cobuild English Dictionary. This dictionary has changed the way lexicographers look at meaning.

The rest of the book is then divided into three parts, each one looking at papers from a particular area where Sinclair's interest has focused: Spoken and Written Discourse, Corpus Studies: Theory and

Practice, and Text and Technology: Computational Tools.

The five papers in the first section look at various issues of spoken and written discourse. Sinclair first influenced linguistics by his studies of the discourse of the classroom. He had already been gathering and compiling corpus data, but his analysis (with Coulthard, 1975) of the interaction of students and teachers led the way for most of the discourse research done today. Mark Warren discusses the notion of inexplicitness, which he suggests is a feature of naturalness in conversation. M. D. Hazadiah looks at ways in which topic is maintained over a conversation, not merely at the sentence level. Amy Tsui gives a new way of describing multi-act moves in spoken discourse, expanding on the framework suggested by Sinclair and Coulthard. Looking at written discourse, Anna Mauranen looks at the way theme contributes to the development of a text in both English and Finnish. She shows that even though the syntax is very different in these languages, theme is an important organizing principle. Susan Hunston looks at the ways in which academics disagree with each other. Through the ways they evaluate their opponents ideas, writers attempt to influence their readers to accept their own ideas.

Sinclair's insistence on checking any theory against the actual usage of English and the use of corpora to provide a large body of data for researchers is a cornerstone of modern trends in British linguistics and is gaining ground in pedagogy. Sinclair challenged "the absurd notion that invented examples can actually represent the language better than real ones" (1991, p. 5). This notion of looking at the data or teaching our students to look at the ways language is actually used has formed the basis of many recent books, among them, Swales' *Genre Analysis* (1990) and Raimes' *How English Works* (1990). In contrast to the absurd, made-up conversations and texts which abound in teaching materials as well as theoretical papers, not to mention dictionaries, which we must try to explain to our students, Sinclair's insistence on looking at real language has radically changed the face of teaching materials. In the next section, Corpus Studies: Theory and Practice, there are six papers which demonstrate this approach by delving into corpus data for a wide range of research, from sentence level grammar to translation issues. Gill Francis presents a view of a grammar of English which is much more concerned with lexis and phrases. This view is the grammar behind the forthcoming second edition of the Cobuild Dictionary. By focusing on the patterns of words and phrases, rather than patterns of parts of speech, the complexities of English are more clearly laid out for students. Bill Louw uses collocation data as evidence for a study of irony, which occurs

when the expected collocations are violated. Alan Partington looks at intensifiers from both a diachronic and a synchronic perspective and examines Sinclair's notion of delexicalization, where words shift from content words to grammatical functions, such as *highly*. Elena Tognini-Bonelli examines uses of *actual* and *actually* as signals in discourse. Using 200 examples of each word, drawn from the Bank of English at Cobuild, she describes the features associated with each and the specific functions each can have. Kirsten Malmkjær uses corpus data to show that translators may be more accurate translating out of their native tongue, rather than into it. She shows how corpus linguistics, translation theory and psycholinguistics can work together to develop theories in each discipline, as well as theories of first and second language acquisition. Mona Baker also shows the connections between corpus linguistics and translation studies. She discusses the impact of corpus studies on translation and describes some of the applications of corpus techniques in translation.

Of course, the impact of corpus studies has been enhanced by the advent of computers which are capable of processing large corpora. Sinclair was the first to see the implications of large machine readable corpora. From a reliance on real data, and lots of it, the step into computational tools for examining corpora is natural. Sinclair (et al., OSTI Report, 1970) directed some of the earliest statistical analysis of corpus data. The papers in the final section show recent advances in technology which are applied to language studies. David Conian, Jeremy Clear, and Geoff Barnbrook all describe software tools for corpus work. Conian has developed a tool to determine phrase and clause boundaries in a text. Clear discusses the importance of collocation in corpus studies and shows how different statistical measures of frequency relations provide different information about the interaction of words in a text. Barnbrook describes the design of a parser for dictionary explanations from the Cobuild Dictionary and its usefulness in natural language processing. In a stylistic analysis of corpora, Junsaku Nakamura shows how classifying verbs and then examining their distribution in corpora allows the classification of the corpora and shows relationships that are unseen in smaller collections of text. Finally, Margaret Allen looks at a hypermedia environment for teaching English intonation she has developed. She follows the interaction of two students with the program showing the ways the students are assisted, and yet regulate the assistance they receive in order to control the learning process.

The volume *Data, Description, Discourse* is a collection of papers by Sinclair's colleagues and extend many of his ideas into new areas. Michael

Halliday looks at grammatical probabilities in the Cobuild corpus and shows that there is a correspondence with the principles of maximum information from information theory. It is an interesting use of the corpus to show that similar conclusions are reached in very different disciplines. Sinclair has always been interested in idioms and describes their importance in language (Sinclair, 1991). Maurice Gross gives a sketch of a way to account for idioms in a transformational grammar. Stig Johansson also looks at lexis and grammar, choosing adverb-adjective constructions and laying out their semantic and syntactic patterning using corpus data. Gerhard Leitner shows that a semantically based approach to grammar is needed in order to provide adequate information for learners in dictionaries.

Looking at a higher level of linguistic organization, the text, the next three papers deal with longer range patterning that helps create a text. Michael Stubbs and Andrea Gerbig look at geography text books and show how the texts contribute to the construction of social reality. Malcolm Coulthard describes a growing field, forensic linguistics. He demonstrates the ways in which disputed texts in a courtroom can be compared with general corpora and the insights that the procedure provides. Angele Tadros examines academic texts and looks at ways in which an author references the ideas of others or makes his or her own claims. One of the texts Tadros examines is an extract from Sinclair's own writing: *Towards an Analysis of Discourse* (with Coulthard, 1975).

