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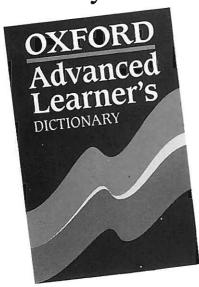Text reconstruction • Professors' expectations
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Japan Association for Language Teaching

JALT is a professional organization dedicated to the improvement of language learning and teaching in Japan, a vehicle for the exchange of new ideas and techniques, and a means of keeping abreast of new developments in a rapidly changing field. Formed in 1976, JALT has an international membership of more than 4000. There are currently 38 JALT chapters throughout Japan. It is the Japan affiliate of International TESOL (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages) and a branch of IATEFL (International Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language).

JALT publishes *JALT Journal*, *The Language Teacher* (a monthly magazine of articles and announcements on professional concerns), *JALT Applied Materials* (a monograph series), and JALT International Conference proceedings.

The JALT International Conference on Language Teacher/Learning and Educational Materials Exposition attracts some 2000 participants annually. Local chapter meetings are held by each JALT chapter, and National Special Interest Groups disseminate information on specific concerns. JALT also sponsors specials events, such as conferences on specific themes.

JALT provides awards for Research Grants and Development, announced annually at the conference.

Membership, open to those interested in language education, includes enrollment in the nearest chapter, copies of all JALT publications, and reduced admission to JALT sponsored events. For information on membership, contact the JALT Central Office.

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National Special Interest Groups

Bilingualism; Computer Assisted Language Learning; College and University Educators; Global Issues in Language Education; Japanese as a Second Language; Junior/Senior High School Teaching; Learner Development; Material Writers; Professionalism, Administration and Leadership in Education; Teaching Children (affiliate); Teacher Education; Video. *Forming N-SIGs:* Ling-X (Other Language Educators), Testing and Evaluation

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In this issue

Articles

The attitudes of Japanese Teachers of English (JTEs) towards the Assistant Language Teachers (ALTs) are examined by Wendy F. Scholefield. Results of her study confirm general intuitive notions and underscore the importance of ALT flexibility, JTE clarity, and the need for better training for both groups.

In this study of instructions designed to activate instrumental inferencing in single sentence contexts, Suzanne Collins and Hidetsugu Tajika suggest this may have a negative effect on recall, and remind readers that techniques which may be valid with L1 learners are not always viable with all L2 learners.

The language used in academic papers is examined by Martha C. Pennington. She suggests the academic paper or research report "opens a window" of current relevance on a topic and establishes a perspective that pressures writers to use of present tense, complex nominal expressions, and passive voice.

Kenneth R. Rose reviews the literature supporting the stereotype that American English is characterized by directness while Japanese is characterized by indirectness, and discusses recent studies of language use by Americans and Japanese which suggest that this needs further elaboration.

The difficulty level of English reading passages on junior college entrance exams and high school English textbooks are compared by Shinji Kimura and Brad Visgatis. Overall results of this study indicate that passage difficulty is significantly higher for the exams on several reading indices.

Research Forum

Two papers are included. The first, a cross-national study by Regina Lo of L1 English secondary students in England and L2 English secondary students in Hong Kong, suggests that the performance of the L2 students was adversely affected by cross-linguistic differences. The second, by David Kehe and Peggy Kehe, examines some commonly-held assumptions of those teaching in English for Academic Purposes (EAP) courses and discusses results of a survey of American university professors regarding their expectations of the skills foreign students need upon entry into freshman-level courses.

Perspectives

Two papers addressing the application of pedagogical techniques appear. The first, by Daniel McIntyre, discusses the theoretical and social

rationale for using the content theme of global issues in foreign language instruction and presents information and examples on adapting materials to the EFL environment. The second, by James W. Ney, describes the nature of imagery, which has been theorized to underlie many verbal processes, in relationship to other theories of language learning and provides guidelines for its use in second language classrooms.

Reviews

Descriptions and evaluations of seven current publications appear, with Reviews from Timothy Riney, Valerie Fox, J. David Simons, Adrian Cohen, Nicholas E. Miller, and J. Courtney Lowe. They include examinations of publications on sociolinguistics, the theories of Stephen Krashen, the language of the legal system, team teaching in Japan, designing culturally appropriate curricula, and classroom language assessment.

From the Editors

It is with regret that we announce that Editorial Advisory Board members Peter McCagg and Mary Lee Scott, and proofreader Kevin Staff are leaving the *JALT Journal* with this issue. They deserve deep thanks for their services to the language teaching community. Their skills, whether in reviewing manuscripts or spotting inconsistenceis, will be missed.

We also welcome several new members to the board. Mary Goebel Noguchi, David Nunan, Thomas Robb, and Bernie Susser have agreed to serve on the Editorial Advisory Board and are already reviewing manuscripts. Their willingness to undertake the difficult task of reviewing the many manuscripts the *JALT Journal* receives is deeply appreciated.

In Memory

James R. Nattinger, a professor in the Applied Linguistics Department at Portland (OR) State University, died on Oct. 18, 1995 from AIDS. An awards fund has been established in his memory through the Portland State University Foundation to benefit students in the Applied Linguistics Department.

Correction

The Japanese-language abstract for the article by Stephen A. Templin, "Goal-Setting to Raise Speaking Self-Confidence" in *JALT Journal, 17*(2), pages 269 to 273, was incorrect. The abstract should have read "one class showed significant improvement," not one subject. The editors regret any difficulty this may have caused.

訂正

JALT Journal 17(2)、269ページのStephen A. Templinによる「話す自信をつけるための目標設定」の日本語要旨に誤りがありました。「実験群では、一人の被験者しか、自信の評価に有意味な変化を見せず」とあるのを「実験群の一つしか自信の評価に有意味な変化を見せず」と訂正します。

Articles

What do JTEs Really Want?[1]

Wendy F. Scholefield
Charles Sturt University

Team teaching plays a vital role in foreign language teaching in Japan. The *Monbusho* (Ministry of Education, Science and Technology) alone employs over 4000 Assistant Language Teachers[2] (ALTs); in addition, vast numbers of ALTs are directly employed by cities and schools. A great deal of ancedotal comment has been directed to the role of the ALT, and the type of ALT best suited to team teaching in Japan. Thus far, however, there has been little research to validate such comments. In this project, Japanese teachers of English (JTEs) at 31 junior high schools were surveyed over 2 years via 86 Evaluation Forms (see Appendix 1) to discover what were considered to be the strengths and weaknesses of the ALTs, and what improvements were desired. A wide variety of responses were recorded. Confirming general intuitive notions, the importance of the ALT's personality was repeatedly stressed, as was the motivational impact on students. The one-shot system attracted widespread disapproval. Conflicting evaluation of some aspects, in particular the use of Japanese in school, underscores the importance of both ALT flexibility and JTE clarity in conveying individual needs.

　日本の外国語教育では、ティーム・ティーチングが重要な役割をはたしている。文部省だけでも4,000人を超えるALTが雇用されており、それに加えて地方自治体や学校が、多数のALTを直接、雇用している。ALTの役割と、日本のティーム・ティーチングにいちばんあっているALTのタイプについて、多くのコメント、逸話、個人的な反応などが流布している。しかしながら、これらの逸話的なコメントの妥当性についてなされた研究は、これまでのところほとんどない。このプロジェクトは、二人のAETが二年間にわたって訪問した31の中学校で教える日本人の英語教師に、付録1にALT評価表によって、この二人のAETを評価してもらい、二人の長所と弱点はそれぞれ何だと考えられているか、どのような改善が望まれているかを明らかにした。合計86枚の評価表が回収され、反応はさまざまであったが、一般的な直感を裏書きするように、ALTの性格の重要性と、生徒への動機づけ機能が繰り返し強調され、一回限りの訪問には根強い反対が表明された。人によって評価の別れる要素、特に学校における日本語の使用に関しては、個々のニーズを伝える際のALTの柔軟性と日本人教師の明確さの重要性が強調された。

he large-scale use of native speaker Assistant Language Teachers (ALTs) in Japanese foreign language classrooms began in 1977 with the *Monbusho* (Ministry of Education, Science and Technology) English Fellows Program; this was followed a year later by the British English Teachers Scheme. In 1987 these two programs were merged to form the JET (Japan Exchange Teaching) Program, and participant numbers have grown dramatically from the nine Americans of 1977 to 4,179 people from eleven countries in 1994 (Juppe, 1994). Still more ALTs are hired by local boards of education and sister-city programs.

The ALT system has generated a great deal of comment and debate in the national press, and in publications such as *The Language Teacher*, the *Team Teaching Bulletin*, and the *JET Journal* (Bauer, 1994). One area of continuing controversy is the ALT's role in team taught classes. The Ministry of Education states that successful team teaching

> depends on the frequency with which the students are engaged in communicative activities, and the creative use which the Japanese teacher and the Assistant Language Teacher . . . make of a textbook. (CLAIR, 1992a, p. 7).

However, in reality successful team teaching depends to a great extent on the establishment and maintenance of a comfortable working relationship between the ALT and the Japanese Teacher of English (JTE), within which such team teaching activities can be developed (Bailey, Dale & Squire, 1992; Hanslovsky, Mayer & Wagner, 1969; Shannon & Meath-Lang, 1992). The JTE/ALT relationship is considered crucial for the success of team teaching by ALTs (Greenhalgh, 1993; Sturman, 1992) and by JTEs.[3] The literature is sprinkled with anecdotes and comments on how best to develop such rapport. Allen (1972) stresses the need for clear-cut division of responsibilities in the team teaching situation, a factor also emphasised by Stein (1989), Sturman (1992), and Kyoto Prefecture Wakaura Junior High School (1992). However, expectations of ALT contributions vary significantly, from the broad expectation of helping JTEs develop communicative competence (Kageura, 1992) and learn new teaching approaches (CLAIR, 1992b), to reassuring JTEs who are insecure about their English ability (CLAIR, 1992c; Lisotta, 1993), to making English lessons more communicative and "fun" for students (Thorkelson, 1993, p. 66).

In addition to the plethora of educational expectations, there is a range of expectations about the type of person best suited to the ALT role. The Ministry of Education itself recommends that ALTs be

positive, flexible, energetic, people-oriented, [and to have] a win-win attitude when confronted with conflict, non-judgmentalness about Japanese culture and customs, patience, a willingness to learn . . . (CLAIR, 1992d, p. 29)

The trait of flexibility is mentioned by researchers (Cominos, 1992), by JTEs (Yamamoto, 1993) and by ALTs themselves (Lisotta, 1993; Scholefield, 1994). Cross-cultural tolerance is stressed by some (Kobayashi, 1993; Nordquist, 1992; Robinson, 1985); others are more concerned that the ALT be friendly (Arakawa, 1993; Kiguchi, 1994).

This small-scale project is an exploration of empirical validation of this range of intuition and anecdote regarding ALT behaviour and classroom roles. The data are based on *one-shot* junior high school ALTs (i.e., ALTs who do not teach regularly at any one school, but visit a large number of schools in a given year) but is considered relevant to all Japanese foreign language team teaching situations for two reasons. Firstly, when *regular* ALTs meet classes for the first time, their position is similar to that of the one-shot teachers. Secondly, strengths and weaknesses which affect the JTE/ALT relationship are likely to be equally pertinent to regular ALTs, although further studies are needed to confirm this.

The Study

The Board of Education in the target location requests JTEs to complete an *ALT Evaluation Form* (see Appendix 1) after each visit by the ALT. From the total number of Evaluation Forms, all those in English (86) were analysed. The forms originated from 31 junior high schools and involved two different ALTs and 121 JTEs over a two year period. The ALTs (one of whom is the present writer) had both been language teachers in Australia before coming to Japan.

The forms required evaluation of the ALT in six categories:

1. Strong points (of the ALT's teaching, of the visit in general).
2. Weak points.
3. Suggestions for improvement.
4. What impressed the students the most.
5. What impressed the teachers and administrators the most.
6. Additional comments.

Results are given as a percentage of the total responses in each category.

The quality of the data was occasionally marred by difficulty in understanding the English written by the JTEs, who might have written more

expansively had the option of replying in their L1 been available. In addition, some JTEs appear to have merely photocopied the previous year's report: there were 16 instances of identical submissions in one or more categories about the two different ALTs, with only the pronouns altered from *he* to *she*. This is a disappointing indication that a small number of

Table 1: Strong Points of the ALT's Teaching and/or Visit

Strong point	number of items cited	%
Teaching strategies	[n = 105; 46.5%]	
Clear pronunciation/simple vocabulary & syntax	29	13
Interaction with students	14	6.3
Teaching skill [not further specified]	13	5.8
Gestures & expressions	8	3.6
Interesting self-introduction [not further specified]	8	3.6
Visual aids	8	3.6
Realia	7	3.1
Student management [including praise]	6	2.7
Use of Japanese	5	2.2
Humour	3	1.3
Previous teaching experience	3	1.3
Equal involvement of JTE & ALT	1	0.4
Student response	[n = 57; 25.6%]	
Increased motivation	18	8
Enjoyed English class	17	7.6
Understood/were understood by ALT	17	7.6
Felt relaxed	3	1.3
Liked ALT	2	0.9
ALT's personality/appearance	[n = 28; 12.5%]	
Friendly/kind/nice/polite approach	18	9
Enthusiastic/positive/cheerful approach	4	1.8
ALT's smile	3	1.3
Flexible approach	2	0.9
ALT's eye & hair colour	1	0.4
Lesson content	[n = 33; 9.4%]	
Cultural information	12	5.4
Listening practice	4	1.8
Games	3	1.3
Variety of activities	2	0.9
Live example of different language/culture	12	5.4
Total	223	99.6

Note: 86 of 86 responded. Because of rounding, the percentage total does not equal 100%.

JTEs were not interested in seriously evaluating the ALT contribution, and thus potentially improving the team teaching situation.

Results

Strong points: As indicated in Table 1, the response rate in this category was 100%, with the 86 respondents mentioning a total of 223 items. These were grouped into five subcategories: teaching strategies; student response; ALT's personality/ appearance; lesson content; and

Table 2: Weak Points of the ALT's Teaching and/or Visit

Weak point	number of items cited	%
Problems not related to lessons	[n = 16; 41%]	
1-shot system unproductive [not further specified]	5	12.8
1-shot ALT hard to accept by students & JTEs	4	10.3
Inadequate preparation time	2	5.1
ALT not ready	1	2.6
ALT tired	1	2.6
ALT's staffroom behaviour	1	2.6
ALT system has too much paperwork	1	2.6
Distance of school from ALT's office	1	2.6
ALT's teaching	[n = 15; 38.5%]	
ALT didn't speak with all students	3	7.7
Unclear/non-American pronunciation	2	5.1
Difficult vocabulary/syntax	2	5.1
Insufficient written work	2	5.1
Student management	2	5.1
Errors in cultural information	1	2.6
Not enough Japanese used	1	2.6
Realia	1	2.6
Too much Japanese used	1	2.6
Student reactions	[n = 8; 20.5%]	
Decreased confidence	2	5.1
Students couldn't understand	2	5.1
Ability range in class not met	1	2.6
Student proficiency too low for communication	1	2.6
Students noisy	1	2.6
Students tense	1	2.6
Total	39	100.3

Note: 32 of 86 responded. Because of rounding, the percentage total does not equal 100%.

Table 3: Suggestions for Improvement

Suggestion	number of items cited	%
ALT's teaching	[n = 37; 53.6%]	
More interaction, with more students	11	15.9
More realia/pictures	5	7.2
More cultural information	3	4.3
More advice/correction to JTEs & students	3	4.3
Improved classroom management	2	2.9
Improved pronunciation	2	2.9
More interaction with non-English-speaking staff	2	2.9
More lesson responsibility to ALT	2	2.9
Fewer errors in cultural information	1	1.4
Improved blackboard writing	1	1.4
More games	1	1.4
More individual reading aloud from students	1	1.4
More lesson variety	1	1.4
More natural rate of speech	1	1.4
More use of Japanese in lesson breaks	1	1.4
One-shot system	[n = 24; 21.7%]	
More visits	11	15.9
Less paperwork	2	2.9
ALTs should be experienced teachers	1	1.4
Wider range of ALTs in 1 year	1	1.4
More preparation time between JTE/ALT	9	13
ALT preparation	[n = 4; 5.8%]	
Greater awareness of vocabulary lists at each level	2	2.9
Greater awareness of Japanese educational system	1	1.4
Notification of equipment needs	1	1.4
JTE preparation	[n = 4; 5.8%]	
More activities to improve fluency	2	2.9
Teach more communicative expressions	2	2.9
Total	69	99.2

Note: 55 of 86 responded. Because of rounding, the percentage total does not equal 100%.

the fact that the ALT was a live example of a different language/culture.

Weak points: Table 2 indicates a response rate of just over 37% in this category, with a total of 39 items cited by the 32 respondents. These items were grouped into three subcategories: problems not related to lessons; the ALT's teaching; and student reactions.

Suggestions for improvement: There was a response rate of 64%, with a total of 69 items mentioned by the respondents (see Table 3). Over half of

Table 4: What Impressed the Students the Most

Feature	number of items cited	%
ALT's teaching	[*n* = 42; 23.3%]	
Gestures & expressions	8	4.4
Games	7	3.8
Teaching strategies [not further specified]	7	3.8
ALT's use of Japanese	6	3.3
ALT's self-introduction [not further specified]	5	2.8
Students' active role in lesson	3	1.7
Clear pronunciation	2	1.1
Praise from ALT	2	1.1
Use of simple vocabulary & syntax	2	1.1
Cultural information	[*n* = 33; 18.3%]	
Not specified	13	7.2
Realia	9	5
Visual aids	9	5
Australian English	2	1.1
ALT's personality	[*n* = 59; 16.7%]	
Friendly/cooperative/kind approach	25	13.9
Enthusiasm	5	2.8
Humourous/enjoyable/relaxed lesson	29	16.1
Being able to communicate with native speaker [*n* = 28; 15.6%]		
Communicated with ALT	20	11.1
Hearing a native speaker	5	2.8
Understood ALT	3	1.7
ALT's appearance	[*n* = 8; 4.4%]	
ALT's smile	6	3.3
Physical attractiveness	2	1.1
Motivational impact	6	3.3
Talking with students during lunchbreak	2	1.1
ALT's knowledge of Japan	1	0.6
ALT visit personalised English study	1	0.6
Total	180	99.8

Note: 84 of 86 responded (98%). Because of rounding, the percentage total does not equal 100%.

these referred to the ALT's teaching; other subcategories were the one-shot system itself; the need for more preparation time between JTE and ALT; the ALT's own preparation; and the JTE's own preparation.

What impressed the students the most: Table 4 shows a response rate in this category of 98%, with 180 items mentioned. These were spread across a wide variety of subcategories. However, five subcat-

Table 5: What Impressed the Teachers and Administrators the Most

Feature	number of items cited	%
Teaching strategies	[*n* = 60; 40.8%]	
Knowledge of language teaching methodology	14	9.5
Humourous/enjoyable lesson	10	6.8
Simple vocabulary & syntax	7	4.8
Realia	5	3.4
Student management	5	3.4
Clear pronunciation	3	2
Professional approach	3	2
Use of praise	3	2
Use of communicative English	2	1.4
Use of Japanese	2	1.4
Visual aids	2	1.4
Acceptance of students' simple English	1	0.7
Australian English	1	0.7
No translation into Japanese	1	0.7
Standard English	1	0.7
ALT's personality/appearance	[*n* = 49; 35.8%]	
Friendly/coooperative/nice approach	28	19
Enthusiastic/positive/cheerful approach	15	10.2
ALT's smile	6	4.1
Cultural information	10	6.8
JTE & student response	[*n* = 10; 7.3%]	
Increased motivation	5	3.4
JTE reflection on teaching styles	3	2
Positive student response [not further specified]	2	1.4
Interaction with students & staff during lesson breaks	7	4.8
ALT's study of Japanese	6	4.1
Effort in understanding & assisting JTEs	4	2.7
Lesson content	1	0.7
Total	147	100.1

Note: 83 of 86 responded (97%). Because of rounding, the percentage total does not equal 100%.

egories dominated: the ALT's teaching; the provision of cultural information; the ALT's personality; and the humourous or relaxed nature of the ALT's lesson. Additional subcategories were: the chance to be able to communicate with a native speaker; the ALT's appearance; the motivational impact; talking with the ALT during lunch breaks; the ALT's knowledge of Japan; and the personalisation of English study brought about by the ALT visit.

Table 6: Additional Comments

Comment	number of items cited	%
Informal comments	[n = 24; 38.1%]	
Thanking ALT	12	19
Looking forward to seeing ALT again	9	14.3
Wishing ALT well	3	4.8
Positive response to ALT's teaching	[n = 17; 27%]	
Teaching skill [not further specified]	6	9.5
JTEs enjoyed the lessons	4	6.3
Students enjoyed the lessons	3	4.8
ALT's previous teaching experience	1	1.6
Realia	1	1.6
Teaching about Australian English	1	1.6
Use of Japanese	1	1.6
Requests for more visits	11	17.5
Motivational impact on JTEs & students	5	7.9
Extracurricular Activities	[n = 6; 6.3%]	
JTEs enyoyed discussions	1	1.6
JTEs enjoyed teaching methodology suggestions	1	1.6
Post-visit mail contact with students desired	1	1.6
Suggested that ALT play sport with students	1	1.6
ALT's friendly approach & smile	1	1.6
Negative response to ALT's use of Japanese	1	1.6
Total	63	100.1

Note: 38 of 86 responded (44%). Because of rounding, the percentage total does not equal 100%.