The last three papers all cover very different aspects of John Sinclair's work. Michael Hoey goes back to the theory of spoken discourse laid out in 1975 by Sinclair and Coulthard and extends it to include the exchange complex. Ronald Carter, following Sinclair's interest as editor of *Language Awareness*, shows how language awareness is an important, and in these communicative days, unfavorable aspect of second language acquisition. Finally, Robert Kaplan examines the language situation in New Zealand, and the possibility of the death of Maori. This reflection on the interaction of language experts and governments is a reflection of the influence and interaction John Sinclair has had with government agencies around the world.

Many of these articles offer important insights about language for those of us who teach. The brief synopsis above shows the breadth of articles in these books. The synopsis, however, cannot show the quality of the articles in these two books. While there is not a lot of immediate classroom application for some of the research presented to John Sinclair as a celebration of his influence, they do point to some very current issues in language teaching. There is a lot here which will stimulate new

innovations in the classroom. These are articles which will be cited again and again and they will form the basis of the way we look at and teach language for years to come. These collections are a fine tribute to an excellent teacher and researcher. They are excellent volumes which belong in any library.

References

- McCarthy, M. (1993). [Review of *Anti-Linguistics*]. *JALT Journal*, 15, 215-218.
- Raimes, A. (1990). *How English works*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Sinclair, J. M. (1991). *Corpus, concordance, collocation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sinclair, J. M. & Coulthard, M. (1975). *Towards an analysis of discourse*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Sinclair, J. M., Jones, S., & Daley, R. (1970). *English lexical studies*. (Report to OSTI on Project C/LP/08). Birmingham: Department of English, University of Birmingham.
- Swales, J. (1990). *Genre analysis: English in academic and research settings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Language as Discourse: Perspectives for language teaching. Michael McCarthy & Ronald Carter. London: Longman, 1994. 230 pp.

Reviewed by
Virginia LoCastro
International Christian University

It is not often that one reads a resource book for teachers and feels some sense of excitement about what the authors are saying. Yet that was my reaction to the McCarthy and Carter book. I feel they have succeeded in bringing together in one readable piece of text lots of ideas to provide a framework for a discourse-based approach for language teaching. The authors seek to make links between and among the various areas which have contributed to the field of discourse analysis and to show the relevance of looking at language as text, spoken and written, to language education.

Many readers will share my sense of excitement and welcome an authoritative source to cite to convince others of the value of this approach to language teaching. Others will be left feeling uncomfortable as McCarthy and Carter directly and repeatedly challenge the dominant paradigm of the grammar, vocabulary, and sound system of the target language as the only

aspects of language worthy of consideration in developing pedagogical materials for most coursebooks. The phonemes, lexis, and parts of speech are studied in decontextualized units of single sentences even in some forms of so-called communicative language teaching. If the aim of English language teaching today is to develop the learners' ability to communicate in the target language, then it is counterproductive to continue to use a theory of language in our teaching which does not view language as a means for communication, only as an object of study.

This book is thus, as the General Editor Candlin states in the Preface, "a manifesto for fundamental change" (p. vii). It is not a survey or introduction to discourse analysis; it is directed towards language education specialists. First of all, McCarthy and Carter point out that language teachers themselves must consider their own often unexamined views of what language is. Discourse analysis is not a particularly new field, yet this collection of analytic approaches for looking at language above the sentence or utterance level, seeking insights into how meaning is made and understood, still has not entered the mainstream of language education. The authors aim to lead the readers to engage in a paradigm shift from a structural to a discourse perspective on language. They argue that, given that almost all uses we make of language require us to create extended texts, either written or spoken, and/or to comprehend such texts, it is only reasonable to study what those texts are, and use the knowledge and insights that result to develop better materials and syllabuses as well as to become better classroom practitioners.

Chapter 1, *Dividing the world of discourse*, develops the argument that a discourse-based view of language enables the learners to see in action the interactive, dynamic nature of language. By raising awareness of both spoken and written texts in their linguistic and cultural contexts (i.e., the higher order structures and the actual formal linguistic elements, as well as the lower order or micro elements of language) the learners can understand how the lexis, grammar, and phonology contribute to the "higher-order operations" (p. 38) of language. McCarthy and Carter have clearly been influenced by functional linguistics and sociologists such as Cicourel.

In order to achieve these awareness-raising aims, teachers as well as materials and syllabus designers have to identify and select texts appropriate for classroom use. Clearly these decision-makers in language education must themselves have an in-depth knowledge of how language works and the ways in which it is in a dynamic relationship with how it is used by people. This chapter introduces various perspectives on dividing language texts: the traditional speech versus written, monologue

versus dialogue, genres, and prototypes. In each category, the authors provide alternative analyses and push the reader to greater depths and refinements once real language data are considered. The term “language variation” takes on new meaning when it is applied to texts, to describe textual variation or registers, and the authors introduce the work of genre analysts who seek to capture the underlying patterns of whole texts, such as the staging of information, which may have different surface realizations. The authors also seek to develop awareness of the inherent ideological choices teachers and syllabus designers make in selecting certain types of language use over others.

The second chapter, *Observing and exploring patterns*, examines common core patterns of texts; i.e., the “macro-structural organization of texts” (p. 54): problem-solution, hypothetical-real, and general-particular. Specifically, these patterns are comprised of clause relations; for example, if sentence one states a problem and sentence two a possible response to the problem, then this text segment is an opening for a problem-solution text type. Teaching suggestions follow with approaches for helping learners recognize and produce the core text types. Other patterns which are examined are embedded patterns, openings and closings, developing discourse, and thematic development. While avoiding neglect of dealing with the language as code, the authors address the macro level issues. They comment on one of the values of relating texts to their social and cultural contexts: cultural differences become more apparent, thus increasing the awareness of the learners of possible tensions between their first language and the target language. In a contrapuntal relationship, the chapter weaves together analysis, actual language data, and teaching suggestions. The variation addressed in Chapter 1 is linked to the regularities of genres in Chapter 2; language variation—or choices in language patterns—occur within the constraints of each particular core pattern of text.

Chapter 3, *Linking the levels: grammar, lexis, and discourse*, sets out, through some carefully chosen examples, to illustrate the relationship between the lexico-grammatical system and the discourse patterns of a language. McCarthy and Carter draw on the work on cohesion by Halliday and Hasan (1976) in the first part to discuss discourse management (e.g., how the speaker/writer makes a topic prominent or not). Then they take the notion of looking at language beyond the sentence level to examine tense, aspect, and voice in such genres as jokes and other narrative forms. Modality is also considered with the reader’s attention drawn to discourse markers like “sort of,” and “like” as well as hedging phenomena as markers of modality.

The second part of the chapter considers patterns of vocabulary and idioms in signalling and supporting macro or core text patterns. The authors once again underline the need to collect and examine real language data to observe the “natural patterns of everyday linguistic events such as explaining” (p. 117) and to increase our awareness of cultural differences, so important in second and foreign language teaching. Both spoken and written natural language data samples provide the background for their comments, avoiding the problem with some books on discourse analysis which tend to use only one kind of language in the examples.

The focus of Chapter 4, Literature, culture, and language as discourse, is on learning *about* language. Referring to a Halliday paper (1987) on the learning of languages, the authors emphasize the last of Halliday’s three aspects: (1) learning language, (2) learning through language, and (3) learning about language. Their approach links up with language awareness education in that they consider the third part to be concerned with “a process of analysis, of explicit attention to language, of conscious reflection on the forms and functions of language and on the means by which meanings are made by language” (p. 134). They are reacting against what they call “unreflective exposure” to language and an un-self-conscious practising of language. McCarthy and Carter are not alone in emphasizing explicit knowledge of the grammatical properties of a language as a perusal of the recent literature confirms (see, for example, Ellis, 1993). However, they are mostly concerned with how grammatical properties relate to language in use and the role of language in everyday life as the primary means of human beings to communicate. A call for attention to learning *about* language should not be confused with condoning teaching about language as an object of study.

In order to illustrate their aims, McCarthy and Carter use literary texts, not as literature *per se*, but as particularly useful texts as components of the syllabus, useful as texts for language analysis. Conversational analysis of turn-taking, silence, and pauses of literary texts teaches about pragmatics and style. Other analyses focus on narratives, repetition, and rhetoric. In one section, the authors introduce a “cultural view of language,” stating that both at the micro and macro levels of language use are found the beliefs and values of language users. Individuals are influenced in their language use by their cultural backgrounds; it can also be said that their “cultural frames of reference” (p. 155) are not ideologically neutral. Drawing on newspaper headlines from three different British newspapers, the authors show how linguistic choices reflect cultural norms and ideologies. The chapter ends with a call for language awareness training as part of language education, in effect

making learners "discourse analysts," with suggestions for curricular principles to put their approach into action in the classroom.

In the final chapter, entitled *Designing the discourse syllabus*, the authors return to the recurring expression of concern for "adequate description as the precursor of language teaching syllabuses" (p. 172), for, without some knowledge of just how language is used by people in everyday life, syllabus designers and the teachers who implement the syllabuses are doing less than what is required for the learners to achieve a high degree of discourse competence. McCarthy and Carter consider definitions of discourse competence as well as the analysis and classification of language and its features to provide the base for a discourse-based syllabus. They include some references to attempts to produce such a syllabus and generate a list of discourse strategies they would include in a pre-syllabus, from which tasks and activity types would be developed. A discourse analysis of learners' production is advocated as well to provide further input for syllabus development and to foreground areas which need particular attention in the materials and classroom. Further, they advocate a discourse analysis of available materials, particularly given that many teachers all over the world are not in a position to change the syllabuses they use. The analysis of the published materials can help the teachers adapt them along the lines of natural discourse. Implicitly, all these levels or forms of analysis generate evaluations of syllabuses, tasks, and materials, resulting in greater awareness of language as discourse and further the professional development of the teacher-as-analyst.

In addition to the text itself, there are Reader Activities at the end of Chapters 1, 2, 3, and 5, with Notes on the activities. There is also a rather extensive Further Reading section at the end of each chapter. All these features are extremely useful for the motivated individual reader as well as for lecturers who want to use this book as a textbook for a course on discourse analysis for language teachers.

This review cannot do full justice to McCarthy and Carter's book. Firstly, it has to be kept in mind that discourse analysis as a field of linguistic analysis still continues to be viewed as a difficult subject area. A book review cannot deal with the richness and density of this particular work on the subject. Secondly, the review is unable to capture the earnestness of the authors in their efforts to communicate about the new world which opens to one once a discourse perspective on language is taken. Discourse analysis calls for a paradigm shift, as mentioned above, which challenges long-held beliefs in the field of language education about what language is and does. Moreover, it foregrounds the fact that all text is

discourse and is socially constructed, thus not ideologically neutral. This makes many people uncomfortable, especially language teachers who tend to see their work as devoid of taking any kind of political or ideological position. *Language as Discourse* attempts to lead the readers into an acknowledgment that we cannot escape from taking a point of view about our theories, however unarticulated they may be, about language and language learning in the materials we write and use and in the syllabuses we write and implement.