What impressed the teachers and administrators the most: A category by category breakdown of the responses received (97%) appears in Table 5. Respondents indicated 147 items in this category. The two dominant subcategories were: the ALT's teaching strategies; and the ALT's personality and/or appearance. Further subcategories were: the provision of cultural information; the response of JTEs and/or students; interaction with students and staff during lesson breaks; the ALT's proficiency in Japanese; the effort made by the ALT to understand and assist the JTE; and the lesson content.

Additional comments: Table 6 shows a breakdown of the 63 additional comments received, with 44% of those surveyed responding. The majority of these were informal comments. Additional subcategories referred to: a strong positive response to the ALT's teaching; requests for more visits; the motivational impact on JTEs and students; extracur-

ricular involvement; the ALT's friendly approach and smile; and a nega-
tive reaction to the ALT's use of Japanese.

Discussion

Strong points

The most substantial subcategory referred to the ALT's teaching strat-
egies, in particular clear and slow pronunciation of English pitched at
the students' vocabulary level. Interaction with students was commended,
as was the use of gestures, realia, and "exciting" self-introductions. In
essence, these responses constitute a favourable reaction to Western-
style teaching in general, which, according to Ryan (1993) typically
attempts to foster enthusiasm and motivation via interesting content
and presentation. The positive comments on previous teaching experi-
ence and student management skills (2.7%) may reflect approval for
ALTs becoming involved in matters (discipline and student manage-
ment) which the Ministry of Education specifically instructs ALTs are
solely JTE responsibility. Of course, in the reality of the classroom,
student management in the form of teacher voice variation, body lan-
guage and facial expression tend to be part and parcel of effective
teaching. However, JTEs who rely on the effective communication skills
of ALTs for student management are abrogating their responsibilties in
the team teaching situation.

The ALT's use of spoken and/or written Japanese as a teaching strat-
egy in class was praised on 2.2% of the responses.

The second largest subcategory saw student response as the strong
point of the ALT visit. It is not known how this was judged; some JTEs
utilise formal evaluation sheets, but it is likely that others passed on
their impressions from informal conversations with students, and even
from their judgment of students' expressions and reactions in class. At
any rate, 8% reported that students were more motivated as a result of
the team-taught lesson; 7.6% reported that students enjoyed the lesson,
and 7.6% reported that students understood or were understood by the
ALT.

The third subcategory, some 12.5%, felt that the strong point of the
visit was the ALT's personality and/or appearance, with friendly atti-
tude at the top of the list. The ALT's smile was specifically cited by
1.3%. One JTE (0.4%) wrote about the ALT's eye and hair colour as the
strong point of the visit, an interpretation of *internationalisation* as
merely seeing something different, rather than involving cognitive or
psychological processes.

The content of the team taught lesson was perceived by many (9.4%) as the strong point, in particular the role of ALT as cultural informant (5.4%).

Finally, a small proportion of respondents (5.4%) felt that the living, native English of the ALT constituted the strong point of the visit.

Weak points

Almost half (41%) of the responses in this category were not directly related to the team-taught lessons. The majority (23.1%) referred to difficulties with the one-shot system and the demands placed on ALTs, JTEs, and students to function effectively without knowing each other well, and being limited to a brief period of time. A few (5.1%) respondents referred to inadequate preparation before the visit. Many JTEs appear to be in a no-win position regarding preparation time for team-taught lessons, desiring more time for such and recognising its benefits, but unable to find time in busy daily schedules for sufficient team preparation. Adequate team preparation time has been repeatedly nominated by researchers and teachers as crucial to the success of team teaching (CLAIR, 1992a). It is clear that a commitment to successful team teaching must include a commitment to preparation time.

The behaviour of the ALT was cited by 7.8% of respondents as the weak point, and points to the necessity of ALTs increasing their awareness of behaviour appropriate to the teaching culture in Japan. Contributing factors to this are the fact that, by the very nature of the one-shot system, all eyes are on the foreigner in the staffroom. To complicate matters, the expectations, status, and role of teachers appear to differ significantly between Japan and Australia. The bind is that the "foreignness" of the ALT is part of the appeal—providing that no offense is caused. The one-shot ALT is in the unenviable position of having to find that balance in as many as 40 different schools, each of which may have a different view.

For 38.5% of the respondents, some aspect of the ALT's teaching constituted the weak point; 7.7% were unhappy that the ALT did not speak with all the students in the class, and 10.2% were unhappy with the interaction that did take place, citing unclear or non-American pronunciation, and the use of vocabulary or syntax that was difficult for students. Interestingly, whereas one respondent felt that not enough Japanese was used in class by the ALT, another felt that too much Japanese was used.

One respondent commented that the use of realia was ineffective, in contrast with seven respondents who considered the use of realia to be

one of the strong points of the ALT's visit, and five respondents who suggested team taught lessons would be improved with more realia (see *Strong points*).

Several respondents (20.5%) referred to the student response as a weak point, in particular that slow learners lose confidence if they are bewildered by the ALT's English, and that in mixed ability classes some students find the ALT's English too easy, whereas for others it is too difficult. Pre-lesson briefing of the ALT might help prevent such problems; ALTs also need to develop the ability to adjust their English to the needs of different classes and students.

Suggestions for improvement
It is heartening to note that the number of responses in this section (69) and the number of *Strong points* (223) both far outnumbered the *Weak points* (39), indicating that, overall, JTEs took a positive view of the team teaching arrangements.

Over half of the responses (53.6%) suggested improvements to the ALT's classroom strategies. Of these, the majority wanted more interaction with more students, a demand which may be difficult to implement, given the class sizes of 35 and above at the junior high school level. It may be useful for ALTs to learn strategies for working with small groups within classes. In addition to meeting JTE expectations, this would have the added effect of personalising the intercultural contact in the classroom. Even if small group work is not possible, the ALT's approach to working with large classes will benefit from a heightened awareness of the need for more interaction.

As mentioned above, more realia was desired, as was more cultural information, and more advice and/or correction to students and JTEs. However, one respondent suggested that the ALT speak Japanese during lesson breaks and lunch times, reflecting a view of English not as a communicative tool but as a *school subject* without practical application. Furthermore, this suggestion does not take into account that Japanese proficiency is not a deciding factor in selection of JET Program ALTs (Juppe, 1994).

Another concern is the suggestion of one respondent that the ALT try not to speak with an Australian accent. This sort of comment shows a lack of understanding and awareness of different English variations and dialects; it is potentially part of the role of the ALT to teach about these differences, and to create a climate of understanding, acceptance, and awareness of the varieties of English spoken in the world today. *Internationalisation* must be interpreted as more than the ability to

comprehend "standard" North American English. With English fast becoming the international language of mediation between countries with different first languages, Japan's English speakers will be dealing with other EFL speakers, particularly in the Asia-Pacific. Becoming accustomed to many varieties of English is thus extremely important.

Improvements to the one-shot system, in particular requesting a greater number of visits to each school throughout the year, were suggested by 21.7% of respondents. In addition, 13% suggested that there be more time for pre-lesson discussion between ALTs and JTEs. It would appear that for the team teaching model to succeed, particularly with one-shots, the preparation for ALT visits must be absorbed by more than the English faculty, perhaps by other staff relieving English teachers of some duties to enable them to attend planning discussions with the ALT. An equal number of respondents suggested more careful separate preparation by both ALTs and JTEs. These comments generally referred to increasing the awareness of the role of the team teaching partner, suggesting that ALTs become more familiar with word lists of each year level, and with the Japanese education system in general, and that JTEs prepare students with pre-communicative activities in readiness for the ALT visit.

What impressed the students the most

It should be noted that as these evaluation forms were compiled by JTEs, it is impossible to know how and to what extent student reactions were gauged.

The majority (23.3%) referred to the ALT's teaching strategies, including the use of gestures and facial expression, the ALT's use of praise, and the active role students were required to play in lessons, features which the students may have been unaccustomed to. Six respondents (3.3%) were impressed with the ALT's use of Japanese during lessons, while 18.3% were impressed with the cultural information provided by the ALT, including the use of realia, the Australian accent, and visual aids used to teach about Australian culture.

The friendliness and/or enthusiasm of the ALT impressed 16.7%. Perhaps related to this, 15.6% cited being able to understand and make themselves understood by the ALT, clear acknowledgment of the impact on students of firsthand experience of English as more than a school subject, but as a real means of communication.

What impressed the teachers and administrators the most

This section refers not only to JTEs but also to non-English-teaching staff and school administrators, who on some occasions visited the

team-taught lesson, but on others were able only to meet the ALT in the staffroom.

Again, the majority of responses referred to the ALT's teaching strategies, in particular the ALT's knowledge of language teaching methodology, and ability to make lessons humourous and/or relaxing for students. Two respondents cited the ALT's use of Japanese as an impressive teaching strategy; in contrast, one respondent cited the lack of translation into Japanese as the strong point. Similarly, one respondent was impressed by the use of "Australian English" but another was impressed by the use of "standard English".

A substantial number of respondents (35.8%)were impressed with the ALT's personality and/or appearance, with 4.1% specifically citing the ALT's smile. The cooperativeness, flexibility, and friendly approach of the ALT are clearly important for staff who have little opportunity to get to know the ALT and, operating within the time constraints of the one-shot system, must still develop some limited degree of rapport with the school for the team teaching exercise.

The cultural information offered by ALTs was considered the highlight by 6.8% of respondents, reinforcing the response by students and JTEs.

Additional comments

The majority of these (38.1%) were informal, thanking the ALT, wishing him/her well, looking forward to the next visit. Of the more formal responses, 27% were a positive response to the team-taught lessons, including one respondent with a positive response and one with a negative response to the ALT's use of Japanese.

Finally, 17.5% requested more visits by the ALT, and 6.3% of the additional comments referred to extracurricular activities either undertaken by or suggested for the ALT. This may imply a desire for ALTs to become part of the school culture and participate in more than classroom lessons, just like JTEs.

Conclusions

The most striking finding is the importance of the ALT's personality in the team teaching situation. Of course, this is particularly important in the one-shot system, where motivation of students seems to be the primary result. A friendly, encouraging ALT is thus vital for students and for putting JTEs at ease. It should be noted, however, that this demand puts a great deal of pressure on ALTs to be *genki* (lively or outgoing) at all times; to maintain a smile, no matter what happens; to adapt to and

accept any situation, no matter how demeaning. Such an expectation shows the need for further education and the development of increased awareness in the area of *internationalisation*, which stresses common humanity as well as the understanding of cultural differences. Thus, it is vital that ALTs consider the teaching of this sort of understanding an important part of their work, while maintaining a tolerant attitude and understanding of the need for an increase in this sort of awareness by Japanese students. The result will be true understanding of other peoples and a more genuine *internationalisation*.

Widespread praise for the cultural informant role of the ALT comes contrary to the expectation of researchers (Cominos, 1992; Juppe, 1993) that this aspect of team teaching should these days be receiving less attention. The emphasis placed on previous teaching experience and classroom skills, supporting an earlier finding by Kawamura and Sloss (1992), gives food for thought to the Ministry of Education, which shows a clear preference for recent college graduates over more experienced applicants (Leonard, 1994). These factors indicate a need for the Ministry of Education to consult closely with JTEs to re-evaluate, and possibly reformulate, team teaching aims and objectives. Until such consultation, the Ministry of Education's selection criteria of ALTs are in danger of becoming an obstruction to the success of actual classroom teaching.

The variety of responses supports the widespread intuitive claim that ALTs must be extremely flexible, as different schools, and different teachers within each school, have widely varying expectations about the role of the ALT. This has been found to be particularly true for the use of Japanese, the use of realia in lessons, and the nature of the English used in class. The use of Japanese is a particularly thorny issue in the team teaching situation. At present, JET Program ALTs are hired regardless of their Japanese ability (Juppe, 1994). While this may make life difficult for them in general, and is certainly a barrier to integration of the ALT into the school as a whole, in the classroom it encourages the use of English for genuine communication. If ALTs use a significant amount of Japanese in the team teaching class their role is reduced to one of cultural informant. The present study does emphasise the importance of this role, but it also indicates the strong impact on both students and staff made by communication with the ALT in English.

It is of paramount importance that JTEs make quite clear to ALTs exactly what their individual expectations are, so that ALTs may adjust to the differing needs of specific situations. ALTs must not assume that each JTE wants the same style of teaching; JTEs must not assume that

ALTs know precisely what is expected of them in terms of behaviour and classroom role.

This study has highlighted the need for better training of ALTs before they begin their assignments about the Japanese educational system; the need for the building of awareness and tolerance of the different varieties of English and their cultures, and other aspects of the work of ALTs. Clear communication and friendly, flexible approaches from both ALTs and JTEs will foster successful team teaching and thus, it is hoped, better serve the foreign language needs of students.

Wendy Scholefield currently lectures in second language acquisition at Charles Sturt University, Australia. She was a 1993 JALT Research Scholar, and worked as a JET Program ALT for 2 years, after teaching language to primary, secondary and adult learners in Australia.

Notes

1. This research project was conducted with the support of a 1993 JALT Research Scholarship Grant.
2. The term ALT (Assistant Language Teacher), used by the Ministry of Education, is used throughout this paper rather than the more commonly heard term Assistant English Teacher (AET). ALT refers all those who assist in foreign language classes, even though most, if not all, ALTs teach English.
3. Akita Prefectural Odate Homei Senior High School, 1992; Gifu Prefectural Mashita Minami Senior High School, 1992; Kanagawa Prefectural Ichigao Senior High School, 1992; Kumamoto Prefectural Kumamoto Kita Senoir High School; Okayama Prefecture Sozan Senior High School, 1992; Osaka Prefecture Suita Higashi Senior High School, 1992; Tottori Prefecture Yazu High School, 1992; and Aichi Prefectural Tempaku High School, 1994.

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Appendix: Sample of AET Evaluation Form*

AET EVALUATION FORM

Name of School:
Municipal K J.H.S.
Date of Visit: May 28, 1993

1. Strong points: (of the AET's teaching)
   The first, the color of her eyes and hair are different from us. It impressed on the students that they can talk with foreigners.
   The second, her brief self-introduction and talk about Australian goods is very wonderful. Especially, the students excited Australian dollars and Vegemite.

2. Weak points:
   In class, teaching only in English is important. It is very effective to translate difficult words in Japanese in a low voice. But at the lunch time, the students want her to use Japanese a little. The first, the color of her eyes and hair are different from us. It impressed on the students that they can talk with foreigners.
   The second, her brief self-introduction and talk about Australian goods is very wonderful. Especially, the students excited Australian dollars and Vegemite.

3. Suggestions for improvement:
   At the lunch time, I wish her to talk in English and Japanese, if possible. If so, she will have a much better time with the students and their homeroom teacher.

4. What impressed the students the most:
   Her cheerful personality
   Australian strange food: Vegemite

5. What impressed the teachers and administrators most:
   Her pleasing personality
   Her cooperative attitude

6. Additional comments:
   Thank you very much for your visit. Our students and I had a very cheerful time with you. Especially, Vegemite was very delicous, I think. Please bring Australian money and Vegemite at the next visit. Because the students with Ms. O... will be interested in them.

* Note: This form is reproduced unchanged from the original.
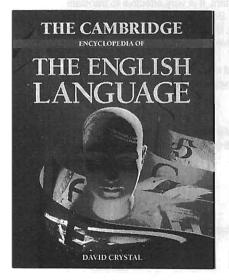
Do EFL Learners Make Instrumental Inferences when Reading? Some Evidence from Implicit Memory Tests

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Initial studies with second language learners, employing elaborative inferencing tasks, appear to contradict some ideas about the usefulness of schema theory for teaching reading to students of English as a foreign language. Learning instructions designed to activate instrumental inferencing in single sentence contexts may have a negative effect on recall, suggesting that they may disrupt processing during initial contact with the text.

精緻化推論のタスクを使った、第二言語学習者の研究を行ったところ、外国語として英語を学ぶ学生に読解を教える際のスキーマ理論の有用性の主張とは矛盾した結果が出た。一文だけの文脈では道具的推論を活性化させるための指示は、記憶に否定的な影響を与えるかもしれない。これは、こうした指示が、テクストとの接触の初期段階における処理の妨害になるかもしれないということを示している。

Though there is some disagreement on the various versions of schema theory on offer, the theory itself has been influential in the methodology of teaching reading both to native and non-native speakers. Schema are produced by drawing inferences from the text and relating text-based information to information the reader already has, based on knowledge or experience.

In studies of elaborative inferences, i.e. those which relate information in the text to information in memory, researchers have used a variety of techniques to find support for schema theory (Graesser and Clark, 1985). Whitney and Williams-Whitney (1990) focused on research techniques which accommodated evidence that elaborative inferences are affected by contextual variables, and also demonstrated how subjects use elaborative inferences. Whitney and Williams-Whitney (1990)

and Fincher-Kiefer (1994) examined whether readers infer instruments implied by actions in short texts and single sentence contexts, while Whitney and Williams-Whitney also used implicit memory tests as an activation measure to examine the occurrence of instrumental inferences. Implicit memory tests are those in which performance is measured in the absence of conscious recollection (Graf and Schacter, 1985), such as a constrained word stem completion test. For example, Whitney and Williams-Whitney told subjects to read a series of sentences such as *The woman stirred her coffee* and then to take a constrained word stem completion test generated from the target instruments (e.g. sp—). When indirect priming effects appear in the constrained word stem completion test, as is indicated when subjects generate target instruments more frequently than the baseline level, one would expect that they draw instrumental inferences while reading. Indirect priming effects can be obtained as a result of lexical access to target instruments.

Levels of Mental Representation

According to Fincher-Kiefer (1994), indirect tests may better reflect text processes occurring at multiple levels of representation, following the models developed by Johnson-Laird (1983); Just and Carpenter (1987); Kintsch (1988), and Perfetti (1989). In brief, these models suggest that readers construct several levels of mental representation as they read. At the first level of representation, thought to be the result of automatic lexical and syntactic processes, the explicit words of the text are represented. This level is called "surface memory." The second level, or propositional representation ("text-based"), is the result of semantic analysis. This level is obligatory during the reading process as it provides meaning to the reader. Finally, the third level, or situation model, is the level at which inferences are made, and is thought to be the site of the integration of individual sentences with an individual's prior knowledge. This level thus makes use of extra-textual information. The situation model provides the reader with an interpretation of the text. The absence or disruption of this model results in shallow comprehension.

Fincher-Kiefer cites the important point made by Lucas, Tanenhaus, and Carlson (1990) that certain test tasks may direct the reader to one level of representation, but other tasks may require a different level of representation. "Responses to indirect tests should reflect information encoded at all levels of representation, including the abstract representation of the situation model" (Fincher-Kiefer, 1994, p. 3).

A study by Tajika and Taniguchi (1995), which sought to confirm the occurrence of instrumental inferences using implicit memory tests, drew on both the research techniques proposed by Whitney and Williams-Whitney (1990) and the model of multiple levels of representation. Tajika and Taniguchi (1995) used a three-way research paradigm on three groups of matched subjects. They examined the effect of learning instruction (either *memorizing sentences, imaging situations,* or *generating instruments*); administered a word stem completion test consisting of related and unrelated words; and, finally, gave each group either a cued recall or a free recall test. Results showed a) a significant amount of priming in each group; b) an interaction between learning instruction and relatedness of words; and c) superior performance in the cued recall test. From these data, it is suggested that subjects draw instrumental inferences during reading.

Implications for Second Language Learning

The above research findings indicate that native-speaker subjects instructed to generate an image associated with a sentence will have greater access to related target lexis and to accurate recall of the sentence. If this is so, then the effect of a particular learning instruction (in this case "generate an instrument associated with the sentence") should be to enhance encoding processes, resulting in visual, situational and propositional representations of the material during reading.

This multiple representation should in turn give rise to greater accuracy and superior performance in sentence recall. However, this is not always the case. Paris and Lindauer (1976) suggested that weaker readers, such as children in lower elementary grades, were poor at making elaborative inferences of this kind. Is this also true of second language learners? At what point in second language acquisition do learners begin to make such instrumental inferences? Will learning instructions make a difference in recall? Researching these areas with EFL learners may yield insights about:

  i) knowledge representation in L1 and L2 (reader's knowledge);
 ii) some effects of particular learning instructions and questioning techniques in the EFL classroom (reader's strategy);
iii) the comprehension of texts and the recall of lexis and sentence structures;
 iv) the place of prior knowledge in interpreting the text; and
  v) the interaction between the points given above.

Also studies of concept mediation in bilingual subjects (Dufour and Kroll, 1995, p.168) showed that more fluent individuals can effectively access lexical and conceptual connections between their two languages, and are able to conceptually mediate the second language, but less fluent individuals are not. If less fluent learners cannot access conceptual information directly from the second language, as an inferencing task demands, then their responses to such tasks may be slow and prone to error, as they attempt to resort to their first language for concept mediation.

Constraints

There are several constraints:

a) Studies to date on elaborative inferencing such as Tajika and Taniguchi (1995) were conducted with native speaker readers. As yet, to our knowledge no data have been gathered from non-native speakers in a similar experimental paradigm.

b) The reading materials used are single sentences. Though there are data describing the effect of instrumental inferencing in longer discourse, the findings are not always clear (see McKoon and Ratcliff, 1992, for a useful review).

c) The above experiments are confined to examining simple propositional sentences which give rise to instrumental inferences. In more detailed or complex propositional sentences, particularly in longer discourse, other kinds of inferences may be drawn, for example global and predictive inferences.

d) In any research conducted on second language learners, there will be difficulties in controlling for variables such as general and cultural knowledge, and the availability of lexical items (for example, whether or not they have been previously taught to the subjects).