McCarthy and Carter have done a highly commendable job in providing a solid book on discourse analysis for language educators. At times, the organization of the content of the book was not transparent to me; it was in the second chapter that I realized that this was in fact an argument which extended through the entire book. Read from that perspective, I could continue my reading and enjoy the flow of their discourse. One very helpful feature is that the authors enter the text regularly to remind the reader of what they have said, what they will be saying, and what some of the aims of the book are. I would not, however, recommend this work to someone who has not yet read anything about discourse analysis. It would be a good sequel to McCarthy's 1991 *Discourse Analysis for Language Teachers*.

Finally, back to the excitement. In my opinion, it would be unfortunate if language teachers refused to accept the challenge for change which a discourse-oriented view of language entails. I suspect few in language education realize that the insights on language use from linguistics have been taken up by literary critics and scholars and professors of law (see Fish, 1994). Thus, one result of making the effort to learn about this field of discourse analysis is that you suddenly find you can have conversations about language with all kinds of people—lawyers, journalists, AIDS education specialists, copy writers, and computer programmers. There is life outside the language classroom!

References

- Ellis, R. (1993). The structural syllabus and second language acquisition. *TESOL Quarterly* 27(1), 91-113.
- Fish, S. (1994). *There's no such thing as free speech, and it's a good thing, too*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1987). Some basic concepts of educational linguistics. In V. Bickley (Ed.), *Languages in education in a bi-lingual or multi-lingual setting* (pp. 5-17). Hong Kong: ILE.
- Halliday, M. A. K. & Hasan, R. (1976). *Cobeston in English*. London: Longman.
- McCarthy, M. (1991). *Discourse analysis for language teachers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Context & Culture in Language Teaching. Claire Kramsch. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Reviewed by

Alan Maley

National University of Singapore

This is a book calculated to nudge, if not jolt, language teachers off the rails of conventional thinking about how language teaching is constituted. It directs us away from accepted polarities, towards a tolerance of diversity and a responsiveness to individuality. It is a call to action and reflection.

It views foreign language teaching not as the simple transfer of either linguistic forms or of communicative skills. Rather it advocates a coming to terms with both the first and the foreign language in all their rich and individual diversity to forge a 'third culture'. It is an opportunity to 'experience the boundaries'. Foreign language learning is therefore viewed as an opportunity to explore individual difference rather than as an institutionalised process of conformity to the norms, linguistic and cultural, of the 'other' language. Teachers are, it is claimed, all too often submerged by the welter of practical and institutional constraints, and fail to perceive the messages their learners are trying to send them.

The book is organised into an Introduction and eight chapters: In the Introduction, the author challenges the customary dualities of FLT: Grammar v. Communication, Language v. Culture, etc. Rather than being viewed as 'problems', such dichotomies should be seen as learning opportunities to be exploited.

In Chapter 1, Educational Challenges, she argues for an approach based on 'dialogic encounter'. "A dialogic pedagogy is unlike traditional pedagogy. Not only can it not be pre-programmed, but it is likely to question the traditional ... tenets of foreign language education. ... such a pedagogy should better be described, not as a blueprint for how to *teach* foreign languages, but as another way of *being* a language teacher" (pp. 30-31).

In Chapter 2, Contexts of Speech and Social Interaction, there is a detailed analysis of ways of describing 'context', richly illustrated with classroom examples. The point is made that contexts are not stable entities, but are constantly in flux, being re-cast by individual speaker-hearers; a multiplicity of potential meanings, not a single meaning.

Chapter 3, Teaching the Spoken Language, points up the problems and paradoxes raised by five detailed case studies. It makes the impor-

tant point that, "the classroom is not the totally socially controlled context it seems to be ... it is constantly challenged by the learners themselves.... What often constrains teachers is their fear of imagination, of unexplainable and uncontrollable meanings, of paradox and ambiguity. If they listen to and explore further what their students are saying through their ill-formed utterances, their silences, their non-verbal language, they will discover where the forces of change are ..." (p. 93). Yet, "teachers seem to pull the brake at precisely those points ... that could allow for a discovery and discussion of individual and social meanings" (p. 94).

Stories and Discourses, Chapter 4, shows how the 'same' story can be re-shaped by reference to tellers' prior texts, and analyses the mechanisms by which this is achieved. The distinction between 'efferent' and 'aesthetic' reading is made and there is a helpful discussion on the role of schemata.

Chapter 5, Teaching the Literary Text, investigates the passage learners have to make from the generic predictability of 'orate' texts, to the individual, unpredictable voice of 'literary' texts. There are excellent detailed examples of both narrative and poetic texts and highly practical suggestions for activities to facilitate this difficult passage.

In Chapter 6, Authentic Texts and Contexts, there is a helpful discussion of the notion of 'authenticity'. It goes to the heart of the cross-cultural debate: "We have to commit ourselves to a set of metaphors, but we have to remain aware that these metaphors are the very culture we live by and that in other educational cultures people might live by other metaphors.... The difficulty—and the perils of cross-cultural understanding—stem precisely from trying to express one metaphor in the language of another and to judge the pedagogic effectiveness of one in terms of the other" (p. 184).

Chapter 7, Teaching Language Along the Cultural Faultline, comes to the nub of the book's argument. "What we should seek in cross-cultural education are less bridges than a deep understanding of the boundaries. We can teach the boundary, we cannot teach the bridge" (p. 231). There is a detailed exploration of how this might work with different cultural groups, through the re-invention of a TV advertisement for Coke. "Through dialogue and the search for each other's understanding, each person tries to see himself through the other's eyes without losing sight of him or herself. The goal is not a balance of opposites, or a moderate pluralism of opinions, but a paradoxical, irreducible confrontation that may change one in the process" (ibid.).

In Chapter 8, Looking for Third Places, the author suggests what a critical pedagogy might look like. She quotes, with approval, Hunfeld's

view that, "We cannot teach an understanding of the foreign as long as the familiar has not become foreign to us ..." (p. 234). The chapter is, however, disappointing as a whole; the sections on U.S. policy and on Africa seem like afterthoughts, and might have formed the basis for a separate chapter.