With the above constraints in mind, it was decided to extend the research paradigm devised by Tajika and Taniguchi (1995) for native-speaker subjects to a similar group of non-native speaker subjects (college students): English majors studying English as a foreign language.

Aims

The goals of this research were:

1. To acquire data on the effects of learning instruction on mental representation;

2. To examine the processing of information, inferencing and recall as evidenced in the reading skills of second language learners; and

3. To enable a comparison to be made between native speakers and second language learners in the above areas.

Method

Design

The method used was a simplified version of 3 x 2 x 2 mixed factorial design used by Tajika and Taniguchi (1995). The first factor was learning instruction, consisting of three levels: control, image and generation. The second factor was the recall test, consisting of two levels, cued recall and free recall. The third factor was relatedness of words used in a word stem completion test, which consisted of two levels, related and unrelated. While the first and second conditions were manipulated between subjects, the third condition was varied within subjects.

The two major points of difference between Tajika and Taniguchi (1995) and the present experiment were in the omission of the "image" level from the design, so that there remained only the "generation" and control groups; and in the words used for the word-stem completion test, which were *all* instruments from the sentences, and which themselves contained no unrelated words. Scoring of relatedness, then, was on whether subjects themselves used related or unrelated words to complete word-stems.

Subjects

Thirty students at Aichi University of Education participated in the experiment on a voluntary basis. Ten were assigned to each of three groups, A, B and C. Those in Groups A and B were at the end of their freshman year, and had received regular weekly instruction in English for the whole year. Their level was approximately that of the Cambridge First Certificate, though proficiency varied across macro skills. Subjects in Group C, who provided baseline data, were in their sophomore year, but their English level may not have been significantly different from that of the freshmen students.

Materials

The materials used were the same 16 sentences used by Tajika and Taniguchi (1995), some of which were taken from Dosher and Corbett (1982). For further details on the selection of these sentences, see Tajika

and Taniguchi (1995, p. 95). The vocabulary in both the sentences and the instruments was simple, within the grasp of a low-intermediate level learner, and was assumed to be within the lexicon of the subjects (see Appendix).

The instructions were delivered in simple English, and the term "instrument" was illustrated to the "generate" group, Group A, prior to the experiment.

Procedure

Each group was given a period of study, during which the test group, Group A, was required to read the 16 sentences, one by one, and *generate an instrument* as they read. For example, two of the sentences were *Yasuko stirred the coffee* and *Haruko took a picture of the scene*. The instruments of these sentences are *spoon* and *camera* respectively. They were given about 25 seconds for each sentence. Group B, the control group, were instructed merely to *read and memorize* the sentences. Again, they were allowed 25 seconds for each sentence.

After this, both groups first took the word-stem completion test. They were told that this was separate from the previous phase. The subjects were instructed to complete each word from the initial letters, according to the number of blank spaces given. In longer words, the first two letters were used. The words were selected as the instruments of the sentences by procedures set out in Tajika and Taniguchi (1995). The subjects were allowed ten minutes.

Groups A and B were then further divided, with 5 subjects in A1, A2, B1 and B2. Groups A1 and B1 were given a free recall test and required to write out the sentences they remembered on a blank sheet of paper, while A2 and B2 were given the instruments printed on the paper they received as cues. The presentation order of each cue matched that of the sentences from the study phase. The subjects were told to use the cues to help them recall the sentences. Subjects in both cued and free recall groups were allowed 15 minutes.

Group C provided the baseline data for the word-stem completion test, using instruments from the sentences (see Appendix for sentences) in a free association test.

Results

The results obtained supported some of the findings of Tajika and Taniguchi (1995), Whitney and Williams-Whitney (1990), and Fincher-Kiefer (1994) for native speakers, but indicated differences of processing for second language subjects.

Priming effects: Word stem completion test

In the word-stem completion test, requiring subjects to complete the words by recalling the instrumental inferences of the sentences they had read, the "generation" group scored 3.55% against the control subjects' 0.5% (baseline = 1.3%). It is worth noting that while only a minimal difference may be seen between the baseline and control groups, both the control and the experimental subjects performed significantly better than the baseline in similar studies, including Tajika and Taniguchi (1995), where significant priming effects were found in each of the three learning instruction groups, with the generation group scoring highest. In the present study, a small priming effect was seen only in the generation group.

Free recall and cued recall tests

In the sentence recall test each correctly reproduced word was scored as two. Where an incorrect word was grammatically of the same group as the target word, such as a definite article substituted for an indefinite article, or one preposition (e.g. "on") substituted for another ("at"), one point was allowed. The use of the present tense of a correct verb, rather than, say, the past tense, for example "stirs" rather than "stirred", caused the deduction of one point, as did phonetic interference in misspelling a word, for example "rocked" for "locked," where the sense was otherwise obvious. The scoring was done individually by two raters. Agreement was 94%. Disagreements were settled in conference between the raters. Table 1 shows the proportions of correct recall for each group.

A two-way ANOVA was conducted, the first level being learning condition (generation vs. control), the second being recall test (free vs. cued). Results indicated there were significant main effects for condition [$F (1, 16) = 16.67$, $p<.01$] and recall test [$F (1, 16) = 33.44$, $p<.01$].

Contrary to Tajika and Taniguchi (1995), the control group performed better than the generation group, although the standard deviation of the control group was quite large. However, the cued recall group performed better than the free recall group for both learning condition groups, suggesting that a significant amount of priming had been obtained. There was no interaction between condition and recall test ($F < 1$).

Discussion

It is not obvious why the control group performed so much worse on the word stem completion test. It may well be that a larger number of subjects would have yielded a different effect in some of the results obtained, exhibiting clearer patterns than in the present sample.

Table 1: Sentences Recalled as a Function of Learning
Instruction Condition and Recall Test Type

Learning Instruction		
Recall test	Control	Generation
Cued recall	121.6	91.6
Free recall	101.8	62.4

(n = 144)

These results suggest that there is some support for the proposal that instrumental inferences are made during reading for second language learners as well as native speakers. However, these inferences were only in evidence when subjects in the experimental group performed a word stem completion task. The generation of instrumental inferences did not help subjects in the free recall of sentences, unless they were cued, in which case, there was a significant priming effect. Subjects in the control group showed superior recall for sentences in both cued and free recall tests.

There appears to be an effect of learning instruction on mental representation, with effects differing according to the learning goal. For example, the instruction to generate an instrument may have a positive result when the task is to recall vocabulary, but is a distraction when the task is to memorize sentences accurately, as here it seems to obstruct propositional representation, which is in any case subject to rapid decay (McNamara, 1994).

Usually, material may be encoded in three ways—verbally, pictorially, and propositionally. One might expect visual representation yielding inference of the instrument to be more easily accessed and readily recalled than propositions such as sentence structure. (Lucas, Tanenhaus, and Carlson, 1990; Johnson-Laird and Stevenson, 1970).

The control group's superior performance suggests that where the L2 is being used, simple memorization of each sentence produces greater accuracy of recall. Some reasons for this may be:

a) For subjects at the lower end of the proficiency scale the instruction to generate an image may interfere with recall. Here it should be noted that the learning style of these subjects has been developed in an environment where rote learning is the norm. This may have affected processing.

b) Mental representation is not visual, but remains on the propositional level. For some Ss it may be more difficult to imagine something in the L2 than in the L1 (see Stevick, 1986, p. 4 for a comment).

In the dual coding approach developed by Paivio (1986), two types of representation were suggested: verbal and pictorial. When study materials are processed by dual codes, they are stored more strongly and permanently. Representation by dual codes thus implies imagery representation. Imaging study materials is dependent on familiarity with the materials. Thus, when study materials are presented as English sentences, it is harder for Japanese students to image using dual codes. In this model, students with high verbal ability will process each sentence using dual codes, but those low in verbal ability use mainly a verbal code.

Other reasons for the control group's superior performance may be:

c) It may in fact take longer than the time allocated for L2 subjects to generate an instrument, whereas for many L1 subjects, the generation is in most cases automatic. For this reason, as well as those cited in b) above, it may well be that the allotted 15 minutes was insufficient for Japanese learners with low L2 reading proficiency.

d) A "second-language effect" was observed in the mental representation of the control group, who are not accessing semantic levels while they carry out the task of reading and memorizing the sentences.

e) The processing of information takes a different form in the L2, so that the model of multiple levels of representation needs to be modified in some way. It is not known whether lexicons are organized and accessed differently in L2 readers. The similarity to, or remoteness from, the L1 to the language being processed may make a difference.

f) Because of the grammatical, lexical, and phonetic inaccuracies resulting from the use of the L1, the scoring procedure biases results.

Note, too, that the levels of English language proficiency in these learners were fairly generalized. Any particular group of Japanese students in university classes displays a wide range of proficiency. Further, there may be little difference in levels of English skills between freshmen and sophomores, possibly explaining some of the results.

Implications for EFL classroom methodology

Methodological assumptions to be examined include:

1. Encouraging learners to engage in organizational tasks with the text as an aid to storage in long term memory.
2. Encouraging learners to generate images or situations associated with vocabulary, sentences or a text during reading.

Stevick (1986) and others have suggested that the processing afforded by multiple levels of representation during sentence encoding aids recall. According to this view, involving subjects in more intensive processing of information, longer periods of engagement with the text, and more complex organizational tasks will ensure processing in long-term memory.

This strategy has been successful for L1 readers, and to date it has been assumed to be available to all L2 speakers. The present findings suggest that this may not hold true for some learners of a second language. In particular, it might not always result in greater accuracy of recall of the propositional text-base. The learning instruction and task type may have significant positive or negative effects on storage and retrieval of information.

Results in the word stem completion task seem to corroborate the usefulness of the learning instruction to generate an instrument when the goal is acquisition of vocabulary. In light of the above results, recent trends to use mnemonic techniques for the memorization of vocabulary may be viable for at least some L2 learners. Actively generating an instrumental inference seems to involve encoding on multiple levels of representation for lexical targets (c.f. Ellis, 1995)

If either of the above assumptions is questionable, the types of comprehension questions and text-based activities frequently required of students in popular ELT publications, and inspired by learning techniques and memorizing strategies found to be successful for native speakers, may not always achieve their stated aim for use with lower to middle proficiency learners of a second language.

Conclusion

Subjects who are not yet bilingual may need to process sentences automatically in the first phase of contact with a text. At this stage, learning instructions designed to encourage elaborative inferences may

block some levels of processing, as is suggested by poor results in sentence recall tasks.

Generally, native speaker subjects will encode sentences in various ways; McNamara (1994) suggests that some material will elicit visual, some situational and some propositional representation. However, it remains unclear whether this is dependent on the task, the learner's cognitive style, content, sentence structure, or discourse (see Fincher-Kiefer, 1994). The predisposition of Japanese learners of an L2 towards rote learning may result in automatically encoding sentences at the propositional level.

Clearly the application of this research to classroom methodology may be quite limited. It may be confined to students of lower proficiency, and to comprehension and instrumental inferences in single sentence contexts. Further studies with second language learners are needed. As Grabe (1995) points out, in his discussion of the dilemmas posed by second language reading development, "... we need to examine [which] research and instrumental studies from L1 reading contexts are *not* useful to L2 reading contexts and why" (p. 5).

In particular, this research may serve as a useful reminder that native-speaker data which are seen to support a particular model, theory, or strategy for the teaching of reading, cannot always be depended upon to support the use of the same strategies in teaching reading to second language learners.

On this point, the above findings support Grabe's (1995) statement that:

> many L2 reading researchers have assumed that reading in different languages is nearly the same, calling on the same processing requirements. They have also assumed that reading skills in the L1 should transfer readily from the L1 to the L2. However, it is now evident that L1 reading skills do not automatically transfer to the L2 context, nor do reading processes in different languages appear to be all the same, particularly in terms of their effects upon beginning L2 reading students. (p. 3)

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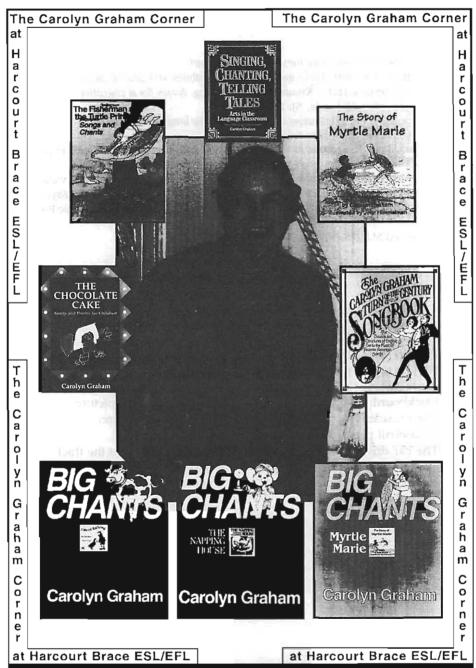
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Appendix: Sentences Used in Study

Yasuko stirred the coffee.
Haruko took a picture of the scene
Akira wrote the answer on the blackboard.
The president sat at the desk.
A baseball player hit a home run.
The car driver checked the street location.
Hanako cut an apple.
Sayuri hit a tennis ball.

Hideo cut the articles out of the newspapaer.
Yuki locked the door.
Yoshiko painted a picture.
Kumiko wrote a letter.
Aki lit a cigarette.
The policeman shot the thief.
Keiko ate her rice.
Tomoko turned on the light.

Function and Structure of Academic English

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The language of academic English is described with a focus on the academic paper or research report. It is maintained that the academic paper or research report opens a window of current relevance on a phenomenon or topic, establishing a generic perspective that pressures the use of present tense, complex nominal expressions, and passive voice.

　本稿は、高等教育で使われる英語を、論文、研究報告を中心に分析したもので、論文や研究報告は、特定の現象や話題の現時点での意義を問題とし、一般的な視点を確立しようとするために、現在形、複雑な名詞句を用いた表現、受動態が多様されると主張される。

very domain in which language is employed, from home to market to university to workplace, has different rules of appropriate and correct usage. These domain-appropriate rules have evolved in response to the purposes which language fulfills in a given domain and the types of discourse in which language users of that domain engage, whether dinnertime chat, bargaining for lower prices, putting forth a logical argument, or writing a sales letter.

Within the academic domain, there are special rules of appropriate language use in lectures, discussions, and office talk. Though they are often neither explicit nor conscious, those who do not know these rules or who wittingly or unwittingly break them risk being unable to participate fully and successfully in academic culture. Just as for the spoken forms of communication in academic society, the written forms have their own protocols that have evolved to express particular meanings and forms of discourse. Contrary to popular belief, "there is not in fact only one correct form of the grammar of a language but rather a range of options useful for different purposes and appropriate in different situations" (Pennington, 1995, vi).

In what follows, the specialized grammar of academic discourse is examined in the three areas of verb tenses, complex nouns, and passive voice, particularly as realized in the research paper. Through an exami-

nation of these three areas, one can gain an understanding of the logic of academic writing which elucidates some aspects of its form as well. The academic paper is described as opening a window of current relevance on a phenomenon or topic within which the relationships between complex ideas are presented in a direct, informationally dense form, and the author is removed from view.

The Relationship of Function and Structure in Academic Discourse

A discussion of the relationship of function and structure in academic discourse might logically begin with examination of the nature of one of its most highly specialized exponents, the research paper. An academic research paper has the specific function of reporting information and establishing it as reliable, valid, and worthwhile—i.e., as useful or important in advancing a field of study. As Swales (1990) observes, research articles "are rarely simple narratives of investigations. Instead, they are complexly distanced reconstructions of research activities" (p. 175). Characteristically, in research writing and other types of academic writing, and to some degree academic discourse in general, the author seeks to project objectivity, logic, and authoritativeness by establishing a "generic perspective" on the information. The perspective of an academic paper is "generic" in the sense of being temporally and personally detached or non-specific, that is, timeless and impersonal.

An academic paper can be seen as establishing a "discourse window" within which ideas are presented. This window can be thought of as bringing selected information into the immediate context of the paper, in the process setting and delimiting the reader's schema, and at the same time establishing a view that is relatively distant and detached from the writer. In this window, information is highlighted for the knowledgeable reader by means of a simple system of tenses linking highly complex noun phrases which express the specialized meanings of a given field, and by use of the passive voice to enhance objectivity.

Establishing the Discourse Frame Through Verb Tenses
The predominance of present tense in academic writing
A research paper is generally for the purpose of describing or showing results and establishing an argument or a theoretical position (Swales, 1990). These are functions which do not require use of tenses to the same degree or in the same way as talking about events in chronological sequence (e.g., in a story or narrative). Increasingly, the main tense used in

most academic writing—and many other genres of English writing as well, including poetry—is the simple present tense. In these *present tense genres,* which establish a context of the here-and-now or the "timeless" present, other tenses function to organize and express ideas by their contrast and interplay with the simple present tense (Pennington, 1988).

The "discourse window" within which ideas are presented in an academic paper is thus not generally a *time frame* for talking about events and the order in which they occur. Rather, it is more of a *logical frame* or *space* for developing ideas and presenting information from a certain perspective or point of view. The logical relationships established between ideas in an academic paper involve reasoning and argument development, and include identifying which ideas form the basis or background for other ideas and which ideas follow in a logical progression from others.

The flow of ideas in an academic paper is for the most part a *logical,* not a *chronological,* flow in which the focus of discussion is foregrounded and highlighted by presenting it in a present tense "window of current relevance." Less focal ideas may be presented in the past tense as outside the focal perspective (Riddle, 1986). The tenses thus function in academic writing primarily to establish the importance and the relevance of different pieces of information to the argument or theoretical point being advanced. This is the reason that the simple present tense dominates even in describing past research, as in a literature review or discussion of results. By using the present tense, the author signifies to the reader that the research reported is considered to be of immediate relevance to establishing the argument or theoretical focus.

Past tense as a backgrounding device

It would not, however, be accurate to say that the past tense never occurs in an academic paper. It may in fact occur in presentation of past research in a literature review or discussion of results section. If the author's purpose is to establish a clear break between older and newer research traditions, the contrast of past and present tenses may help to do this. For example, in a literature review, one paragraph or group of paragraphs may review in the past tense a group of studies the author wishes to present as "traditional," no longer relevant, or less relevant than another group reviewed in the present tense. Or, an author may wish to contrast an older or less effective methodology with a newer or more effective one by using the past tense to de-emphasize the relevance of the former methodology and the present tense to highlight the relevance of the latter methodology.

The past tense sometimes occurs in the method or procedures sec-
tion of a research paper, as when the author describes the procedures
used for finding subjects or for other aspects of conducting the research,
such as the way in which a questionnaire or experimental protocol was
administered. The past tense is also used in describing the results of
research, but generally only where it is necessary to establish a definite
time or chronological order, e.g., in time series designs, historical stud-
ies, or reports of detailed observations of sequential human behavior in
psychology or ethnographic studies.

As a specific example of these differential tendencies of tense usage in
academic writing, Swales (1990, pp. 135ff) summarizes research describ-
ing the occurrence of tenses in one scientific journal. This research shows
that past tense occurs in the science articles primarily in the methods and
results sections rather than in the more abstract introduction and discus-
sion sections, precisely where the present tense tends to occur.

The occurrence of other tenses in academic writing

While the past tense signifies a definite break with a current frame of
reference, the present perfect tense establishes a *relationship* with the
current frame of reference. The present perfect tense is therefore com-
monly used in a literature review or discussion section to link one find-
ing or idea with another and to make a logical transition from one to the
other, as in:

(1) While previous studies *have suggested* that . . . , the present
     investigation *demonstrates* a different effect.

In addition to the logical frame of a report of research, the academic
paper establishes a *physical frame* and a *spatial flow* of ideas, i.e., from
the beginning to the end of the paper. An author may employ a tense
shift to open or to close the frame of the paper or its individual sections.
For example, the author may open or close the introductory section of a
paper by presenting a view of the structure or content of the report to
come, using *will*, as in:

(2a) In what follows, it *will be shown* that . . .

(2b) In the first section of this report, background to the investiga-
     tion *will be presented.*

However, the pressure to favor a "timeless" concept as the frame of an
academic paper is so strong that the present tense is increasingly the
verb form of choice:

(3a) In what follows, it *is shown* that . . .

(3b) In the first section of this report, background to the investigation *is presented.*

Authors often use the present perfect tense to open a new frame by relating it to the information presented in the previous frame. Thus, a discussion or conclusion section may begin:

(4) In the preceding discussion, it *has been shown* that . . .

Here, the present perfect tense links sections or subsections of the paper to make a logical transition between them.

Will has a similar usage in linking the closing of one frame with the opening of the next, as in:

(5) In the next section, it *will be demonstrated* that . . .

Here again, though, the pressure seems increasingly to favor present tense usage, as in:

(6) In the next section, it *is demonstrated* that . . .

Will can also be used in a research report for prediction of behavior, e.g., in statements of hypotheses or in discussion or conclusion sections drawing implications for future studies or for the future state of the phenomenon or population studied. However, hypotheses are more often than not stated in the present tense; and predictions and implications, too, tend to be couched in present tense language, such as:

(7a) Our findings *predict* a more regular and less diffuse pattern of behavior as the system *matures.*

(7b) This study *suggests* that the future is likely to be one in which a more vocal population *expresses* higher levels of dissatisfaction with the status quo.