How then to evaluate the whole?

On the credit side:

- It draws on a refreshingly wide range of sources for the conceptual sections: educational theory, sociology, psychology, etc.
- The breadth of linguistic and pedagogical reference is also welcome, including as it does, examples from German and French texts and from recent practice in those two countries. All too often we are imprisoned in the ghetto of TESL talk!
- The inclusion of fully-worked lesson protocols and examples is also salutary. The practical ideas are, in some cases, a revelation.
- It also manages to avoid the dogmatic, 'holier than thou' posturing, which characterises many other recent studies with a 'critical' stance.

On the debit side:

- It is not always easy to read. This may be due to the sheer wealth of ideas it embodies. It may also be the result of the mix of conceptual and practical points, which sometimes diverts the attention. It is a rich mine, but one in which you have to get your hands dirty grubbing up the nuggets.
- It would have been instructive if there had been more examples of contexts outside the U.S. college situation, both geographical and in level (for example, in Africa or South and South-East Asia).
- It is also true that it is likely to touch only the 'top' 2% of teachers. Many teachers worldwide are struggling for survival, in the literal rather than the pedagogic sense. For them the 'necessity' of developing among their students the kinds of awarenesses advocated by this book will seem remote indeed.

It is nonetheless a book which deserves careful reading—and reflective re-reading. It serves to remind us that our aim should be to forge an identity in relation to the foreign language, rather than an identity with the foreign language.

Vive la difference!

Information for Contributors

Submissions must conform to the *JALT Journal* Guidelines printed below.

Editorial Policy

JALT Journal welcomes practical and theoretical articles and is concerned with foreign language teaching and learning in Japanese, Asian, and international contexts. It welcomes well written contributions which provide readers with a link between theoretical and practical issues, especially those addressing current concerns in pedagogy, methods, and applied linguistics. Areas of specific interest are:

1. curriculum and teaching methods
2. classroom centered research
3. cross-cultural studies
4. teacher training
5. language learning and acquisition
6. overviews of research and practice in related fields

The editors encourage submission of full-length articles, short research reports, book and media reviews, essays on trend in language education, reports of pedagogical techniques which are thoroughly framed in theory and supported by descriptive or empirical data, and comments on previously published *JALT Journal* articles. Occasionally, *JALT Journal* will issue a Call for Papers for theme-based issues. Articles should be written with a general audience of language educators in mind, with statistical techniques and unfamiliar terms clearly explained or defined.

Guidelines

Style

The *JALT Journal* uses the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association* (available from the Order Department, A.P.A., 1200 17th St. N.W., Washington D.C.). Consult recent copies of *JALT Journal* or *TESOL Quarterly* for examples of documentation and references. Give the page numbers of cited works in both the text and references.

Format

No more than 20 pages, including reference list, typed and double-spaced on A4 or 8.5"X11" paper. Authors must supply camera-ready diagrams or figures (if any) before final publication. The author's name and references that identify the author should appear only on the cover sheet.

Materials to be submitted

Three (3) copies of the manuscript

Cover sheet with title, running head title (one to four words), and author name(s)

Abstract (less than 200 words)

Japanese translation of title and abstract if possible (less than 400-ji)



Biographical sketch(es) (no more than 50 words)

Disk copy of the manuscripts if possible (Macintosh text format preferred)

Evaluation Procedures

All manuscripts are first reviewed by the editorial board to insure they comply with *JALT Journal* guidelines. Those considered for publication are subject to blind review by at least two readers, with special attention given to the *JALT Journal* aims the significance and originality of the submission, and the use of appropriate research design and methodology. Evaluation is usually completed within two months.

Restrictions

Papers submitted to *JALT Journal* must not have been previously published, nor should they be under consideration for publication elsewhere. *JALT Journal* has First World Publication Rights, as defined by International Copyright Conventions, for all manuscripts published. We regret that manuscripts cannot be returned.

Address for Manuscripts and Inquiries

Tamara Swenson, *JALT Journal* Editor
Osaka Jogakuin Junior College
2-26-54 Tamatsukuri, Chuo-ku, Osaka 540 Japan

Reviews and Address for Reviews

We invite submission of reviews of all books, tests, teaching systems, and other substantial publications in the field of language education. A list of publications which have been sent to JALT for review is published monthly in *The Language Teacher*. All manuscripts, requests for books, materials, reviews guidelines, and requests to submit reviews to:

Roger Davies, *JALT Journal* Reviews Editor
Ehime University, College of Education
3 Bunkyo-cho, Matsuyama, Ehime 790 Japan

Japanese-Language Manuscripts

The *JALT Journal* welcomes well written submissions on teaching Japanese as a second language (JSL). Submissions must conform to the above Guidelines. Authors are requested to provide a detailed abstract in English, 500-750 words in length, if possible. Refer to the Japanese-language Guidelines for details. Send all Japanese-language manuscripts to:

Naoko Aoki, *JALT Journal* Japanese-language Editor
Shizuoka University, Department of Education
836 Oya, Shizuoka 422 Japan

Address for Inquiries about Subscriptions or Advertising

JALT Central Office
Glorious Tokyo 301, 2-32-10 Nishi-Nippori, Arakawa-ku, Tokyo 116 Japan
Tel: 03-3802-7121 Fax: 03-3802-7122

JALT Journal 日本語論文投稿要領

JALT Journalは、日本語教育に関する日本語論文の投稿を受け付けます。第二言語教育／学習研究の文脈を踏まえ、しっかりした研究計画に基づいている、実践への応用の可能性を示した理論的・実証的研究や理論的裏づけを持った実践報告などで、教育、教授法、応用言語学などの今日の問題を扱ったものを歓迎します。