A rule of thumb for tenses in academic writing

As a rule of thumb, when writing a research paper, the "default value" for verb inflection should be simple present tense, with the author deviating from this setting only when there is a logical need or reason to:

(a) show the time or the order of events,

(b) present information from different perspectives,

(c) contrast the relative importance of ideas, or

(d) make explicit the structure of the paper or the argument.

In short, uses of other tenses in academic writing are best made as conscious, reasoned decisions about departing from the "timeless" or schema of the simple present tense, which represents the simplest format for presenting relationships among complex ideas.

Developing Specialized Content Through Nouns

The complexity of the noun group in academic writing

Although most grammar books and most students and teachers of English place a strong focus on verbs and verb tenses, the complexity of academic writing resides far more in the noun group (nouns and noun phrases) than in the verb group (verbs and verb phrases). While the verb groups in academic writing tend to be of a simple structure, largely simple present tense, noun groups often are extremely complex. In the following typical example, everything preceding the verb *offer* is one noun group, and everything following this simple verb is another:

(8) The measured increases in the level of greenhouse gases *offer* increasing evidence of a global warming trend in the direction predicted by the model.

As this example illustrates, not only the structure but also the content and meaning of the noun group, which establish the topical focus and themes of the text, tend to be highly complex in comparison to the verb group in academic discourse. Whereas the verbs tend to be drawn from a relatively small set of reporting or relationship verbs (e.g., *be, appear, show, demonstrate, indicate, report*), the nouns of academic discourse are more extensive, with less transparent meanings.

In academic discourse, nouns tend to occur in combinations with prepositions and adjectives to make noun "stacks" and noun phrase clusters, as in:

(9a) global warming trend
    ADJ   ADJ   NOUN

(9b) opportunity cost indicators
     NOUN   NOUN   NOUN

(9c) (the measured increases) in[(the level) of (greenhouse gases)]
     NOUN PHRASE   NOUN PHRASE   NOUN PHRASE

These stacked nouns, or noun clusters, embody the specialized and abstract meanings required in a particular field for precise and in-depth communication. Some of the complexity of academic discourse lies in

the fact that the abstract nouns or parts of the noun group are frequently derived from other parts of speech, especially verbs. In (8), the following parts of the noun groups are in fact based on verbs:

measured (fr. verb *measure*)
increases, increasing (fr. verb *increase*)
warming (fr. verb/adjective *warm*)
predicted (fr. verb *predict*)

The nature of reference in academic discourse

Another type of complexity involves the degree of specificity or directness of reference in academic discourse. The nature of reference in academic texts can be seen in the use of *the* in complex noun phrases. As in all its uses, the definite article in academic discourse identifies a specific referent of the noun. In the illustrative sentence of (8) above, the initial *the* in *the measured increases in the level of greenhouse gases* implies that specific measurements are referred to, perhaps in an earlier section of the paper where these have been described. If the author were to write *measured increases* without a preceding *the*, the noun phrase would refer more generally and could not be pinned down to a specific referent, that is, to specific measurements. Similarly, whereas *the opportunity cost indicators* specifies a particular set of opportunity cost indicators, the phrase *opportunity cost indicators* makes less precise reference to such indicators. The difference is a subtle but important one having to do with whether specific facts or only a general area of information is being adduced in support of an argument.

A difficulty in academic writing (and other forms of English discourse) is that nouns often make reference to ideas not defined in the text or refer generally or abstractly to previous sections of text. In such cases, the referents of nouns must be inferred from the discourse context or from knowledge not represented. Thus, when an author mentions *opportunity cost indicators*, it may be with the intention of defining this concept in the text or with the assumption that the reader will already be familiar with the concept or can infer the meaning from context.

The various forms of nominal reference can be illustrated by several examples of a type which is common in academic discourse, *viz.*, where a noun preceded by *this* establishes a connection to a previous portion of text through relationships of generalization and description. For example, in the literature review section of a research paper or report, the paragraph following a review of key studies might begin in any of the following ways:

(10a) *This group of studies* is in indication that . . .

(10b) *As this literature* shows, . . .

(10c) *This review of the literature* offers an insight into the process of . . .

(10d) *These findings* make clear that . . .

(10e) *These early findings* have been superceded by more recent research showing that . . .

(10f) *As these wide-ranging results* make clear, . . .

(10g) *This inconsistency of results* suggests . . .

As we move down the list from (10a) to (10g), we are moving from more direct to more indirect forms of reference. Example (10a) generalizes on a concrete level, referring to the research reviewed as a *group of studies*, (10b) is a somewhat more general and abstract form of reference in which the studies reviewed are invoked as a collective or mass noun in the phrase *this literature*, and (10c) describes the previous text in a still more abstract way, in terms of its function, as a *review of the literature*.

Unlike (10a-c), (10d) extracts the information content of the previous text in referring to the results of the studies as *findings*. Examples (10e) and (10f) are different from preceding examples in adding an attributive adjective to the general noun used to refer to the studies. In doing so, the author slips in some additional information about the studies, referring back to them while at the same time advancing the content of the discourse. Use of an attributive adjective is a more compact way to add information to a discourse theme or topic than making a proposition in the form of a clause or whole sentence. It is also a way to both assert a point of view and to subtly bring the reader into that point of view, ostensibly in the act of referring to previous text.

In (10e) the author classifies the reviewed studies as *early findings* and so backgrounds them in comparison to some more recent findings. In (10f), the author indicates his/her perspective on the previous research as showing a diversity of results. Although this could be a positive or negative attribution, it is common in a literature review section to cast previous literature in a somewhat negative light, as a way to motivate the author's research. It is therefore likely that the author will make clear in the same paragraph that this comment is intended to indicate a shortcoming of the previous research.

In example (10g), the author makes a direct critical assertion about the quality of the previous research studies by describing them as inconsistent. Note that this evaluation is accomplished not through an

adjective but through instantiation of *inconsistency* as a noun. Hence, the reader is required not only to recall the content of the literature review just provided but also to assent to the author's evaluation. Such a form of reference expresses highly complex meanings and relationships among ideas in a succint fashion that establishes clear topics, themes, and relationships.

Inherently singular and countable nouns in academic discourse

A subtle and surprisingly difficult aspect of noun usage in academic writing involves singular and plural. A main reason for this difficulty is the fact that a large number of nouns are inherently singular (i.e., "noncount" nouns) in some contexts but in others may occur in the singular or the plural (i.e., as "count" nouns). A prime example of this crossing of categories is the group of nouns which can refer to either (a) a concrete and differentiated "thing" (an object or a unit of some kind) or (b) some type of mass or undifferentiated substance (matter or material). Examples are *pie* and *cake*, which can both refer to concrete objects— *a pie/some pies, a cake/some cakes*—as well as to the undifferentiated substance of *pie* and *cake*, as in:

(11a)   Which would you like, pie or cake?

(11b)   I'll have cake, please.

Now the difficulty is that many nouns formerly considered inherently singular and uncountable have developed countable senses by a process of conventionalized ellipsis. This is a process in which a noun phrase becomes conventionally abbreviated to a simple noun. By this process, *a coffee* comes to stand for "a cup of coffee," and *two sugars* is understood as an abbreviated form of "two portions of sugar." When this happens, the noun which specifies the countable unit, that is, the container or measurable portion, must be understood and inferred from the context.

To compound the difficulty of interpretation related to ellipsis and the changing grammatical properties of English nouns, almost any noun can be used in a countable or differentiated sense to mean "a type of"—a usage that is particularly common in the discourse of specialized fields. For example, to the average person, *two beers* most likely refers to "two portions (pints, bottles, cans, mugs, glasses) of beer", while for the brewery owner or beer afficionado, *two beers* may equally well refer to "two types of beer" (such as two different brands or two different varieties such as stout and lager). To the non-specialist, many instances of plural nouns, such as *steels* or *Englishes*, may seem uninterpretable or incorrect. A me-

chanical or construction engineer, however, might speak of *steels* meaning "different types of steel" (e.g., as made from different proportions of carbon and iron), and a linguist might speak of *the Englishes of the world*, referring to different varieties of English. The latter is a good example of how changing times and circumstances, such as the spread of English around the globe, affect language—in the creation of new words and sometimes new grammatical possibilities as well.

Learning nouns as the specialized meanings of a field

A main difficulty in both interpreting (as reader) and constructing (as writer) academic discourse resides in the decoding and the encoding of complex noun phrases to express the specialized and abstract meanings current in a particular field (Halliday and Martin, 1993). On the "down" side, the forms and the usage of these nominal expressions can probably only be learned through extended experience and apprenticeship in a given field. On the "up" side, however, they are learned as part and parcel of the content and concepts of a field which a scholar will usually have chosen out of strong personal interest. Consequently, the usage of nouns in academic discourse is driven by intrinsic motivation to learn and to understand one's field ever more deeply, and to express that knowledge and understanding ever more precisely. In this way, the apprentice scholar expands the mental store of English nouns and acquires a more elaborate system of their usage in the service of more detailed and specialized communication.

Objectivizing Perspective with Passive Voice

The special character of the passive voice

In school, students of English learn that the passive construction is formed, based on a sentence in the active voice such as

(12) *John has eaten all the rest of the pie.*

in three steps:

(a) Invert the positions of the subject and object, so that what is logically the object (i.e., the receiver of the action) becomes the grammatical subject, while what is logically the subject (i.e., the doer of the action) moves to the position following the verb.

(b) Place *by* before the logical subject, now in position following the verb.

(c)   Put the main verb in the form of the past participle and insert
      be as the main verb, making the latter verb the same tense as
      the former main verb.

Through this series of steps, a speaker of English may produce the
passive voice sentence:

(13) *All the rest of the pie has been eaten by John.*

Students of English, both native and non-native speakers, may go to
some trouble to learn to practice this three-step process to form passive
constructions. Yet they may well wonder about the point of all this
grammatical manipulation, given that a simpler active voice alternative
is available. There is more to use of passives than this set of syntactic
procedures. A clue to the fact that this set of instructions is not the
whole story can be gained by noting that in the passive voice the *by*-
phrase made of the logical subject is often omitted, as in:

(14) All the rest of the pie has been eaten.

The fact that a doer does not occur in many passive sentences suggests
that they have a different meaning and purpose from active sentences,
where the doer is the necessary grammatical subject (see Lock, 1995, for
further discussion). In fact, the passive voice, which is common in aca-
demic writing, is the only or the most natural choice when an objective
voice or perspective is wanted, as in:

(15) The chemicals were combined.
NOT The scientist/I combined the chemicals.

(16) It was determined that . . .
NOT I determined that . . .

The value of the passive voice in academic discourse
    The difference between the active and the passive can be summarized,
both literally and figuratively, as that between a "subjective" and an "objec-
tive" focus. The "object focus" which differentiates the passive from the
active voice is realized in different ways and for different communicative
purposes. Two broad types of motive exist for use of passive voice:

Thematization—To express a logical or natural focus by fore-
        grounding the receiver or the result of an action;
Avoidance—To make a statement without mentioning the logical
        subject or doer.
Thematization of the logical object of the verb to become the gram-

matical subject of the sentence foregrounds this element by placing it at the beginning of the sentence. The purpose of thematization, a common reason for using the passive voice in academic discourse, is to highlight or focus on:

>   (a) the receiver of an action,

>   (b) the result of an action, or

>   (c) outcomes and consequences more generally.

The following are examples of thematization where the receiver (which may be a thing or a person), the result of an action, or outcomes and consequences more generally are the logical or natural focus rather than the doer or the act itself:

> (16a) Lab Director: How could the beaker have got cracked? Lab Technician: *The bunsen burner was turned up too high.*

> (16b) Curious Colleague: Why is George celebrating? Knowledgeable Colleague: *His paper was accepted by SSLA.*

> (16c) After centuries of hapless and monumentally disastrous expeditions, *the search for the Fountain of Youth was finally abandoned by New World explorers.*

> (16d) *The theorem, as proved by Whitehead*, states that ...

The other main motive for using the passive is when it is necessary or desirable, for various reasons, to avoid mentioning the doer of an action or to shift attention away from the act itself. One of the most common examples of this motive in academic discourse is the use of passive voice to remove or distance the author's personal voice from a report of research findings or a logical construction of ideas. Use of passive voice here makes the report or discussion of results sound more neutral or objective, as in:

> (17a) *It is suggested that . . .*
> RATHER THAN   I suggest that . . .

> (17b) In this investigation, *the question has been given a negative answer.*
> RATHER THAN   In this investigation, we have given the question a negative answer.

Similarly, scientific experiments are often described using the passive voice. Thus, Swales (1990, p. 137) reports research showing the highest use of passive voice occurring in the methods section of scientific articles.

As another example of the second motive, the passive voice may be used in reporting an event in order to avoid attributing responsibility, blame, or causation for some act or outcome, as in:

(18a) *The President's image has been damaged.*

(18b) *The information has been leaked to the press.*

(18c) The public record is not complete because *some critical records have been lost or destroyed.*

(18d) In the reaction, *two ions were diverted from their original trajectories.*

In some of these cases, the cause or person responsible for the action may be unknown. In other cases, the intention may be to withhold information in an attempt to be secretive, polite, selective, or careful in reporting an event.

A writer can display a theoretically neutral stance or a cautious and conservative approach to interpretation of results by deliberately avoiding any mention of particular human agents or actions, as in:

(19a) *The Korean language is thought to be genetically related to both Japanese and Turkish.*

(19b) *This system is found to be unstable under conditions of* . . .

(19c) *Its structure has been determined to be* . . .

(19d) This solution to the problem, *which is widely accepted,* has the advantage over the traditional solutions of . . .

In sum, it is a misconception to think of active and passive voice sentences as being in any sense interchangeable in meaning or as originating from the same underlying sentence or logical structure. Rather, passive voice sentences have a meaning and a logic all their own that makes them especially useful in academic discourse.

Conclusion

As is clear from the examples presented here, while the role of tenses—and verbs more generally—is diminished in academic writing as compared to some other forms of discourse such as ordinary conversation, the role of nouns is highly developed. This is because in academic writing, the verb group provides a simple frame within which complex ideas and relationships can be expressed by means of the noun group. As is also clear from the examples of passive voice, a

structure that may be of little value in some forms of discourse, such as conversation or narrative, may have special utility in academic writing. Whereas the active voice is central to vivid descriptions of "who did what, where, to whom" in everyday discourse, in academic writing this active, subjective perspective is replaced by a more detached and objective orientation to events, ideas, and their relationships.

As this brief look at the discourse structure of academic writing suggests, real grammar—as opposed to the textbook or traditional school type of grammar—can only be taught and learned in relation to the specific purposes and communicative acts which the speaker or writer needs to perform. There is no shortcut to academic writing, which must be learned in relation to the specific texts and concepts of a given field, particularly as these are embodied in noun groups. Scholars learn the specialized usage of their field as they acquire additional linguistic resources and a more elaborated grammar and rhetoric of academic discourse in relation to their subject area. In this way, they become better able to express their precise intent as they concurrently develop their knowledge and their language.

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Writing on Academic Topics: Externalizing Rhetorical Processes in an Intercultural Context

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This paper reviews English-language academic writing pedagogy, learning theories, and cultural rationales to discern problems for Japanese students. One difficulty is the incompatibility of emphases on sentence-level grammatical accuracy and the communicative demands of larger discourse units. Another obstacle is students' unfamiliarity with the function of English-language rhetorical norms. This paper analyzes how this second problem is rooted in cultural contrasts with respect to what constitute necessary and sufficient ways of creating written discourse in Japanese and English. Specific classroom approaches and samples of student writing on science topics are examined to illustrate generic ways of helping students become more fluent EFL writers.

本論は、学術的テーマの英作文およびその学習理論と日本の学生にとっての問題を認識するための文化的根拠を検討するものである。困難の一つは、文レベルの文法的正確さとより大きい談話単位のコミュニケーション上の要求の双方を強調するのが難しいことである。もう一つの障害は、学生が英語のレトリックの規範を知らないことである。この論文の分析は、二番目の問題が、英語と日本語では何が書き言葉の談話を構成するのに必要十分であるかという基準が異なるという、文化的な相違に根差していることを示す。特定の授業でのアプローチと科学的テーマの学生の作文例を検討した上で、学生がより習熟したEFLの書き手になれるようにするにはどのような助力ができるか、一般的な方法を説明する。

For Japanese students composing in English, one of the first problems faced is incompatible emphases. When teachers demand accuracy, students work hard to be accurate, but given the constraints on working memory, their ability to do so is typically limited to small-scale units such as the phrase or sentence. Further, Hattori, Ito,

Kanatani, and Noda (1990) report that Japanese teachers' felt obligation to respond to errors in writing is so time-consuming that they avoid assigning large-scale compositions. Once accuracy is made the focus of classroom activities, moreover, learners pay close attention to explicit rules and attempt to apply the rules. Yet as students monitor their language production, their ability to make and acquire meaning diminishes significantly (Krashen, 1984; Jones, 1985).

The status of errors: Focus on meaning

Nonetheless, since teachers are sticklers for accuracy, we face the continual dilemma of how to treat developmental errors on the part of students in making meaning. Problems of students attending to linguistic features at the expense of spoken communication are offered a partial solution by Nobuyoshi and Ellis (1993); for some speaking errors they suggest "focused communication tasks" in which learners are enticed into more accurate production by way of communication-based requests for clarification. Nobuyoshi and Ellis recognize limits. They question how such tactics apply to morphological errors that have little impact on meaning. Focused communication tasks, however, are suggestive of one way to bridge the accuracy/meaning-making dilemma in EFL composition.

The process approach and academic writing

With respect to writing, questions of over-monitoring, of meaning-making, and of focusing tasks on developmental issues such as learner errors are even more complicated. As noted, when emphasis is placed on linguistic accuracy, the unit-size of the discourse is perforce small in scale. Yamada (1993) reports that most students' EFL writing in high school centers on spelling and grammar while translating from Japanese at the sentence level. Advocates of the process approach to writing would say that these students require opportunities for composing on a more meaningful scale about subjects with which the individual writer can interact engagingly, even personally (Zamel, 1982, 1987; Krapels, 1990; Raimes, 1991). The process approach conceives of the learner's task as an interaction in which a writer creates multiple drafts, each draft providing a chance to "discover" what kinds of meaning might be desirable or necessary to communicate. Rigg (1991) describes such writing opportunities within the context of learners using "whole" language to compose from personal experience.

Critics such as Horowitz (1986) and Silva (1990) point to a disparity between language students writing on personal topics and writing for academic and professional purposes. Silva argues that in addition to process methods, approaches are needed in which writers learn to fulfill the contextual demands of academic subject matter. Japanese college students, such as majors in medicine or other sciences, face the prospects of researching and reporting in English about their fields of study as they proceed to graduate school and assume their professional duties. For these students, the practicality of academic writing seems obvious. With the incorporation of academic subject matter in EFL composition, however, we confront new questions about guiding writers' development as well as the timing, frequency, and method for focusing on developmental errors. Responses to these issues circulate within a matrix of intercultural contrasts and diverse educational experiences.

Contrasts in education and skills application

There are ample indications that difficulties for Japanese college writers result from differences between Japanese- and English-language conventions with regard to rhetoric, education, and cultural orientation. First, in comparison with British and North American educational practices, Japanese students spend less time learning to write in their L1. Hinds (1987) and Mok (1993) note that most Japanese stop studying L1 writing by the sixth grade. Second, many skills Japanese students acquire in learning to write cannot be transferred easily when they begin to compose in English. While there is a paucity of research that pinpoints "immediate practical uses" of contrastive rhetoric (Leki, 1991, p. 137), one useful insight is that rhetorical skills in L1 writing are not readily transferred to the L2. In a study of Japanese college students composing in English, Carson, Carrell, Silberstein, Kroll, and Kuehn (1990) find a weak correlation, at best, between L1 and L2 skills. Third, when Japanese students take up English composition practice, they are typically underexposed to the rhetorical and invention devices they need to become fluent writers. As noted, Yamada (1993) maintains that high school students expend their energies creating grammatically correct translations of sentences. Yamada further asserts that "discourse and rhetorical organization are totally ignored" (p. 115).

Rhetorical contrasts

Of the various intercultural differences between growing up as a native speaker (NS) of Japanese and learning EFL, the most critical are

the rhetorical conventions in Japanese versus those of English. For example, among general commentators, Reischauer avers that in comparison with the English-language bias toward directness, speakers of Japanese "cultivate vagueness" (1988, p. 381). Among observers of written discourse, Hinds (1987) describes such elements as "vagueness" as part of an array of conventions that dispose Japanese rhetoric toward placing responsibility for understanding the meaning of a text with the reader. This is in direct contrast with English-language convention in which the writer assumes responsibility for conveying meaning. Fister-Stoga (1993) traces the influence of classical Chinese rhetoric on Japanese composition and (citing Oliver 1971) itemizes formidable differences with Western norms.