文体は一般的な学術論文のスタイルを使ってください。章だてのしかたや参考文献のデータの書き方などは、Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association (3rd. ed.) の定める方式にできるだけ近い形にしてください。ご不明の場合は、JALT Journalの英語論文を参考にするか、日本語編集者までお問い合わせください。また、JALT Journalの読者は現場の教師が主ですから、特殊な専門用語や統計的手法は、わかりやすいように定義したり説明したりしてください。

原稿の長さは、参考文献リストも含め400字づめ原稿用紙30枚以内です。A4の用紙に横書きで、1行40字、1ページ30行で印刷してください。手書きの原稿は受け付けられません。図表をいれる場合は、JALT Journalのページのサイズに合わせて作成してください（縮小コピー可）。執筆者の名前や所属機関名は、原稿には書かないでください。

ご提出いただくものは、以下の通りです。

- * 原稿3部
- * 執筆者の名前と所属機関名を書いた表紙
- * 400字以内の和文要旨
- * 英文のタイトルと、500-750語の英文要旨

英文要旨が用意できない場合は、400字づめ原稿用紙3枚程度の詳細な和文要旨をご提出ください。

- * 100字以内の執筆者略歴
- * 可能ならば、Macintoshのテキスト形式で保存したファイル

査読の方法は、編集委員会で投稿要領にあっているかどうかを確認した



あと、少なくとも二人の査読者が査読を行います。査読者には執筆者の名前は知らされません。査読の過程では特に、原稿がJALT Journalの目的にかなっているか、言語教育にとって意味があるか、独創性はあるか、研究計画と方法論が適切かが評価されます。査読は通常二か月以内に終了します。

JALT Journalに投稿する原稿は、すでに出版されているものや他の学術雑誌に投稿中のものは避けてください。JALT Journalは、そこに掲載されるすべての論文に関して国際著作権協定による世界初出版権をもちます。

お送りいただいた原稿は返却できません。

投稿原稿の送り先とお問い合わせは以下にお願いします。

〒422 静岡市大谷836 静岡大学教育学部

JALT Journal日本語編集者 青木直子

The TOEFL® Research Reports

LANGUAGE PROFESSIONALS! RETURN THIS COUPON FOR A FREE COPY OF *THE RESEARCHER*.

Involved with testing English as a foreign language? You'll find the TOEFL Research Reports Informative reading at a modest cost.

Reflecting Educational Testing Service's commitment to assuring test validity and reliability, these studies are approved by the TOEFL Research Committee, a six-member panel of independent research specialists.

To date, 58 studies have been completed, with 20 others in progress. A recent title is *An Investigation of Proposed Revisions to Section 3 of the TOEFL Test*. New studies on the Test of Spoken English and the Test of Written English are forthcoming.

Return the coupon to receive a free copy of *The Researcher*, which includes descriptions of each TOEFL Research Report, as well as an order form.

Please send me a free copy of *The Researcher*.

Name _____

Institution _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Check here if you would also like a free copy of the official *TOEFL Products and Services Catalog*.

Detach and mail to: Council on Int'l Educational Exchange

TOEFL Department
Hirakawa-cho Katsuka Bldg. 1F
1-6-8 Hirakawa-cho, Chiyoda-ku
Tokyo 102 Japan
Phone: 03-3239-1321
Fax: 03-3222-1925

JALT/11-94

TOEFL

OFFICIAL TOEFL PROGRAMS FROM
EDUCATIONAL TESTING SERVICE



EDUCATIONAL TESTING SERVICE, ETS, the ETS logo, TOEFL, and the TOEFL logo are registered trademarks of Educational Testing Service. ©1994 Educational Testing Service.



Trinity
College
London

SPOKEN ENGLISH EXAMINATIONS IN JAPAN

**Graded Examinations in Spoken English for
Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL)**

- Graded examinations at twelve levels suitable for all ages from seven years to adult.
- Emphasis placed on oral communication.
- Examinations held on demand in familiar school surroundings, with a fully trained Trinity College examiner conducting a live one-to-one interview.
- Trinity College London examinations are available in over forty countries worldwide.

For information about the internationally-recognised Trinity College London Graded Examinations in Spoken English, available in Japan and Worldwide, either send the coupon below to our local agents Saxoncourt (Japan) Ltd, or contact Trinity College London direct.

TRINITY COLLEGE LONDON,
16 PARK CRESCENT, LONDON W1N 4AP, UK.
Telephone (0)71 323 2328 • Fax (0)71 323 5201

To: Sachie Kobayashi, Saxoncourt (Japan) Ltd, 2F Horiki Bldg, 2-18-3 Gyotokuekimae, Ichikawa-shi, Chiba 271-01, Japan Tel: 010 81 473 57 6011. Fax: 010 81 473 56 9011



**Please send me a syllabus and further information about Trinity College
London Grade Examinations in Spoken English**

Name Address

Do You Teach Reading?

Do you prefer a multiple skills approach?

Is previewing important?

What about context clues?

Is vocabulary development part of your syllabus?

Would you like readings from magazines?

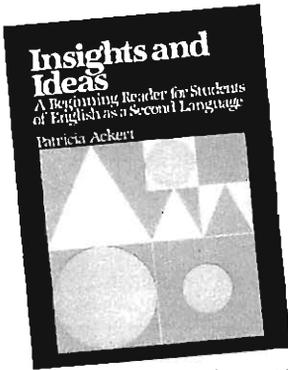
Are essays more your style?

Do you want to use famous literary passages?

Would you prefer using content-based material on holidays, food, money, history, sports, and so on?

If you answered "Yes!" to any of these questions, Harcourt Brace Japan has a reading text for you.

Partial list of titles:



Insights and Ideas

*Introduction to
Critical Reading*

American Short Stories

Money

Modern American Profiles

Beyond Experience

Americana

New American Profiles

Literature for Discussion

Momentum

A Changing Scene

In Context

Concepts and Comments

American Holidays

Our Global Village

The Art of Fiction

*Miki and Lisa: Feel
New York, Taste Tokyo*

Perspectives

Reading Beyond Words

*Encounters: An
ESL Reader*

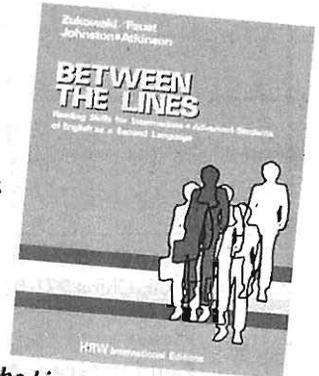
Summer Olympic Games

Potluck

The Zodiac

Begin In English

Between the Lines



**HARCOURT
BRACE**

Harcourt Brace Japan, Inc.

Ichibancho Central Bldg. 22-1 Ichibancho, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo 102

Tel: 03-3234-3912 ELT Hotline: 03-3328-2527 (Shari Berman)

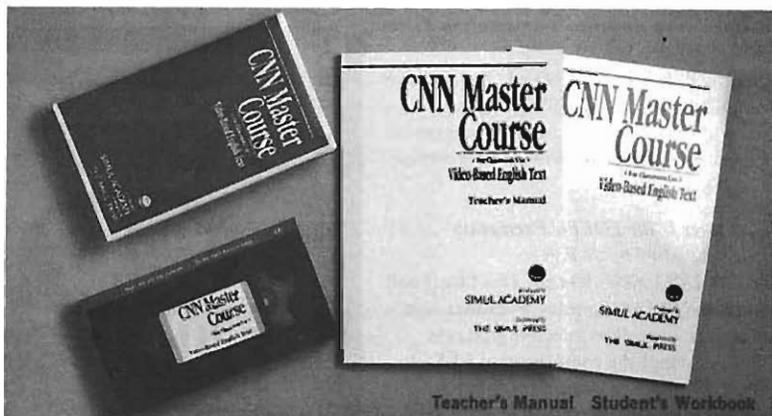
CNN Gives Your Students the World.

SIMUL ACADEMY

CNN Master Course

Video Based English Text

Adopted by
160
universities!



- **Stimulate** your students' intellectual curiosity with engaging news reports on everything from social issues to international affairs
- **Enjoy** a variety of CNN programs such as World News, Showbiz Today, and interviews on Larry King Live
- **Cut down on** classroom time spent cueing up the tape because the videotape is edited for classroom use

Components of the course:

★ **Student's Workbook**

Price: ¥2,000

12 units (each unit includes Pre-Viewing Exercises, Video Exercises, and Expansion Exercises based on one news report)

★ **Video tape (edited) (Sold Separately)**

★ **Teacher's Manual (Sold Separately)**

Provided free of charge upon receipt of order

Teaching Notes, Annotated Transcripts of all reports, Answer Keys, and Optional Exercises

TO ORDER; PLEASE CALL SALES
DEPARTMENT OF **THE SIMUL PRESS** AT **(03)3582-4271**

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION
ABOUT THE PROGRAM: PLEASE CALL
SIMUL ACADEMY NETWORK CENTER AT
(03)3586-4851



THE SIMUL PRESS, INC.

KOWA BLDG. No.9 1-8-10, AKASAKA, MINATO-KU, TOKYO
107, JAPAN

Ever been asked about study abroad opportunities by your Japanese friends or students?

九鬼 博著, 三修社刊



If so, we recommend the following books by Hiroshi Knki (Henry H. Kuki), M.A. (Univ. of Hawaii at Manoa, Linguistics); Educational Consultant, S.I.S.A. (Setagaya Institute for Study Abroad); formerly also lecturer, Waseda University, Tokyo, Japan.

1. *Study English in America: Conversation Pieces*

「アメリカ語学留学英会話」
(199 pp., in E/J. ¥2,000) 1993 ed.: Introduction to U.S. college life through 50 dialogues in English with translations, notes and suggestions in Japanese; English tape by William R. Stevenson. et al., also available.

2. *U.S. Colleges With TOEFL Exemption*

「TOEFL免除のアメリカ大学案内」
(242 pp. in J. ¥2,300) 1994 ed. This handbook presents some 50 U.S. colleges, both two-year and four-year, as well as selective graduate schools that accept the completion of ELS Language Centers and certain collegiate English programs in place of the TOEFL.

3. *Major Index of U.S. Colleges*

「専攻別、アメリカ留学案内」
(200 pp., in J. ¥2,200) 1993 ed.: The majors most frequently followed by Japanese students in the United States are explored in the text. The author's own school and college recommendations immediately follow each of these "major" entries.

S.I.S.A. offers study abroad consultation by appointment as well as assistance with study abroad and visa applications. The above books are available at major bookstores throughout Japan and at some Japanese bookstores in the U.S. and other countries. If you cannot locate copies, contact the publisher:

Sanshusha Co.
1-5-34, Shitaya, Taito-ku, Tokyo 110.
Tel: 03-3842-1711



Official Representative of
ELS Language Centers

世田谷留学研究所

S.I.S.A.

SETAGAYA INSTITUTE FOR STUDY ABROAD

Suite 302, Sankei Heights, 2-31-18,
Daizawa, Setagaya-ku, Tokyo 155, Japan
Tel: 03-3419-1009 10 a.m.-10 p.m.
Fax: 03-3411-6509

The CATENA Guide For You To Some:

Macintosh Basic User Types

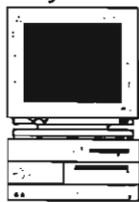
Do you see yourself?