	Western	Asian
Style:	variable, lively	ambiguous
Motive:	self-interest	social harmony
Tone:	animated	unexcited

(adapted from Fister-Stoga 1993, p. 136)

The contrasts between Japanese and English cut more deeply than rhetorical style, motive, and tone. Indirection, suggestion, and silence are not classified as primary elements in English-language discourse, but they are pragmatic forms of eloquence in Japan (Ishii and Bruneau, 1991; Fister-Stoga, 1993). Indeed, silence in the form of ellipses is a distinctive feature of Japanese semantic structure. Discussing spoken elipses, Lee (1984) indicates that

> Japanese words and phrases are often abbreviated into a "head." This results in a degree of linguistic truncation rarely found in other languages. It is exemplified by the much-used expression *domo*, the basic meaning of which is "very [much]," "quite," "somehow." Since *domo* is an adverb it functions at most as a kind of hat or gloves covering the word modified. Its role presupposes that there is a verbal "head" or "hands" to be covered, but the Japanese often cut away the word modified, leaving just the adverb *domo*. (p. 45)

With respect to written discourse, the Japanese *ki-sho-ten-ketsu* form of essay writing consists of an introduction (*ki*), followed by development of the introductory theme and loosely analogous sub themes (*sho* and *ten*), and a conclusion (*ketsu*) in which the essay makes its main point (Hinds, 1983; Loveday, 1986; Fister-Stoga, 1993). What stands out here is how topsy-turvy the form seems in comparison with English-language prose development. It is quite proper, for instance, to introduce one topic

in *ki* and insert a second or even a third topic in the middle sections for the purpose of leading up to an argument fixed on possibly another topic in the concluding *ketsu* section. When we refer to "topic" and "argument," in fact, we are imposing English-language categories that do not adequately account for elements like pacing and temporal proportion as agents of formal reasoning in the *ki-sho-ten-ketsu* tradition. Nevertheless, of immediate interest are (a) the formatting of multiple "topics" in *ki-sho-ten-ketsu* in contrast with the privileging of a single topic in a well-formed English-language essay; and (b) the emergence of *ki-sho-ten-ketsu*'s "argument" in the concluding section while customarily academic English prose argues from beginning to end.

I draw this contrastive picture to suggest that beyond the questions of Japanese writers' linguistic accuracy in EFL composition, there are complexities of rhetorical tradition, prior education, and cultural attitudes embedded within rhetoric and education.

Providing writers with appropriate tools

Academic writing in L2 makes new demands on the language learner. From the teacher's perspective, these entail far more than introducing additional language items such as grammar rules and vocabulary. In reviewing current L2 research, Krapels (1990) offers that learners' underdeveloped skills in EFL composition are caused more by a lack of competence in writing strategy than in general language. We can further define Japanese students' lack of competence in terms of their inexperience communicating in academic contexts, a lack of communicative competence of a particular sort.

A primary requirement, then, is to initiate writers to strategies and rhetorical tools in English to apply what they know. A first step, suggested by Mok, would be to highlight contrasts, to "capitalize on the differences in overall organization" between Japanese and English written language (1993, p. 158). Additionally, with respect to thinking and writing in academic contexts, general-education students need practice organizing, writing, and rewriting ideas related to such curriculum-based topics as ethical debate, literary summary, and scientific analysis. Indeed, rhetorical norms and organizational structures for writing about topics like these are what Cummins (1981) identifies as strategies for developing "cognitive/academic language proficiency" (CALP), that is, a communicative competence to exploit discourse conventions of academic disciplines.

Scientific discourse

To illustrate potential benefits of increasing college writers' level of CALP, I'll focus on written discourse in science. Such an approach at first seems counter-intuitive for an instructor of English who has been trained in language and literature, but I find one advantage to basic scientific discourse is that it is unburdened with cognitive abstractions like "irony," "paradox," and so forth. Since basic science writing concerns itself with facts or theories derived from verifiable data, general-education students, science majors, and non-science majors can enjoy reading and writing about nature and scientific discoveries without the intensive preparation with regard to specialized mental constructs and abstractions common even at the beginning level of writing about the arts and social sciences. Also, science topics underpin students' understanding of the world, an enormous advantage for engaging them in the rhetoric and patterns of organization required of fluent writers.

Externalizing the writing process

To summarize, with regard to the intercultural contrasts between growing up as a NS of Japanese and acquiring fluency in EFL composition, college writers' most immediate need is a re-orientation to the preferred rhetorical and invention structures determining the organizational patterns of English academic prose. Re-orientation is the right term here because, as Kaplan (1987) asserts, all rhetorical modes are possible in any language but each language has its preferences. Japanese has rhetorical devices for conveying cause and effect, definition, and the like, but the predominance of particular devices in English-language content and organization requires the EFL writer to become intimate with their various functions in shaping scientific and other academic arguments.

Japanese college writers in this sense are serving a "cognitive apprenticeship," a developmental term coined by Collins, Brown, and Newman (1989) to describe a situation in which students engage in expert practice in order to become experts themselves. To extend the apprenticeship metaphor, the instructor assists students by *externalizing the thinking and writing processes* that comprise the expert's knowledge. For Japanese college students, the know-how of writing can be rendered more explicit by means of instructors' *modeling* assignments that call upon processes of thinking and writing in English and *coaching* writers with hints and reminders. The modeling-a-process perspec-

tive helps establish methodological priorities, foregrounding learners' development.

Methods for modeling and coaching vary depending on the students' level and the instructor's interests. One sound way to craft a methodology is to take note of current research. Carrell's (1987) review of reading research found the following implications for teaching composition: EFL writers need exposure to "top-level rhetorical, organizational structures of expository text," and they need to learn how to select suitable structures in the process of composing, as well as "how to signal a text's organization through appropriate linguistic devices" (p. 54). These findings argue for teaching a rhetoric of invention, and in my case the invention devices that pertain to science: cause and effect, description, definition, and classification. Trimble, identifies these devices as "cohesive ties" and "rhetorical functions," each essential for organizing scientific analysis and "capable of being isolated and studied separately" (1985, p. 69).

A case in point

Working with both literature and science students, I found Trimble's idea of isolating rhetorical functions an excellent point of departure for introducing and reviewing the basic, generative elements of written scientific discourse in English. Trimble suggests, for instance, that classification is simultaneously one of the most essential rhetorical functions in science and one of the most readily understood. Taking Trimble's cue, I had students first discuss easily classifiable topics, sports, hobbies, and cars.

Then students were asked to read aloud a list of "key vocabulary" germane to both the science content and the rhetoric featured in the unit, in this case, classification. To illustrate, we reviewed words like "category," "to distinguish," "specific/general," in order to address exercises that explain and expand the concept of classifying. Students also read aloud "sentence patterns" and examples of "organizing rules" that furnish the linguistic tools that they would employ in their writing. Models of the patterns were reviewed: "Canines can be classified into groups." "The class canine is divided into categories." The introduction of patterns or rules was limited to those necessary to give students a sense of the words and phrases available. From the apprenticeship perspective, when students are provided these linguistic tools, the invention structures that fluent writers use become "externalized."

Before asking students to write original paragraphs using the appropriate patterns, I had them work on preliminary exercises that required

independent thinking and some writing, but simplified the writing task to make the organizing rules more apparent. Ideally, these preliminary exercises would interrelate and, in aggregate, prepare writers for more autonomous and challenging work. In a unit on comparisons and contrasts, three preliminary exercises moved from recognition, to partial- and full-application of organizational patterns. The first exercise had students read sample paragraphs and identify words and phrases that specify comparisons and contrasts; a second exercise required completion of sentences; the third asked students to read raw data about items of comparison and rewrite the data into a paragraph using words and phrases that indicate comparison and contrast.

For purposes of demonstrating the effects of the apprenticeship approach, I'll present work of three students, identified as A, B and C. My purpose is not to display representative or linguistically exemplary items, but to give insights into the feasibility of the approach. A first-day exercise, which had nothing to do with science, was designed to elicit a let's-get-to-know-you response. The writing prompt was, "Write a few things you know about the U.S. or the U.K."

A: "My knowledge of US is 'dangerous country.'"
B: "Gun."
C: "The U.K. is famous for the origin of Pank Rock."

The tentativeness of A, B, and C's responses is illustrative of the reticence of many writers. Their initial responses are more interesting, though, in light of responses to writing prompts later in the semester.

In a review unit that directed students to integrate rhetorical norms related to classifying and describing, the prompt "Write a paragraph in which you classify the general school subjects you like, subjects you have studied or are now studying in school . . . describe one or two courses . . . Use transitions" elicited:

A: Even though we are studying many subjects, subjects are divided into two groups: practice courses and lecture courses. For example, physical education is divided into practice course. In the physical education class we play volleyball, basketball and so on. Experimental physics is practice course as well. We examine the length of the wave which Hg spectrum has. On the other hand, history or basic geology are divided into lecture courses. We learn the things which happened in many years ago, or we learn the structure of igneus rock, from teacher.

This is not an exemplary paragraph in terms of linguistic accuracy. The writer shows some of the infelicity of his first-day response, "My knowledge of US is...," but I find great promise in the breadth of expression and depth of detail expressed in this paragraph. The potential is obvious—and, here, focused communicative tasks can be best applied. The student can be encouraged to review and revise ideas by means of well-placed communication-based questions from the instructor or, even better, from other students. "How do you examine the Hg wave?" "What other connection is there between history and geology?" Note that these questions are directed to the content of the writing. The goal is to have the instructor or other students provide feedback to the writer as focused communication in order to facilitate the writer's clarifying or discovering meaning in a second draft. [See Oshita (1990) and Shizuka (1993) for details of the benefits of peer feedback in the Japanese EFL context.]

Writer B, whose first-day response was "Gun," comes up with a less sophisticated response, but here as well the potential for focused revision could lead to fuller practice:

B: I study chemistry, English, Chinese, and physics in college. I'm taught in English by American teacher. On the other hand Japanese teacher teach chemistry, physics and Chinese classes. Japanese teachers aren't talkative very much. But American teacher ——. But both Japanese and American are good teacher.

Focused tasks for B might encourage practice in using more organizational structures of classification and description. Plausible questions include: "Besides the fact that they are taught by Japanese, can chemistry and physics be *grouped* in other ways?" "What *types* of things do you do in Chinese and English classes?" "Can you *describe* what your Japanese and American teachers talk about?" In B's case, from the perspective of the apprenticeship model, one can see the underlined rhetorical devices functioning as a technology of invention to help the learner generate clearer thinking and extended writing.

In another teaching unit, students integrated patterns and ideas comparing and contrasting phenomena. The writing assignment recycled a topic, a comparison of *fugu* (pufferfish) and humans, that students worked on earlier. The writing prompt "Japanese pufferfish or *fugu* have a backbone, brain and liver. Human beings have a backbone, brain and liver. The *fugu* and humans have immune systems. But there are many differences! Write a paragraph that compares similarities and contrasts differences between these two species" elicited:

C: Humans resemble fugu that they have a backbone, brain, liver, im-
    mune systems. But they are many many differences! The contrast is
    that fugu live in the sea, but humans live in the land. And fugu swim,
    but humans walk, run, jump, etc. Moreover fugu can not speak lan-
    guage, but human can speak language. Fugu has two eyes and a
    mouth. Humans have same. But fugu is covered with scales and has
    a fin. Humans don't have that. Moreover, breathing way is what
    Fugu is the gill and humans are the lungs. But the interesting same
    point is that when the angry makes a swelling cleek!!

C's writing is adventurous, especially in the latter half where he at-
tempts to describe differences in how humans and fugu breathe and
how each experiences swelling in the cheeks when "angry." This stu-
dent text will benefit from some help from the instructor in an encour-
aging, "coaching" mode. First, the instructor can provide a few hints
about unfulfilled patterns and missing words—the missing "in" for the
phrase "in that" of the first line, for instance. More important, the teacher
can help the student discover well-phrased equivalents of the highly
original ideas contained in the last two sentences. The teacher might
respond to the last sentence in the form of a question that echoes the
idea but employs correct constructions: "Oh, you mean when they get
angry they both have swollen cheeks?" Still not perfect, but a lot clearer,
here is a second version of C's last three sentences.

C: Fugu are covered with scales and has a fin and a gill for breathing.
    Humans don't have these things but have lungs for breathing. But
    the interesting similarity is that when they get angry they make swolling
    cheeks!

Conclusion

I am suggesting that it can be profitable for general-education students
to practice writing in academic subject areas, such as science, in units of
one, two, or more paragraphs. Intercultural contexts, especially rhetorical
contrasts, need to guide methods both for stimulating the production of
student writing and for assessment. In addition, we might consider meth-
ods that feature communication-based focused revision tasks, including
revision tasks that could involve peer discussion and feedback. Finally,
regardless of method, it seems advisable to conceive of the writer's role as
that of an apprentice acquiring expertise. A corollary would be that the
teacher's function is to externalize processes which will enable the writer
to compose meaningfully and, in time, masterfully.

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American English, Japanese, and Directness: More Than Stereotypes[1]

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There is a good deal of literature on American English and Japanese which can be used to support the rather stereotypical notion that the former is characterized by explicitness and directness, the latter by vagueness and indirectness. Although stereotypes such as these are often based at least partly on facts, they are generally oversimplifications of complex phenomena which, upon closer scrutiny, begin to reveal their inherent complexities. This paper provides a review of some of the literature on interaction in American English and Japanese supporting the stereotype. It also discusses some recent studies of language use by Americans and Japanese which suggest that the stereotypes need further elaboration. It is argued that more research is needed to go beyond prevailing stereotypes in describing and accounting for language use in both English and Japanese.

アメリカ英語と日本語に関して、前者は明確で直接的であり、後者は曖昧で間接的であるという、かなりステレオタイプ的な概念を支持する研究は数多くある。このようなステレオタイプは、少なくとも部分的には事実に基づいていることも多いが、一般的にいって、複雑な現象の単純化されたものであり、注意深く検討すればその複雑な様相が姿を現わすものである。この論文は、アメリカ英語と日本語のインターアクションに関するステレオタイプを支持する先行研究を批評し、このステレオタイプにはさらに精密な記述が必要であることを示唆するアメリカ人と日本人の言語使用についての最近の研究を論じる。英語と日本語の言語使用を記述し説明する際に、広く受け入れられているステレオタイプを超えるためには、さらなる研究が必要である。

Norms for language use vary widely from one group to another, and numerous attempts have been made to characterize such differences across languages and cultures. Along these lines, as L. Miller (1994, p. 37) points out, "there are widely held and accepted characterizations of Americans as always forthright, direct and clear, and Japanese as always indirect, non-verbal and ambiguous."[2] Such global claims reveal the need for more in-depth study because they are, in fact, little more than stereotypes. While it is the nature of stereotypes to represent at least some aspects of reality, it is clear that more compre-

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hensive accounts of language use are to be preferred. This is not to say that such accounts will fail to further support the stereotypes—in fact, they more than likely will offer at least some additional support. More importantly, though, they will also go beyond the stereotypes to uncover the richness and complexity inherent in language use. This paper begins with a selective review of the literature on interaction in Japanese and American English which offers support for the dichotomy of hearer- versus speaker-based interaction proposed by Lakoff (1985). There is also a small but growing body of work on these languages which reflects the more complex nature of language use in context. Some of this work is presented after the discussion of hearer- and speaker-based interaction. Finally, some evidence from requests in American English and Japanese is presented which demonstrates that Americans can in fact be quite indirect, just as Japanese can be direct. Ultimately, though, much more detailed work is needed to begin to uncover the complex interrelationship of language and culture in Japanese and American English.

Support for the Stereotypes

Robin Lakoff (1985) has pointed out that since discourse is a cooperative venture, it follows that the responsibility for determining meaning must be divided in some way among the participants. Lakoff notes that there are at least two ways this can be done: the responsibility can be that of the speaker or that of the hearer. In speaker-based interaction, clarity and explicitness are paramount, and miscommunication is the speaker's fault. In hearer-based interaction, imprecision and ambiguity are valued, and miscommunication is the hearer's fault. Lakoff maintains that American English would be placed on the speaker-based end of the continuum, while Japanese would be situated on the hearer-based end. While it may have some appeal, one drawback of a dichotomy of this type is the possibility of overlooking or at least minimizing directness and indirectness within a single cultural context. Nonetheless, the distinction between directness and explicitness on the part of the speaker, and sensitivity and intuition on the part of the hearer, is repeated often in discussions of Japanese and American English.

One area in which the stereotypical Japanese penchant for indirectness is said to be exemplified is that of Japanese proverbs. Condon (1984) cites two which offer support for the Japanese tendency towards indirect speech (or no speech at all): "Speech is silver, but silence in golden" and "Hollow drums make the most noise." Lebra (1987) men-

tions several more proverbs with similar content: *Kuchi ni mitsu ari, hara ni ken ari* (Honey in the mouth, dagger in the belly), *Bigen shin narazu* (Beautiful speech lacks sincerity), and *Iwanu ga hana* (Better to leave things unsaid). She also points out that in Japan, trustworthy people are characterized as *kuchi ga katai* (hard-mouthed), and even politicians are not expected to exhibit eloquent speech. She maintains that hesitant speech, or preferably silence, is seen as a sign of humility, politeness, and empathy. Barnlund (1989, p. 115) makes a similar observation in stating that in Japan "admired people are, for the most part, distinguished by their modest demeanor, lack of eloquence, and their public modesty." And according to Loveday (1982, p. 3), the "articulation of thoughts and feelings in Japanese is often taken as an unmistakable sign that the speaker is neither profound nor sincere." While these proverbs may indeed reflect ideal norms which are not always representative of actual language use, they do present an image of the reputed Japanese distrust of the verbal.

Along similar lines, Doi (1974, p. 20) maintains that "for the Japanese, verbal communication is something that accompanies non-verbal communication and not the other way around." Lebra (1987, p. 343) notes that if "cultures can be differentiated along [a] noise-silence continuum . . . there are many indications that Japanese culture tilts towards silence." It should be noted that Doi and Lebra are writing from a psychological rather than a linguistic perspective. Similarly, the Japanese author Miyoshi has written that

> perhaps more important than any other factor in this problem of language and style is the Japanese dislike of the verbal. It might be said that the culture is primarily visual, not verbal, in orientation, and social decorum provides that reticence, not eloquence, is rewarded. (cited in Holden, 1983, p. 165)

Miyoshi's rationale for making such a statement is not made clear, but it seems that his view is not too far from that of some linguists. For example, Yamada (1994, p. 20) maintains that "the Japanese are skeptical about the value of talk, and, contrastively, idealize silence."

Ueda (1974) provides an interesting example of reputed indirectness in Japanese refusals. She maintains that there are at least 16 ways to avoid saying 'no' in Japanese. These include being silent, asking a counter question, changing the subject, walking away, lying, criticizing, delaying the answer, and apologizing. Thus, rather than say 'no' directly, she claims that Japanese speakers prefer to utilize any number of strategies of indirect refusal with the belief that the hearer will perceive their intention and act

accordingly. Of course, it is likely that 'no' can be said in more than one way in any language. In a questionnaire study of refusals made by Japanese and Americans, Beebe, Takahashi and Uliss-Weltz (1990) found that Japanese subjects tended to apologize, offer alternatives, and give more vague excuses than English speakers (see also Takahashi and Beebe 1987). However, such practices were found among the Americans as well, albeit less frequently, which indicates that such behavior is not the exclusive domain of the Japanese. That is, members of both groups exhibit similar behavior, but to varying degrees. This is an indication that the issue is not all or nothing, but is better perceived as one of degree.

In the framework of contrastive rhetoric, Hinds (1987) has proposed a dichotomy analogous to Lakoff's: speaker/writer responsibility. As a basis for applying the notion of hearer-based interaction to written texts, Hinds begins with a description of spoken interaction in which he maintains that in English "the person primarily responsible for effective communication is the speaker, while in . . . Japanese, the person primarily responsible for effective communication is the listener" (p. 143). Yoshikawa is also cited as stating that

> what is often verbally expressed [in Japanese] and what is actually intended are two different things. What is verbally expressed is probably important enough to maintain friendship, and it is generally called *tatemae* which means simply 'in principle' but what is not verbalized counts most—*honne* which means 'true mind.' Although it is not expressed verbally, you are supposed to know it by *kan*—'intuition.' (cited in Hinds, 1987, p. 144)

Hinds seems to imply, then, that the Japanese hearer/reader is primarily responsible for effective communication, and as Yoshikawa sees it, it is the obligation of the Japanese listener to use *kan* (intuition) to determine the meaning of discourse. Similarly, Okabe (1983) notes that in American rhetoric "the speaker is the transmitter of information, ideas, and opinions, while the audience is a receiver of those messages . . . [but] the rhetoric of Japan is remarkable for its emphasis on the importance of the perceiver" (p. 36), implying that certain types of discourse organization are characteristic of Japanese, as others are characteristic of English. Hinds points out, though, that his distinction between reader- and writer-responsibility refers to tendencies rather than rules, that is, he is not claiming that either language will not evidence both. However, rather than simply highlight what seem to be rather common characteristics of a given language, more emphasis should be placed on the fact that every language and culture evidences a broad range of discourse organization patterns in both speech and writing.

In discussing communicative style in Japanese, Clancy (1986) maintains that Japanese communication is largely based on the notion of *amae*, which refers to the dependence on and expectation of the benevolence of others. The relationship between mother and child is the prototypic relationship based on *amae*. According to Doi (1974), "the psychosis of *amae* pervades and actually creates the Japanese patterns of communication" (p. 19), that is, "what is most important for Japanese is to reassure themselves on every occasion of a mutuality based on *amae*" (p. 20). Clancy also argues that the basis of Japanese communicative style is a set of cultural values which emphasize *omoiyari* (empathy) over explicit verbal communication, and she claims that the extremely homogeneous, group-oriented society of Japan allows for such indirectness: people must be able to understand each other's thoughts and feelings without explicit verbal expression. Holden (1983) makes a similar observation in saying that "what is striking about Japanese social behavior is that the Japanese often claim to know intuitively what other Japanese are feeling" (p. 165). Lebra (1976) echoes this view in asserting that in Japanese conversation "the speaker does not complete a sentence but leaves it open-ended in such a way that the listener will take it over before the former clearly expresses his will or opinion" (p. 39). Clancy concludes by stating that:

> in Japan, the ideal interaction is not one in which the speakers express their wishes and needs adequately and listeners understand and comply, but rather one in which each party understands and anticipates the needs of the other, even before anything is said. Communication can take place without, or even in spite of, actual verbalization. The main responsibility lies with the listener, who must know what the speaker means regardless of the words that are used. (1986, p. 217)

All of this gives one the impression that the Japanese prefer not to use language at all, or that on those occasions when language is required, it is used sparingly. A second implicit claim here is that only Japanese are capable of intuiting the meaning in a discourse, or at least that they are somehow better at it than others. However, much of pragmatic theory (e.g., Gricean maxims or speech act theory) holds as its fundamental premise that all people engaged in meaningful interaction constantly intuit meaning. In fact, some would claim that it is impossible for us not to do so. It seems necessary, then, to move past the stereotypes to more complete accounts of language use in Japanese and English. Only then will we be able to determine how closely the stereotypes correspond to reality and in what ways they differ from it.

A More Complex Picture

Some of the accounts cited above seem to indicate that Japan is a place where little verbal interaction takes place, that is, verbal interaction would seem to be viewed as a last recourse only when intuition has failed to produce the desired result. And even then, such interaction would be judged as less than satisfactory. Of course, this is not completely representative of Japan or anywhere else. The reputed Japanese propensity for indirectness (and that of Americans for directness) provides at best a partial account.

Beebe and Takahashi (1989a, 1989b) point out that the stereotypical view of Japanese as indirect represents an incomplete picture of Japanese interaction. They maintain that the Japanese

> can be mercilessly direct. They can indeed be extremely indirect as well. The picture becomes clearer when we realize that the situations in which Japanese and Americans choose to be direct or indirect depend to a great extent on the relative social status of the interlocutors. (1989a, p. 104)

Using both ethnographic and questionnaire data, Beebe and Takahashi (1989a) compared the strategies for disagreement and giving embarrassing information for English speakers and advanced Japanese speakers of English. They found that "Japanese ESL speakers often do not conform to the prevalent stereotypes about their indirectness and their inexplicitness" (p. 120). In a questionnaire study of offers and requests in English, Fukushima (1990) found that "Japanese subjects were too direct in most situations, and sounded rude" (p. 317). Tanaka (1988), using role-plays to investigate politeness in English requests, found that Japanese were more direct and less polite than Australians. Since these studies deal with Japanese learners of English and not directly with interaction in Japanese, they should be treated with some caution. Unfortunately, there is little Japanese data available which addresses this issue. It should be noted, though, that the indirect speech of Japanese learners of English has been cited as evidence of a Japanese preference for indirectness (c.f. Schmidt, 1983). In two questionnaire studies of requests in Japanese and English, Rose (1992b, 1994a) found that Japanese were more direct than Americans on an open-ended discourse completion test (DCT), but switched to hinting and opting out on a multiple choice questionnaire (MCQ) containing the same request situations. Unlike studies based on L2 English produced by Japanese, these studies did look at Japanese, and they seem to indicate that things are more complex than implied by a hearer/speaker-based dichotomy.

In pointing out that the indirectness of the Japanese can be oversimplified, Condon (1984) cites a Japanese professional interpreter who maintains that "Americans can be just as indirect as the Japanese, but they are indirect about different things, and being indirect carries a different meaning" (p. 43). Holden (1983) also maintains that while the Japanese distaste for directness may be evident in their language use, Japanese is far more explicit than English where social status relations are concerned. That is, it seems that social relations are more clearly marked linguistically in Japanese than in English, with a typical example being choice of pronoun. While English affords only one first-person singular pronoun, Japanese has a range of at least five (*watakushi, watashi, atashi, boku, ore*), each employed according to speaker, listener, and setting. In fact as pronouns are generally omitted, expressing social status is a criterion for choosing a particular pronoun over zero-pronoun. It could be argued, then, that English is vague and indirect with reference to indicating social relations linguistically, but Japanese is explicit and direct. In addition, L. Miller (1994, p. 52) points out that the Japanese cannot simply prefer indirectness as the unmarked form of communication because their language contains a number of expressions to indicate that speech is "more indirect than what is normally expected or desirable." She cites the following examples: *kotoba o bokasu* (to shade the talk, i.e., to refuse to come out and say), *tsukamidokoro no nai* (no place to grab onto, i.e., to be vague, unclear), and *ocha o nigosu* (make the tea muddy, i.e., to talk ambiguously).

R. Miller (1982), if not the most vocal certainly the most acerbic critic of the prevalent stereotype, has this to say about Miyoshi's claim that Japanese culture is primarily visual:

> Anyone who has lived in Japan for any period of time, whether he or she knows the language or not, will surely find all this difficult to accept. Miyoshi's basic assumptions will surely appear to run counter to most direct experience. If any single feature characterizes sociolinguistic behavior in modern Japan, it is the obvious pleasure and delight that Japanese at every level of society take in the constant and generally strident, high-decibel employment of their own language. (p. 86)

While R. Miller may at times overstate his case, his observations here should ring true to anyone who has spent time in Japan. All it takes is one visit to any of Japan's ubiquitous *nomiya* (favorite eating/drinking spots of businessmen) or a *karaoke* bar to see (or rather hear) that Japanese do not always tend towards silence. Both 'strident' and 'high-decibel' aptly characterize Japanese language use in such settings.

It seems, then, that an analysis which posits a dichotomy based on degree of directness and places Japanese and Americans on opposite ends is only a beginning in describing and accounting for language use because such dichotomies downplay variation within the respective languages. As Hymes rightly points out,

> the primitive state of our knowledge of discourse is reflected in the general prevalence of dichotomies. . . . Such dichotomies do us the service of naming diversity. They do us the disservice of reducing diversity to polar opposites. (1986, p. 50)

Detailed investigation should produce data which reveals directness and indirectness in both English and Japanese, and it is likely that the contexts in which each is appropriate in the respective languages will differ. It is necessary to move away from the prevalent overgeneralizations and uncover the complexity of this variation.

Obviously, the way to proceed in addressing this issue (and other aspects of language use in Japanese or English) would be to conduct detailed studies which incorporate plenty of reliable data. Due to the difficulty of doing such a study on Japanese in my present abode (Hong Kong), I have assembled a few pieces of counter-evidence to illustrate the need for more research. It is my hope that those who are in a position to flesh out the possibilities mentioned will do so, thus addressing these questions with the depth which they deserve.

A Few Requests

Following are a few requests from American English which I have collected using what I will refer to as an 'eavesdropping' approach, but which Beebe (1994) calls notebook data. That is, they were collected in an unsystematic manner from naturally occurring language use. When I heard them, I jotted them down in a notebook as soon after the fact as possible. Such data clearly have limitations (see, e.g., Rose, 1994b).

1. Is this your stuff?
2. Is this where she got out?
3. Are you using the phone?
4. I need to see the mirror over there.

Request (1) occurred in a university copy shop. I was using one of only two available copiers and had placed my jacket and briefcase on the other. The person making this request was a male graduate student (I too was a

graduate student at the time) about my age whom I had never met. Based on the coding scheme used in the Cross Cultural Speech Act Realization Project (CCSARP), a large-scale cross-linguistic study of requests and apologies (Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper, 1989), this utterance would be considered a mild hint, the most indirect request strategy on a nine-point scale of directness. Upon hearing the request, I (in a characteristic Japanese manner) intuited the intention, immediately apologized, and moved my jacket and briefcase to make the copy machine available.

Request (2) occurred on an airplane. In view of those present, a man sitting in a window seat and a woman sitting in the center section of the plane agreed to switch seats (they apparently knew each other well). The woman first got out of her seat in the center of the plane and went to sit in the window seat just a few rows forward. When the man came to take his new seat, the person sitting at the end of the row did not move, at which time (2) was uttered. Again, this would be coded as a mild hint, and it produced the desired effect: the hearer intuited the speaker's intention, stood up and allowed the man to gain access to his new seat.

Request (3) occurred in an airport lobby where several pay phones were located. In this case, I was standing in front of a phone, with my back to it, waiting for a friend who was using the adjacent phone. It was clear that I was neither using the phone nor preparing to do so. A woman who appeared to be about my age approached me and uttered (3). Again, this would be coded as a mild hint by CCSARP standards, and, again, it produced the desired effect. I intuited her intent, apologized, and moved out of the way to allow her to use the phone.

Request (4) occurred on a crowded university bus. All the seats were taken, and the aisle was filled with standing passengers. The bus was so full that the driver was having difficulty seeing the side-view mirror outside the bus door. At this point, he uttered (4). This would again be coded as a mild hint, and it produced the desired effect. The people standing in front of the mirror intuited the bus driver's intent and moved so that they were no longer blocking his field of vision. What is interesting about this request is that given the higher status of the driver (due to positional authority) and the possible danger to himself and his passengers as a result of his inability to see the mirror, we might expect a more direct request. That is, if Americans favor directness and do not have the intuitive capacities of the Japanese, a hint here is not just inefficient, but also potentially dangerous. If any situation called for a more direct strategy, this one is a likely candidate. However, the request strategy preferred by the bus driver was that of hinting.

I will not attempt a lengthy discussion of these English hints. They were collected selectively and represent too small a sample for that. I will point out, though, that the interaction in each case (all involving native speakers of American English) clearly follows the so-called hearer-based pattern, which is supposed to characterize Japanese, not English. It is interesting to note, though, that in each of these cases the participants had never met. It would be worth a further look to see if this pattern holds for a larger, more systematically-collected sample. That, of course, is an empirical question. However, it is worth noting that one of the reasons often put forward for the use of indirectness in Japanese, that hinting is favored because the interlocutors know one another and therefore need not be explicit, is precisely the opposite. The bottom line, though, is clearly demonstrated—is *not* the sole domain of the Japanese.

Having shown that Americans can be indirect, it remains to illustrate directness in Japanese. Due to the unavailability of 'eavesdropping' data on Japanese requests, I will instead discuss the Japanese request data reported in Rose and Ono (1995). While there are differences between these data and the American English data discussed above, they will nevertheless serve the purpose of this paper. The data were collected in Japan using a DCT consisting of twelve request situations. The subjects were thirty-six undergraduates at a women's college in Kobe. The questionnaires were administered in Japanese, by a native speaker of Japanese. It should first be pointed out that subjects used direct requests in all twelve of the situations, with directness being the preferred strategy in four situations. It is from these four situations that I will draw some examples.

In the first, the subjects were asked what they would say if they were studying in their room for a test they had on the following day, but were unable to concentrate because their younger brother was listening to loud music in the next room. In this situation 69.4% of the subjects chose to use a direct request. Following are two examples:

5. *Ashita tesuto dakara heddohon de kiite.*
    I have a test tomorrow, so listen on the headphones.

6. *Chotto urusai kara heddohon de kiite.*
    It's a little noisy—listen on the headphones.

In the second situation, direct requests were chosen by 88.9% of the subjects. In this case, the subjects were asked what they would say if while watching television they were to ask their younger sister to pass the remote control. Following are two examples:

7. *Rimokon totte.*
    Pass the remote.

8. *Gomen. Soko no rimokon totte.*
    Sorry. Pass that remote over there.

The third situation asked subjects what they would say to ask a friend to lend them a book by Sidney Sheldon. Direct requests were preferred by 61.1% of the subjects. Here are two examples:

9. *Shidonii Sherudan no osusume no hon kashite.*
    Lend me a Sidney Sheldon book that you'd recommend.

10. *Shidonii Sherudan no hon kashite hoshii. Dore ga ichiban omoshirokatta?*
    I want you to lend me a Sidney Sheldon book. Which one do you think is the most interesting?

In the last situation, which yielded 63.9% direct requests, subjects were asked what they would say if they and their friend were on a train approaching the friend's stop, had yet to finalize their plans for the following day, and so needed to talk over the phone that evening. Following are two examples:

11. *Yoru denwa shite.*
    Call me tonight.

12. *Machiwase-jikan wo kime-tai kara kyoo denwa choodai.*
    I want to set the time for our appointment, so call me today.

As with the English data, I will not attempt a detailed discussion or analysis of these Japanese requests. However, it is worth noting that these situations all involve cases (in CCSARP terms) in which the speaker is dominant or the interlocutors are of equal status. That is, for situations in which the hearer was of higher status, directness was not the preferred strategy (although it did occur in some cases). Also, the degree of imposition is also relatively low in each of the request situations cited above. This particular data set does not warrant any substantive generalizations, it may indicate that directness is a frequent request strategy in Japanese for requests involving a low degree of imposition which are not made to higher status hearers. This is an empirical question which represents precisely the kind of contextual variation that detailed studies ought to reveal.

While the examples cited above must be treated with caution because of possible effects of the data collection procedure (for discus-

sions on this see, e.g., Kasper and Dahl, 1991; Rose, 1992a, 1992b, 1994a, 1994b; Rose and Ono, 1995), they are sufficient to illustrate the likely possibility that there are contexts in which speakers of Japanese prefer directness over indirectness. Whether questionnaire responses are representative of face-to-face interaction is not really at issue here—it is clear that DCTs tap NS intuitions concerning what constitutes appropriate language behavior. Whether those intuitions are borne out in actual interaction is another issue.

Again, the examples cited above are obviously insufficient for making any sort of generalizations concerning indirectness in American English or directness in Japanese, and it is not my intention to do so. This paper is not intended to be a rigorous study but rather hopes to inspire such studies in the future. Nevertheless, they do illustrate a few occurrences of indirect language use by Americans and direct language use by Japanese. As such, they provide some counter-evidence to popular stereotypes and point to the need for further research. While such research would likely offer some support for the hearer/speaker-based dichotomy, no doubt it would also reveal a more complex picture of interaction in both languages.

Conclusion

The observation that Americans and Japanese exhibit different patterns in the level of directness in interaction is no doubt a valid one. No two groups should be expected to share all of the same norms for communication in all contexts. However, it is equally true that no single characterization is adequate to describe patterns of language use by any one group in every context, and that dichotomies are of limited value in comparing language use across groups. While the literature does provide evidence to support the notion that Japanese are more indirect than Americans, recent studies point to more complex accounts. This paper has offered a few counter-examples to the prevailing stereotype, but it has not offered a complete account of the similarities and differences in American and Japanese interaction. That awaits further detailed study. It should be clear, however, that such study will more than likely offer both additional support for the existing stereotypes and a more accurate picture of the complexities of language use by both groups.

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Notes

1. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the 19th International JALT Conference, Omiya, October 1993. Thanks to the conference participants, Sandra Fotos, and two anonymous reviewers for helpful comments.
2. As noted, R. Miller proceeds to argue against the stereotypes.

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High School English Textbooks and College Entrance Examinations:
A Comparison of Reading Passage Difficulty

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This paper examines the difficulty level of 48 entrance examination reading passages, taken from tests at 33 junior colleges, and compares them with the difficulty level of 66 passages taken from 4 approved high school English textbooks using readability indices. Though wide variation in readability scores was recorded, overall results indicate test reading passage difficulty to be significantly higher than the difficulty of textbook reading passages. A serious mismatch between official test candidate requirements and what is truly required of the applicants may exist. Schools are encouraged to review their literature for prospective students and/or adapt their tests to help ensure fairness and validity.

　この論文は、33の短期大学の入学試験からとられた48の読解文と、4種の文部省検定教科書からとられた６６の文章の難易度を、リーダビリティ指標を使って比較をしたものである。リーダビリティのスコアには幅があったが、全般的な結果としては、試験の文章の難易度は、教科書の文章の難易度に比べて、著しく高かった。公式の受験資格と、実際に受験者に期待される学力の間には深刻なギャップがあるのかもしれない。公正かつ妥当な試験を実施するためには、学生募集要項を改訂するか、試験を教科書に合わせるかすることが望まれる。

The importance of college and university entrance examinations in Japan is well known. All parties involved in the examination process (high school students; teachers and administrators; college teachers, test developers and administrators; parents and relatives) devote considerable resources to them.

Given this importance, it is essential that the examination process maintain the highest standards of quality. Or, in other words, "the more important the decision to be made, the greater the effort that should be expended

in assuring that [a] test is reliable and valid" (Bachman, 1990, p. 56).

One way to insure such a high standard is through a regular process of review and evaluation. A number of authors discuss the issue of evaluating test quality (Alderson, Clapham & Wall, 1995; Bachman, 1990; Brown, 1995; Henning, 1987) and highlight the types of evaluation possible, including estimating reliability and assessing different types of validity. Other aspects of the testing process, such as comparing test development practices with accepted theory, are also possible.

Unfortunately, most of these types of evaluation and review require access to test results. In Japan, though copies of tests are regularly published, test results themselves are held in confidence and access is difficult to obtain. Without access to test results, calculating reliability coefficients and determining validity is very difficult.

However, a few methods of evaluation do exist which do not require detailed access to test results. One method is to take the published test questions, readminister them to a new group of subjects, and then compare the subjects' results with their results on other types of tests. One study which used this approach looked at the validity of written tests of pronunciation (Buck, 1989) and found scores on such tests had no significant relationship to productive tests of pronunciation ability.

Another approach involves examining the characteristics of published tests and analyzing them from a theoretical standpoint, using modern test theory to highlight areas which appear to be substandard. One example of such an investigation was the study carried out by Brown and Yamashita (1995) where they explored various test aspects, including item type, difficulty of reading passages, differences between public and private institutions and types of skills measured on the tests. Here, they used accepted standards of testing theory to point out areas where there was a need for improvement.

Another type of evaluation involves content validation. According to Alderson, Clapham and Wall,

> content validation involves 'experts' making judgements in some systematic way. A common way for them is to analyse the content of a test and to compare it with a statement of what the content ought to be. Such a statement may be the test's specifications, it may be a formal teaching syllabus or curriculum, or it may be a domain specification. (1995, p. 173)

As such, content validation is one way researchers outside of the testing process can approach the evaluation of a test.

One example of this would be to compare the difficulty of test materials with that stated in the test's specifications and to determine

whether the test was set at an appropriate level for the targeted examinee. Difficulty is seen as important by a number of researchers. Henning (1987) finds that "the single most important characteristic of an item to be accurately determined is the difficulty" (p. 49), and that "when tests are rejected as unreliable measures for a given sample of examinees, it is due not so much to the carelessness of the item writers as to the misfit of item difficulty to person ability" (op. cit.).

Tests which are at a level of difficulty inappropriate for the targeted audience are compromised. First, such tests display a skewed distribution of scores which reduces the test's reliability (Bachman, 1990; Henning, 1987). Or, as Henning states, "Tests that are too difficult or too easy for a given group of examinees often show low reliability" (1987, p. 49). Second, "[i]f the test is too easy or too difficult for a particular group, this will generally result in a restricted range of scores or very little variance" (Bachman, 1990, p. 220). Bachman (1990) goes on to argue that a test which contained

> tasks at levels of difficulty that are inappropriate for the ability level of the group being tested . . . [or] . . . with all items at the same level of difficulty would not be a very accurate measure for individuals whose abilities are either greatly above or greatly below that level. Likewise, neither extremely easy nor extremely difficult items will provide very accurate measures · for a group of individuals of relatively homogeneous intermediate ability. (p. 36)

Clearly, the assessment of test difficulty with regard to the targeted level of difficulty can yield important information for evaluating and ameliorating the entrance examination system in Japan.

Purpose

The purpose of this study is to evaluate the difficulty of Japanese junior college English entrance examination reading passages and compare that with the targeted difficulty level as stated in the test information given out to the applicants.

Reading passages were chosen because of their widespread use on language examinations and because of their perceived importance in assessing foreign language ability. For example, a poll by the Japan Association of College English Teachers (JACET) found that 96.8% of the respondents cited reading as a domain covered in Entrance Examinations, and of those respondents 73% percent gave it a weight of between 50% and 80% of the total test points (Tajima, 1993).

Our research question is this: *Is there a significant difference between the difficulty levels of passages on college English entrance examinations and the stated target level of passage difficulty?*

Method

Establishing the target level of difficulty

First, we wanted to establish the targeted level of the reading passages on the examinations. We argue that the difficulty levels correspond closely to the difficulty level of materials used in high school courses because of the following:

1. The Ministry of Education issues guidelines to colleges and universities indicating how the selection process for incoming students should be carried out (Ministry of Education, 1993) and expects those schools to set tests accordingly. Though the Ministry of Education does not require schools to state the exact level of the tests that they administer, schools are expected to make reference to the particular high school course of study the perspective applicants should have completed. Though recent changes have been implemented in the high school curriculum[1], current college and university students studied most, if not all three of the following English reading courses offered in high school: *Eigo I, Eigo II,* and *Eigo IIb*, with *Eigo I* being the most basic and *Eigo IIb* the most advanced. Thus, colleges and universities when setting their tests officially stated whether they were intended for students who had completed *Eigo I, Eigo II,* or *Eigo IIb*.

2. Information given out by colleges and universities makes reference to the particular high school course of study the prospective applicants should have completed. Examples of this can be found in the promotional literature issued by individual schools as well as by examination of some of the common test preparation guidebooks widely available.

Developing the databases of reading materials

Next we developed two databases of reading passages. Before collecting passages, we decided to limit our investigation to the *Eigo II* level of materials. This was done for two reasons. First, it was the level most commonly used by our department and would provide the most useful information for our own purposes. Second, according to figures in Kimura and Visgatis (1992), this level appeared to be the most com-

monly targeted one among junior colleges, with 89 of 146 schools setting it as their testing level.