Type 'A' User quote:

"I need the best, fastest, coolest computer that I can get my hands on, and a 17 inch Multi-Synch Monitor to boot."

Solution:

PowerMac 6100, PowerMac 7100, PowerMac 8100
The Most Ever Talked About Macs have arrived.



Type 'B' User quote:

"Actually, I need an assistant to follow me around, but if I can't get an actual person to help me get organized then a computer will have to do."

Solution:

The Powerbook 500 Series,
it remembers everything, it writes for you,
it communicates, it presents, it's cool, (oops Type 'A' response.)



Type 'C' User quote:

I really need a computer, I know it would really be useful. I need it for writing, drawing, making tests and maybe even keeping records on a database if I could.

Oh yes and a CD-ROM player.

Solution: The Performa LC 575, a true all-in-one Mac,
and who says it's not cool!

Did you find yourself? Well, you have found us too. Call Robert Martens at Catena in Tokyo and be sure to mention that you are a JALT member when calling to get the JALT discount of 25% on most models.

CATENA CORP.

Dalichi-Kasuya Bldg 3F, 2-5-12, Higashi-Shimbashi, Minato-Ku, Tokyo 105
Tel. 03-5400-1405 Fax. 03-5400-1412

JALT Journal 第16巻 第2号

1994年11月14日 印刷
1994年12月 1日 発行

編集人 タマラ・スウェンソン
発行人 アリーダ・クラウス
発行所 全国語学教育学会事務局
〒116 東京都荒川区西日暮里2-32-10
グロリアス東京301
TEL (03)3802-7121; FAX (03)3802-7122
印刷所 株式会社 厚進社
〒530 大阪市北区天満2-13-3
TEL (06)351-8795

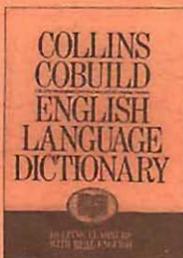
COBUILD

Helping Learners with Real English

COBUILD is the Collins Birmingham University International Language Database. All examples in COBUILD publications are taken from COBUILD's Bank of English, a computerised corpus of over 200 million words. These real examples, together with clear definitions written in natural English, mean that COBUILD represents English as it is actually used today.

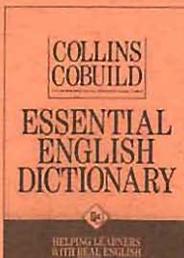
COBUILD ENGLISH LANGUAGE DICTIONARY

70,000 References 90,000 Examples
Hardcover 0 00 375021 3
Paperback 0 00 370023 2

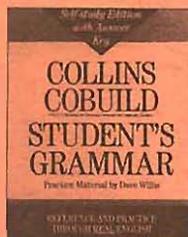
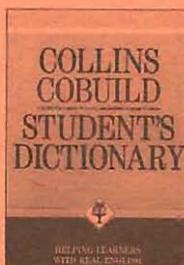


COBUILD ESSENTIAL ENGLISH DICTIONARY

45,000 References 50,000 Examples
Hardcover 0 00 375022 1
Paperback 0 00 370261 8



Separate
Workbook
available



COBUILD STUDENT'S DICTIONARY

40,000 References 30,000 Examples
Vinyl cover 0 00 370427 0
Paperback 0 00 370315 0

COBUILD STUDENT'S GRAMMAR

Classroom edition 0 00 370564 1
Self-study edition 0 00 370563 3

Other COBUILD titles

COBUILD English Learner's Dictionary
COBUILD Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs
COBUILD Phrasal Verbs Workbook
COBUILD English Grammar
COBUILD English Usage

COBUILD English Guides
1 Prepositions 2 Word Formation 3 Articles
4 Confusable Words 5 Reporting
COBUILD Concordance Samplers
1 Prepositions 2 Modal Verbs
3 Reporting 4 Homonyms

For more information or samples contact:

David Gray.

HarperCollins Japan, Inc

1-2-1 Sarugakucho

Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo 101

Tel: (81) 3-3291-6343 Fax: (81) 3-3294-8284

For orders, please contact our exclusive
importer and stockist:

KINOKUNIYA COMPANY LTD.

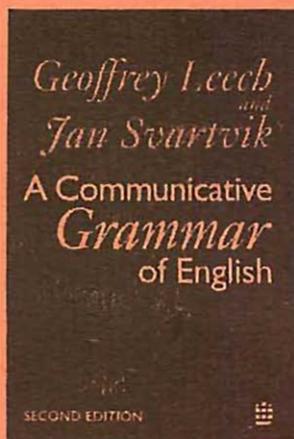
38-1, Sakuragaoka 5-chome

Setagaya-ku, Tokyo 156

Tel: (81) 3-3439-0161 Fax: (81) 3-3439-0839

AVAILABLE NOW!

A
COMMUNICATIVE
GRAMMAR OF
ENGLISH
SECOND EDITION
*Geoffrey Leech &
Jan Svartvik*



Fully revised and redesigned, taking a communicative approach to the learning of English Grammar.

- more spoken and written examples taken from authentic language sources
- increased emphasis on spoken language, providing a better balance between written and spoken English
- explanations are simple and easy to understand

Paper 0 582 08573 X £13.99 net

Cased 0 582 23827 7 £32.00 net September 1994

For further information please contact:
Academic Books Dept, Longman Japan KK, Gyokuroen
Bldg. 1-13-19 Sekiguchi, Bunkyo-ku, Tokyo 112.

LONGMAN HIGHER EDUCATION



THE LANGUAGE TEACHER
第十六卷 第二期 平成六年十二月一日発行
特別増刊号