One database was made up of passages taken from four high school reading textbooks: *Creative English II* (Kakita et al., 1992), *Mainstream II* (Ando et al., 1991), *Raccoon II* (Onodera et al., 1992.) and *Enjoy English II* (Hasegawa, Ishii, Hayakawa, Yamaguchi, & O'Conner, 1992). All of these textbooks were in use during the 1992 school year. They, or more recent editions, are currently still in use for second and third year high school students. In all, 66 textbook reading passages were selected for this database. To develop this database, passages were electronically scanned and converted into computer text files with the use of optical character recognition software. In all, 66 passages were selected.

The second database was made up of reading passages taken from sample entrance examinations. These passages were taken from the examination guidebook *Zenkoku Tanki Daigaku Nyuushi Mondai Seikai, Eigo•Kokugo* [All-Japan Junior College Entrance Examination Problem Solutions, English and Japanese] (*Zenkoku*, 1992). This guidebook contained information on tests given at 74 two-year women's colleges throughout Japan. Two-year women's colleges were chosen because they corresponded best with the level of students accepted by our own institution and were accordingly the level with which we were most familiar. From this guidebook we chose reading passages from tests offered at 33 different colleges. All of them were for students graduating from the *Eigo II* course of high school study. All of the tests were administered by their respective schools during the 1992 entrance examination period.

In all, 48 reading passages were selected and typed into a Macintosh computer using word processing software. For reading passages containing blank spaces, the appropriate word or words to complete the item were inserted before the readability scores were generated. Additionally, no distinction was made between passages which contained glossed items and those which did not. (This issue is addressed more fully in the Discussion.)

Analysis

Reading passages in both of the databases were evaluated for readability using *CorrectGrammar 3.0* (Writing Tools Group, Inc., 1992) for the Macintosh computer. This software package contained three readability measures: the Flesch Reading Ease (FRE), Gunning's Fog Index (GF) and the Flesch-Kincaid Reading Grade Level (FK). These three

formulas are measures which estimate the difficulty level of the reading passages by evaluating such textual features as the number of syllables per word, the average number of words per sentence, number of sentences per paragraph, etc.

The Flesch Reading Ease scale ranges from 0 to 100, with 100 indicating the easiest to read. The Flesch-Kincaid and Fog readability indexes are expressed in grade levels, normalized on the American educational system and indicating the appropriate grade level for the reader.

These three indices were chosen for a number of reasons: they have been adapted for computers which enable computerized checking; they are widely available and are often bundled with mainstream word processing packages; they have been in use for over twenty years and are widely known. As Klare points out, "well over 1,000 readability references can be found in the library" (1984, p. 682). Many of these involve reference to the three measures used here. In addition, previous research on entrance examination questions (Brown and Yamashita, 1995) has used similar readability indices. (For more information on and discussion of readability formulas, see Harrison, 1980; Klare, 1984; Writing Tools Group, Inc., 1992; Zakaluk and Samuels, 1988.)

Results

The readability statistics of passages taken from the entrance examinations are given in Table 1. They show a wide range of levels on all three readability measures. The Flesch Reading Ease scores ranged from 41.900 to 92.900, with a mean of 64.804. Gunning's Fog Index scored from a low of 3.800 to a high of 17.300, with a mean of 10.902. The Flesch-Kincaid showed scores ranging from a minimum of 1.600 (roughly equivalent to just under U.S. 2nd grade elementary school level) to a maximum of 13.200 (roughly equivalent to the U.S. sophomore level in college), with a mean of 8.252. The standard deviations were respectively, 13.243, 2.946 and 2.715.

Readability statistics for passages taken from the high school textbooks are given in Table 2. They, too, evince a high degree of variation, with Flesch Reading Ease scores ranging from 46.000 to 98.300 and a mean of 75.985, the Gunning's Fog Index scores ranging from 3.600 to 13.500 and a mean of 8.326, and Flesch-Kincaid scores ranging from 1.300 to 11.800 and a mean of 5.985. Standard deviations were respectively, 10.829, 2.221 and 2.208.

Discussion

As a whole, the readability statistics for both the examination and textbook passages show surprisingly wide variation. In some cases, this variation measures up to approximately 11 U.S. grade levels on the

Table 1: Test Passage Readability Statistics

Pass-age	FRE	GF	FK	Pass-age	FRE	GF	FK
1	67.7	8.9	6.4	25	69.3	10.2	6.8
2	60.7	10.8	8.2	26	73.5	10.1	7.2
3	72.7	9.7	6.9	27	45.4	14.4	12.7
4	44.1	15.5	12.0	28	63.9	10.4	7.4
5	45.1	15.6	12.2	29	59.0	13.3	11.1
6	68.6	9.8	7.2	30	73.3	9.3	6.1
7	70.7	9.1	6.7	31	68.8	9.7	7.9
8	92.9	3.8	1.6	32	82.0	8.5	6.4
9	58.4	11.2	7.9	33	74.3	7.7	5.6
10	41.9	17.3	13.2	34	92.2	4.3	2.2
11	82.9	7.0	4.9	35	52.9	12.6	10.6
12	87.1	7.5	4.5	36	59.4	11.8	8.2
13	80.7	8.1	5.0	37	53.9	16.2	12.6
14	58.5	12.9	10.1	38	56.7	12.8	10.4
15	76.7	8.3	5.9	39	60.0	12.3	10.4
16	52.0	12.1	9.5	40	65.2	10.2	7.2
17	76.2	9.5	7.3	41	55.5	12.6	10.0
18	62.1	12.7	9.1	42	76.3	11.9	9.0
19	57.0	11.0	8.8	43	85.9	5.6	3.5
20	66.2	11.0	8.6	44	52.3	12.4	10.2
21	59.5	9.8	8.6	45	47.4	14.8	10.7
22	51.5	13.9	12.1	46	54.4	12.3	9.6
23	77.6	9.1	6.3	47	76.3	8.6	6.5
24	44.4	15.4	11.7	48	57.5	11.3	9.1

	FRE	GF	FK
Mean	64.804	10.902	8.252
Maximum	92.900	17.300	13.200
Minimum	41.900	3.800	1.600
Range	51.000	13.500	11.600
Standard Deviation	13.243	2.946	2.715

FRE = Flesch Reading Ease, FK = Flesch-Kincaid Level, GF = Gunning's FOG Index

Flesch-Kincaid, from low elementary school up to the sophomore level of college. Gunning's Fog Index and Flesch Reading Ease showed similar patterns of variation.

One consistent trend, however, is that examination reading passages are more difficult, often by a factor of a few Flesch-Kincaid grade levels, than high school textbook passages. For example, the mean Flesch-Kincaid score of entrance examinations was 8.252, while that of the high school

Table 2: Textbook Passage Readability Statistics

Pass-age	FRE	GF	FK	Pass-age	FRE	GF	FK	Pass-age	FRE	GF	FK
1	71.8	9.0	6.8	23	75.0	7.8	5.7	45	70.7	9.3	6.5
2	60.9	12.3	9.6	24	67.7	9.3	7.6	46	84.6	5.4	3.3
3	73.4	8.5	6.0	25	77.7	8.7	6.0	47	83.9	7.2	4.4
4	70.2	8.6	6.9	26	71.6	9.3	7.1	48	65.0	11.5	8.0
5	66.5	8.0	7.6	27	46.0	13.5	11.8	49	87.2	7.2	4.2
6	79.6	7.7	5.3	28	95.7	3.9	1.5	50	79.0	8.0	5.7
·7	87.2	7.2	4.6	29	71.5	9.8	7.5	51	76.6	7.1	5.2
8	75.8	9.5	6.3	30	77.0	8.4	6.4	52	86.4	6.4	4.2
9	88.0	6.6	4.0	31	74.6	9.3	7.1	53	71.8	8.8	5.9
10	68.0	10.4	7.5	32	85.0	6.7	4.5	54	71.9	10.6	7.9
11	73.1	9.5	6.7	33	59.2	11.0	9.1	55	58.0	11.0	8.7
12	57.6	11.3	8.8	34	96.3	3.6	1.6	56	68.1	9.1	7.4
13	90.6	5.2	2.8	35	98.3	3.7	1.3	57	78.7	8.1	5.0
14	60.4	12.9	9.9	36	82.6	7.7	4.7	58	71.7	10.4	7.7
15	59.0	10.9	8.3	37	82.1	6.8	4.8	59	78.3	8.2	5.9
16	77.6	9.3	6.4	38	73.5	9.4	6.7	60	59.1	10.0	9.0
17	88.5	5.7	3.6	39	93.8	4.6	2.2	61	75.6	8.1	6.1
18	85.1	6.0	3.9	40	65.1	10.9	9.0	62	94.5	4.1	2.2
19	76.2	8.8	6.6	41	78.6	7.9	5.3	63	72.5	9.3	6.5
20	72.5	9.2	6.9	42	65.9	9.7	7.6	64	67.7	9.7	7.7
21	78.5	7.7	5.5	43	81.7	7.6	5.0	65	69.3	10.0	7.8
22	87.7	6.4	3.6	44	85.9	5.2	3.2	66	91.4	4.5	2.4

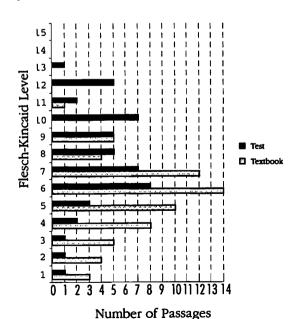|	FRE	GF	FK
Mean	75.985	8.326	5.985
Maximum	98.300	13.500	11.800
Minimum	46.000	3.600	1.300
Range	52.300	9.900	10.500
Standard Deviation	10.829	2.221	2.208

FRE = Flesch Reading Ease, FK = Flesch-Kincaid Level, GF = Gunning's FOG Index

reading passages only measured 5.985. This amounts to more than two U.S. grade levels of difference. Both the Gunning's Fog Index and Flesch Reading Ease showed similar patterns, with a difference of more than 2-points in the former, and more than 9-points in the latter.

These differences were statistically significant. The MANOVA results indicated overall multivariate significance at p < .001 (for three multivariate statistics: Pillais, Hotellings, and Wilks). Thus, univariate ANOVA comparisons for each dependent variable were justified. Each of these comparisons also turned out to be significant at p < .001 (F for FRE = 24.592; F for GF = 26.946; and F for FK = 22.548). These results indicate that there is only a one in 1,000 chance that the mean differences observed here were due to chance alone. Some more examples are telling: While there are 15 examination passages with Flesch-Kincaid reading scores at 10 or above, there is only one among the textbook passages (see Graph 1).

Given that, for example, the Flesch-Kincaid readability scores are designed to correlate roughly to U.S. grade levels, it can be argued that the difference in scores is significant: expecting students to be able to read

Graph 1: Flesch-Kincaid Reading Passage Distributions

Number of Passages

materials three or more grade levels above the materials they have been exposed to challenges the credibility of the examination passages, and by association, that of the targeted level. This is even more striking after considering that students using textbooks are free to read the passages at home, consult reference works (i.e. dictionaries), and are not subjected to the rigorous time constraints found under examination conditions.

However condemning these statistics may seem, there are several points to consider when interpreting the results.

The first consideration is that the college entrance examinations, being designed to select the above-average members of the high school cohort (i.e. those who best deserve admittance to tertiary education), need to be set at a level above what the average high school student would be expected to cope with. However, there remains the critical question of just how high the target level for Japanese students needs to be. The difference of over two Flesch-Kincaid reading grade levels found between the most difficult test reading passage and the most difficult textbook reading passage may be so great as to seriously compromise that test's reliability, by forcing students into guessing at answers rather than using their comprehension of the passage. More research is needed to evaluate this.

Second, it might be assumed that students are faced with progressively more difficult reading materials as they proceed through the high school curriculum, thus being amply prepared for the difficult reading passages found on entrance examinations. Unfortunately, this is not borne out by the textbook materials. Examination of the difficulty patterns of textbook reading passages (see Table 3) shows that the highest average Flesch-Kincaid reading level does not appear in the last third of any of the textbooks, and only two of the textbooks have the most difficult Gunning-Fog result in the final third. If the chapters in the books are used sequentially, students will not be facing the most difficult passages at the end of their high school tenure.

Third, readability formulas have been criticized along a number of different lines. One line challenges the use of formulas normalized against native-speaker proficiencies with non-native readers (Carrell, 1987). As rebuttal, we can only argue that the converse, that is, that a null or negative relationship between readability scores and reading difficulty for non-native vs. native speakers is counterintuitive. Why should non-native speakers be expected to be able to read materials that native-speakers would likely find difficult? Indeed, this view is also supported by Alderson, Clapham and Wall, who encourage native-speaker trials for objective tests, as most test candidates "cannot be expected to pro-

Table 3: Difficulty Patterns of High School Reading Passages

Creative	Unit	Units 1-6	Units 7-11	Units 12-18	Difficulty Pattern		
English II	FRE	70.40	78.42	72.28	Hardest	Easiest	Medium
	GF	9.02	8.64	9.22	Medium	Easiest	Hardest
	FK	7.03	5.82	6.63	Hardest	Easiest	Medium
Mainstream	Unit	Units 1-6	Units 7-12	Units 13-18	Difficulty Pattern		
English II	FRE	79.17	71.70	81.73	Medium	Hardest	Easiest
	GF	7.65	9.08	7.12	Medium	Hardest	Easiest
	FK	5.37	6.92	5.00	Medium	Hardest	Easiest
Raccoon II	Unit	Units 1-5	Units 6-9	Units 10-14	Difficulty Pattern		
	FRE	79.42	78.03	78.28	Easiest	Hardest	Medium
	GF	7.88	7.60	8.12	Medium	Easiest	Hardest
	FK	5.48	5.28	5.28	Easiest	Medium	Medium
Enjoy	Unit	Units 1-6	Units 7-11	Units 12-18	Difficulty Pattern		
English II	FRE	73.95	71.18	78.50	Medium	Hardest	Easiest
	GF	8.65	9.16	7.62	Medium	Hardest	Easiest
	FK	6.27	7.00	5.45	Medium	Hardest	Easiest

FRE = Flesch Reading Ease, FK = Flesch-Kincaid Level, GF = Gunning's FOG Index

duce as high a level of language as well-educated native speakers . . . [and] any items which turn out to be too difficult for such native speakers should be omitted" (1995, p. 97).

Another line challenges the reduction of the determination of reading difficulty to analysis of textual features, such as number of words per sentence, percentage of multi-syllabic words, and so forth, without regard to other factors, such as motivation for reading and the influence of schematic knowledge (Carrell, 1987; Harrison, 1986).

To this, we would like to propose that, first, test developers are not likely to select passages which require extensive schematic knowledge to understand, and second, that the lack of student reading motivation does not necessarily become a factor. After all, the desire to enter the college or university of their choice should provide students with ample instrumental motivation for reading the passages. Assuming these two propositions are correct, the role of textual characteristics assumes a larger, if not commanding, role in dictating passage difficulty.

Fourth, it must be remembered that passage difficulty is not necessarily indicative of question difficulty. It is possible, and even likely, that some of the difficult reading passages are followed by relatively easy questions—questions which do not require a true understanding of the passage in order to answer successfully.

A related concern is the inclusion of passages with glossed items. Admittedly, the difficulty level of a passage is reduced if some of the harder

Table 4: Readability Patterns of Glossed and Unglossed Test Passages

Glossed Test Passages   Unglossed Test Passages

Passage	FRE	GF	FK	Passage	FRE	GF	FK	Passage	FRE	GF	FK
1	67.7	8.9	6.4	2	60.7	10.8	8.2	28	63.9	10.4	7.4
9	58.4	11.2	7.9	3	72.7	9.7	6.9	30	73.3	9.3	6.1
11	82.9	7.0	4.9	4	44.1	15.5	12.0	31	68.8	9.7	7.9
12	87.1	7.5	4.5	5	45.1	15.6	12.2	32	82.0	8.5	6.4
14	58.5	12.9	10.1	6	68.6	9.8	7.2	33	74.3	7.7	5.6
16	52.0	12.1	9.5	7	70.7	9.1	6.7	34	92.2	4.3	2.2
19	57.0	11.0	8.8	8	92.9	3.8	1.6	35	52.9	12.6	10.6
20	66.2	11.0	8.6	10	41.9	17.3	13.2	36	59.4	11.8	8.2
25	69.3	10.2	6.8	13	80.7	8.1	5.0	37	53.9	16.2	12.6
26	73.5	10.1	7.2	15	76.7	8.3	5.9	38	56.7	12.8	10.4
29	59.0	13.3	11.1	17	76.2	9.5	7.3	40	65.2	10.2	7.2
39	60.0	12.3	10.4	18	62.1	12.7	9.1	42	76.3	11.9	9.0
41	55.5	12.6	10.0	21	59.5	9.8	8.6	43	85.9	5.6	3.5
46	54.4	12.3	9.6	22	51.5	13.9	12.1	44	52.3	12.4	10.2
				23	77.6	9.1	6.3	45	47.4	14.8	10.7
				24	44.4	15.4	11.7	47	76.3	8.6	6.5
				27	45.4	14.4	12.7	48	57.5	11.3	9.1

	Glossed				Unglossed		
	FRE	GF	FK		FRE	GF	FK
Mean	64.393	10.886	8.271	Mean	64.974	10.909	8.244
Maximum	87.100	13.300	11.100	Maximum	92.900	17.300	13.200
Minimum	52.000	7.000	4.500	Minimum	41.900	3.800	1.600
Range	35.100	6.300	6.600	Range	51.000	13.500	11.600
Std. Deviation	10.690	1.961	2.058	Std. Deviation	14.307	3.294	2.971

terms are explained in an easier to understand format, such as rewording in English or through translation into Japanese. In addition, glossing is not the only factor which may influence understanding. Occasionally, the way the questions for a passage are presented may give a helpful indication as to the meaning of the passage content.

To try to estimate the impact the inclusion of glossed items had on the readability statistics, we examined the glossed passages more carefully. In all, 14 of the 48 passages contained a total of 38 items (words or expressions) which were glossed. The total number of words in the glossed items was 45. This amounted to less than 1 percent of the 4,904 words found in those passages. In addition, we used the Mann-Whitney Test to compare the readability levels of glossed and non-glossed passages and found no

significant difference (FK, p>.999; FRE, p=.856; GF, p=.874).

Fifth, the reasoning involved in identifying the targeted level of proficiency by reference to schools' promotional materials may be suspect. Private colleges may base their targeting on the overall high school language curriculum, which includes a number of areas which are only vaguely defined by the Ministry of Education. One such area involves supplementary materials. These are used in addition to the course textbook and may be of a higher level of difficulty. Determining the true level of difficulty of all of the materials used at the high school level is more problematic given the lack of clear specification. This is one point where further research is needed.

Conclusion

Our research question was, *is there a significant difference between the difficulty levels of passages on college English entrance examinations and the stated target level of passage difficulty?*

The answer to this question is "yes." A consistent pattern emerges of examination passages set at a level significantly above that which is expected by the Ministry of Education and reflected in the reading materials found in the approved high school textbooks. In addition, these results for junior colleges are in line with the results found by Brown and Yamashita (1995) for passages taken from entrance examinations at prestigeous public and private universities. This indicates that the results here can be extrapolated to most institutions of higher education in Japan.

These results may be interpreted in a number of ways.

It is possible that those charged with preparing entrance examinations are not aware of the materials currently used in high school. Or, test developers may simply be lax in their materials vetting procedures. In either case, the solution to this would be development of better examination writing guidelines, improved test specifications and rationalized vetting procedures.

Another possibility is that the colleges (and universities) are only paying lip service to guidelines issued by the Ministry of Education regarding entrance examinations, and reference to a particular course of study in high school has no bearing upon the actual test material generated. If so, schools may be setting standards according to some other benchmark. *If this is the case, those schools should make that fact clear to students in advance.*

Finally, given the test development climate in Japan where piloting of examination questions is quite rare, the use of readability formulas to

assist in the process of selecting reading passages may prove useful. As one measure among several it can provide insights into the relative difficulty of various passages, enabling test-developers to make examinations with better reliability and validity.

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Note

1. For a discussion of the changes, see Wada and Koike (1990).

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Research Forum

Detecting Cross-Linguistic Difficulties in Learning English: Using a Text Reconstruction Program

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This article examines cross-linguistic difficulties in learning English in a group of Cantonese-speaking students in Hong Kong. It also discusses the usefulness of a text reconstruction program in detecting linguistic difficulties in second language students learning English. A cross-national study involving the comparison of performance between first language English speaking (L1) secondary students in England and second language English speaking (L2) secondary students in Hong Kong on a text reconstruction task is described. Results showed that the performance of the L2 students was adversely affected by cross-linguistic differences between English and Cantonese. The potentials of using the text reconstruction task in teaching English as a second language are also explored.

この記事は香港における広東語話者の中国人英語学習者の学習上の困難点を調べるものである。さらに第二言語として英語を学ぶ学生の言語面での障害を探知するために、テクスト再構成プログラムがどのように役立つかを論ずる。イギリスの中等教育における英語を第一言語とする学生と、香港の中等教育における英語を第二言語とする学生に、テクスト再構成のタスクを課し、その結果を比較した。第二言語として英語を使用する学生の成績には、英語と中国語の違いが不利にはたらくことがわかった。第二言語として英語を教えるためにテクスト再構成タスクを使う可能性も探究されている。

Secondary school students in Hong Kong find it very difficult to learn English, their second language. Although English is the medium of instruction for the majority of secondary schools, a great deal of Cantonese is used by language teachers alongside English to help struggling learners grasp the ideas.

To most students, the learning of English takes place only in schools and is entirely irrelevant to their needs because virtually every act of communication in or out of school is effected through the medium of

Cantonese. Cantonese is a spoken Chinese dialect used in Hong Kong and it has no written form of its own. In school, students have to learn to write in Modern Standard Chinese, which is very different from English in morphological, lexical and phonological terms, and understandably face difficulties when learning these language.

Chinese is an uninflected language and its sentence structures are very different from English (Lo, 1992). For example, there is no need to add an '-s' or '-es' at the end of the verb in the third person singular case or in plural nouns as the words will be the same whether they are singular or plural in Chinese. Such grammatical structures as present, past, continuous, perfect, and future are absent in Chinese. Thus, students writing a sentence in English have to think carefully about which tense they need to use to indicate the time.

These and other cross-linguistic differences which cause difficulties for Cantonese-speaking Chinese students learning English need to be identified by language teachers. Very often, teachers feel disheartened to find that students are making the same kinds of grammatical mistakes repeatedly in their writing. The prevalent approach to the teaching of writing, emphasising the assessment of the final product, does not seem to help students tackle the problem of grammatical difficulties.

At present, the use of computers in teaching English is minimal in Hong Kong, although they are available in each school for the teaching of computer literacy. According to Scarborough (1988), there are four kinds of programs to practise language techniques: gap-filling, text manipulation, text reconstruction, and simulation. Gap-filling exercises involve finding the missing words in texts. In most programs using gap-fill exercises, the gaps may be limited to, say, prepositions or articles. Text manipulation involves mutilation of texts by jumbling the order of words, sentences or paragraphs or taking words out and the learner restoring the text. For text reconstruction, the program deletes all words in the text, leaving only dashes to represent the original letters. The task of the students is to reconstruct the whole text. Simulation programs allow students to simulate real life situations and at the same time practise language in an integrative manner.

The present article examines the possible exploitation of a text reconstruction (TR) task to improve learning of English in Hong Kong. The text reconstruction program known as *Copywrite*, developed by Davies and Higgins (1982), interested a lot of language teachers of English (Davies, 1986). The learner's task is to reconstruct the text to its original form based on the orthographic pattern displayed on the screen by keying in the missing words, starting with any word anywhere in the

text. If a correct word is attempted, every instance of its use in the test appears on screen in the right locations. (See Appendix 1 for a partially completed text and Appendix 2 for the original.) If the entry is wrong, the computer will respond with a "no word found" message in the lower left corner of the screen and the learner has to try again.

A score showing the performance of the learner is given in the lower right corner of the screen, serving as an incentive to complete the task. A learner who gets stuck can make use of the help facility which provides assistance in one of the following ways: revealing the first letter of the next uncompleted word as a clue; revealing the next uncompleted word; or reading the text again for as long as the learner desires. This, however, will result in the deduction of points: 5 for a letter, 10 for a word, and 50 for seeing the whole text. From my own experience with secondary and university students learning English, they persisted for hours in order not to lose points.

The program is also capable of recording all entries attempted, as well as the time in seconds taken for each entry, and printing them out (Appendix 3) at the end of the reconstruction task. The teacher then marks the correct entries, incorrect entries, and help entries. The number attached to the last word indicates the total time taken to complete the entire reconstruction task and the difference between any two entries shows the time required to generate each new entry.

The record sheet enables the teacher to reconstruct the mental processes of the learner during the task and the recorded information provides insights into aspects of language that are causing difficulties in reconstruction, making the teacher better able to detect problems encountered by the learner and thus facilitating the planning of remedial actions. There is also an authoring program in *Copywrite*, allowing the user to create text, the length of which is restricted to one screen, and store it on a floppy disk. This helps teachers to generate plenty of new texts without much trouble.

Brett's (1994, p. 331) experience with TR is that "learners are interested, challenged, and motivated by the task, and keen to complete it once started." Using *Copywrite* to teach Cantonese speaking L2 learners of English, Dolan and Lo (1990) have similarly found that students are delighted with the use of computers, applying tremendous application to the task and, on some occasion, spending more than three hours to reconstruct a 100-word text. Having developed TR programs, Davies (1986, p. 69) observes that *Copywrite* "encourages intensive reading and gives the student valuable insight into language redundancy and the way words tend to combine and suggest what is coming next." Davies

(1988) further remarks that TR encourages learners to apply their linguistic and world knowledge while searching for appropriate words.

Legenhausen and Wolff (1990) found that second language learners of German used both text-independent strategies activating linguistic knowledge not explicitly related to the text and text-dependent strategies with reconstructed words further stimulating the use of linguistic and general knowledge of the world. In the same vein, Brett (1994, p. 331) suggests that TR stimulates a great deal of explicit and implicit linguistic knowledge and "the rationale for the use of the TR task is that learners are provided with a motivating and unique linguistic problem-solving task, which involves and engages them with authentic texts." Brett (1994) further points out that a reconstructed text can be exploited more fully in one of the following ways: using the reconstructed text to generate new text on related topics; involving students in analyzing the language form and pattern of the text in order to sharpen their language awareness; or examining the record sheet to find out possible reasons for incorrect entries.

The present study is concerned with an additional function of TR: the diagnosis of students' difficulties in learning English by examining the record sheet containing all entries made by the learner. In addition to the aforementioned benefits, TR can help teachers detect more precisely students' problems in learning English. This is a cross-national study comparing the performance of first language (L1) English-speaking students in England and second language (L2) English-speaking students in Hong Kong on a text reconstruction task. L1 students were included in the study as a reference point for native language competence. In addition, the potentials of using text reconstruction tasks to enhance learning English as a second language are explored.

Method

Instruments

Copywrite was used in the present experiment and a text related to Chinese New Year (Appendix 2) was stored in the program and presented for reconstruction. The topic was familiar to the L2 subjects in Hong Kong but less so to the L1 subjects in England. A text more familiar to the L2 subjects was chosen so that processing of text would not be affected by conceptual unfamiliarity.

Subjects

The sample consisted of two groups: 80 English-speaking L1 subjects selected from a mixed ability comprehensive school in England

and 80 Cantonese-speaking L1 subjects studying English as an L2 from a mixed ability secondary school in Hong Kong. One half of each national group were in their second year of secondary school, approximately 12-year-olds, and the other half in their third year, 13-year-olds. For each year in all groups, one half of the subjects were male and the other half female.

Both L1 and L2 students ranked average in their language ability as determined by examination results the previous year. Students of average ability were selected because it was believed that the results would represent a wider range of the population. The L2 students had started to study English as a subject in Primary One at the age of six and English began to be used as a medium of instruction when they commenced secondary education at the age of eleven. To try to ensure greater reliability, all subjects were drawn from virtually the same socio-economic background.

Procedure

Instructions were given in the subjects' L1 in order to avoid misunderstanding. The test was conducted individually with the researcher sitting alongside each subject throughout the experiment, making notes on every entry made. The experimenter would occasionally talk with the subject to find out the reason for attempting a particular entry and the difficulties being encountered in the reconstruction task. Throughout the test, the experimenter talked to the subjects on average four to five times for this purpose. There was no time limit on the task, allowing subjects to think clearly before attempting each entry.

With regard to seeking help, the researcher designed a new procedure in which subjects did not need to follow the order of uncompleted words on the screen when seeking help. They were told that if they pointed to a word which they would like to know, this word would be told to them by the researcher. The word would then be entered as a "correct entry" but would be marked as "requesting help" by the researcher in the subsequent analysis. The entries, total time taken on the task, and the time spent between entries were automatically recorded by the program. The results of the reconstruction were thus available on the computer printout.

Analysis

The performance of subjects was analyzed in terms of number of "total entries," "correct entries," "incorrect entries," "help," and "time taken." Data were processed using programs devised by Youngman (1976). Means and standard deviations were calculated and between-group analysis, using a

t-test, was applied to check statistical significance of differences. Then, all entries made by the subjects were analyzed. Mistakes reflecting cross-linguistic differences were identified and frequencies calculated in both L1 and L2 samples to facilitate comparison of the two groups.

Results

Table 1 summarises the overall performance of the L1 and L2 groups on time taken, total entries, correct entries, incorrect entries, and help. It may be seen at a glance that the L2 subjects took significantly longer to complete the task and requested significantly more help on the recon-struction process, differences statistically significant (p < .01) on both.

For "correct entries," again the L1 subjects made significantly more correct responses than L2 subjects, significant at the p < .05 level. As both groups produced similar numbers of "total entries" and "incorrect entries," the t-test indicated non-significant results.

The L2 subjects required about twice the time on task (6809.64 sec-onds) as the L1 subjects (3412.47 seconds). Examining the relationship between "time taken" and "total entries" reveals that L2 subjects re-quired double the amount of time to generate the same number of

Table 1: Comparative Performance of L1 and L2 Samples

L1 and L2 Samples		Time on task (sec.)	Total Entries	Correct Entries (%)	Incor-rect Entries (%)	Help (%)
L1	mean	3412.47	103.32	44.91	37.50	17.59
n=80	s.d.	1000.44	19.10	14.75	12.44	5.34
L2	mean	6809.64	103.15	38.39	37.60	23.51
n=80	s.d.	1662.14	19.75	11.94	10.59	8.08
Between-group analyses	't'	8.67	-0.04	-2.27	0.04	3.89
	p	<.01	not sig.	<.05	not sig.	<.01

Note: Significance set at p<.05

entries. The data here are not able to throw light on which aspects of language were causing difficulties for the L2 subjects. Examination of entries recorded in the record sheet was able to reveal some aspects of difficulties experienced by the L2 subjects.

Table 2 shows the mistakes made by the L1 and L2 subjects on the omission of '-s' in verbs for third person singular case and plural nouns on the reconstruction task. The findings were based on examination of the record sheet for each subject. On the average 70 L2 subjects (94%) entered "packet" to fill in the blank for "packets" in the text. On discovering that this was wrong from the message given by the computer, they tried the plural form. This phenomenon occurred for a number of other nouns in the passage such as "uncles" (75%), "aunts" (65%), "shoes" (58%), and

Table 2: Omission of '-s' on Verbs and Plural Nouns
for L1 and L2 Samples on Reconstruction Task

		Frequencies (%)	
Actual word in text	Mistake (entry)	L2 sample (n = 80)	L1 sample (n = 80)
packets	packet	70 (94%)	15 (19%)
parents	parent	68 (85%)	32 (40%)
uncles	uncle	60 (75%)	23 (29%)
dances	dance	55 (69%)	20 (25%)
aunts	aunt	5 (65%)	24 (30%)
shoes	shoe	4 (58%)	12 (15%)
streets	street	4 (50%)	25 (32%)
clothes	cloth	3 (42%)	28 (35%)
eats	eat	2 (34%)	30 (38%)
	Total	451	209

"streets" (50%). The situation was the same for the verb form of the third person singular case. Fifty-five L2 subjects (69%) entered "dance" in the blank for "dances" and 27 L2 subjects (34%) attempted "eat" to fill in "eats."

The frequencies of this type of mistake was clearly lower for the L1 subjects on this respect, with the total frequency of such kinds of mistakes less than one half that of the L2 group.

Discussion

The results show that cross-linguistic difficulties brought down the performance of the L2 students, causing them to take considerably longer to complete the reconstruction task (Table 1) because they needed to think about the correct forms of verbs and nouns. Even though they got the right word and the correct spelling, they still needed to make trials before they could inflect the verbs and nouns appropriately, reducing

the number of correct entries.

Such kinds of mistakes are easily detected by teachers in students' compositions but it is hardly possible for them to work out how much time students require and the mental processes they go through to arrive at the correct forms without the use of a computer program which can record every entry students make and the time taken between entries. Although teachers usually prepare plenty of grammatical exercises to train students, the same kind of error seems to occur repeatedly. The TR program used in the present study was able to provide immediate feedback to students so that they would be alerted to the problem and make appropriate changes in the entry if it was wrong.

On-task observation by the researcher suggests that such prompt feedback provided by the computer was highly efficient in sharpening students' awareness of a particular grammatical structure. Most students were able to enter the correct form on the next trial after they had received the "no word found" message from the computer. They immediately counted the number of dashes on the screen to confirm that the word itself was correct and that it was the omission of an '-s' or '-es' that made it unacceptable. Knowing that the word was correct, some insisted on making several trials of the same word and eventually discovered that they had left out an '-s' or '-es' at the end. Hence, in a TR exercise like this, students were able to correct their own mistakes with the help of the computer.

Working on these TR exercises was also highly motivating as it encouraged students to think very carefully before making entries because they knew they would lose points if they made wrong entries or sought help from the program. On many occasions, the researcher observed that students thinking long and hard for an entry rather than seeking help in order not to lose points. Some L2 subjects showed very strong determination to tackle the task without resorting to help. The scoring system seemed to have served as an incentive to persevere with the task.

Conclusions and Implications

It may be concluded that cross-linguistic differences between English and Chinese caused difficulties in reading English and this was manifested in L2 students' poorer performance in terms of taking a longer time to complete the task, making fewer correct entries, and seeking more help. TR tasks help teachers diagnose students' difficulties so that appropriate help can be given. The data sheet for every

exercise can be accumulated to build up a profile of students' language competence and to track down other errors.

In addition to traditional grammatical exercises that train students to make appropriate inflections on nouns and verbs, reading aloud practice focusing on the reading out of final consonants can also enhance students' awareness on this aspect. In the tight schedule of teaching English in Hong Kong, this area of training might have been neglected.

Since the students in the present study were highly motivated to do the TR task, teachers may use the program in class in order to make full use of the computers available in school. At present, every secondary school in Hong Kong has at least 20 computers. For a class of 40 students, two students may share one computer to do the task. Teachers can provide the text and the pair of students work out the entries. Students can also be involved in creating texts for one another to work on. There will thereby be a natural integration of reading, writing, and speaking skills in the classroom. To further enhance motivation, TR activities can be done in the form of competition, with students comparing scores among themselves.

TR is also valuable in promoting independent learning. It offers flexibility in dealing with individual abilities, interests, and language development. Teachers can tailor-make materials for students using the authoring facility. Provided with a variety of language exercises, students can choose ones appropriate to work to gear the practice towards their needs. At the same time, learning can be extended to out-of-school hours to fit students' own work schedules.

Language teachers in Hong Kong seldom have the opportunity to interact with students to provide immediate feedback because of the large class sizes, generally about 40 students. Lessons are usually conducted in a tense atmosphere with heavy emphasis on assessment and traditional teaching that involves little student participation. The use of TR tasts heralds a change. By maximizing learning and involvement, it benefits learners and teachers alike. Future research might further explore how TR stimulates learning of English as a second language.

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Appendix 1: A Partially Completed Text on the Computer Screen

Chinese New Year
— — — the lion —— in the Chinese New Year ————. The lion —— in
the —— and —— —— —— of —— —— ———— —— —— ————. —
——— —— —— the lion —— —— —— ———— —. The Chinese New Year is a
—— — the —— to —— —— —— —— and —— ———. The ——
—— —— —— —— —— —— —— —— —— —— —— ————, ————
and ——. ——— —— to —— new —— and new —— — the —— — — the
————. Chinese —— —— to ——the —— — the —— ———— ——
—— —— the —— is ——.

Appendix 2: The text used in the experiment

Chinese New Year

You can see the lion dance in the Chinese New Year Festival. The lion dances in the streets and eats red packets of lucky money which hang from doorways. People hope that the lion will bring good luck. The Chinese New Year is a time for the family to wish each other good luck and good health. The children are very happy because they also get red packets from parents, uncles and aunts. People like to wear new clothes and new shoes on the first day of the festival. Chinese people like to hear the sound of the drum because they know that the lion is near.

Appendix 3: Sample of a Marked Result Script

Text:	Lion (Seen)
Subject No.:	1
Nationality:	L2 (L1 Cantonese)
Form/Year:	3
Sex:	F
Time:	4790 sec.
Total:	84
Correct:	55 (65%)
Incorrect:	20 (24%)
Help:	9 (11%)

76	76	Chinese	√	471	11	they	√	2723	36	to	√
89	9	new	√	484	13	from	√	2860	137	come	X
99	9	year	√	554	69	in	√	2953	92	wish	√
131	32	the	√	585	31	families	X	3023	69	for	√
155	23	lion	√	615	29	roar	X	3044	21	each	√
169	14	festival	√	632	17	a	√	3052	6	other	√
177	7	people	√	675	42	bring	√	3168	115	person	X
185	8	red	√	692	17	is	√	3318	150	fruits	X
194	8	packets	√	728	36	get	√	3358	39	come	X
201	7	good	√	746	18	wear	√	3594	236	money	H
207	6	luck	√	892	145	on	√	3603	9	lucky	√
213	5	and	√	961	69	roads	X	3620	16	which	√
224	11	health	√	1028	67	will	√	3663	43	send	X
234	10	children	√	1085	57	sweets	X	3807	143	you	H
242	7	parents	√	1134	48	at	X	3812	5	can	√
272	40	clothes	√	1156	22	that	√	3851	39	date	X
355	72	are	√	1178	22	streets	√	3911	59	need	X
431	76	happy	√	1322	143	as	X	3986	74	friend	X
448	17	because	√	1377	55	take	X	4038	52	sound	H
459	9	very	√	1437	37	says	X	4045	6	hear	√
				1572	134	also	√	4055	10	like	√
				1596	24	shoes	√	4236	180	hope	√
				1606	10	of	√	4546	308	aunts	√
				1740	133	know	√	4552	6	uncles	√
				1800	60	said	X	4574	21	drum	√
				1820	19	day	√	4672	98	family	√
				1871	51	luck	X	4719	46	near	H
				2478	606	dance	H	4738	18	hang	H
				2492	13	dances	√	4752	24	doorway	X
				2561	68	gets	X	4774	12	doorways	H
				2594	33	see	√	4780	5	time	H
				2687	92	first	√	4790	10	eats	H

Professors' Expectations of Foreign Students in Freshman-Level Courses

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As more Japanese students take an interest in pursuing degrees in the U.S., ESL professionals in Japan are designing courses and programs in English for Academic Purposes (EAP), in order to prepare them for American college classes. But the content of these EAP courses is often determined by what *assumptions* the professionals hold regarding the types of skills foreign students will need in order to succeed in college courses. Some of the most commonly-held assumptions in the area of EAP are held up to scrutiny in this report on how 30 American university professors responded in interviews when asked to describe what skills they expected foreign students to have upon entry into their freshman-level courses. Also included are some pieces of advice which these professors said that they wished they could give to foreign students on how to succeed in their classes.

　アメリカにおいて学位を取得しようとする日本人学生の増加にともなって、日本の英語教育専門家は、学生をアメリカの大学で授業が受けられるようにするために、アカデミックな目的のための英語（EAP）のコースやプログラムをデザインするようになってきた。しかしEAPコースの内容は、アメリカの大学の授業で無事に単位をとるために留学生が必要とするスキルに関する推測によって決められることの多いのが現状である。この報告は、もっとも広く信じられている事柄のいくつかを、アメリカの大学教師30人にインタビューすることによって、検証した結果である。インタビューでは、一年生に入学するときに、留学生にはどんなスキルを持っていてほしいかを述べてもらった。また、ここには、無事に単位をとるために、留学生にできたらしたいと、これらの教師たちが言ったアドバイスものせた。

A s Japanese students, in ever greater numbers, pursue degrees in the U.S., ESL instructors in Japan are responding to the need for more courses in English for Academic Purposes (EAP). When designing EAP course-work, however, the assumptions teachers make about what university professors will expect of students may be based largely upon what the ESL instructors *themselves* recall being asked to do in col-

lege. But when thinking back on their own experiences, they may remember what was expected of them as *upperclassmen* rather than as freshmen; and an EAP program that makes curricular decisions based on memories risks misappropriating teachers' and students' resources.

In the 1970s through the 1980s the authors spent a decade teaching at colleges and universities in Japan. On numerous occasions during those years, we shared and compared our thoughts on teaching EAP with colleagues who, like us, were preparing Japanese students for academic life in American universities. Our discussions on how best to do this, however, revealed that we held a disparity of views. If we could have agreed on what would be expected of our students once they entered their freshman classes, we might have been able to move toward some consensus on what the content our EAP courses should be. But what were American professors expecting of freshmen who enrolled in their courses? Literature offered little help. Although studies had focused on the *writing needs* of college students (e.g. Horowitz, 1986; Bridgeman & Carlson, 1984; Kroll, 1979) and on general *academic skills* (Johns, 1981; Ostler, 1980), none had specifically addressed the question of what skills university professors expect foreign students to have *upon entry into* their freshman-level courses. Without knowledge of this sort, however, EAP instructors risked designing curricula in a vacuum. Could we be placing emphasis on skills that would not be expected of college freshmen at the expense of others that would be?

By 1990, we were teaching in the EAP program at the University of Wisconsin-Stevens Point (UW-SP), and, during our four years there, we had the opportunity to learn firsthand just what university professors expected of foreign students as they entered freshman-level courses. To test the credibility of some of the more commonly-held assumptions in the area of EAP, we interviewed thirty UW-SP professors who had had foreign students in their courses, focusing on what skills they felt students should have developed prior to enrollment in their freshman-level courses. We ended the interviews by asking what advice the professors wished they could give to foreign students on how to be successful in their courses.

Each interview lasted between thirty minutes and one hour. The breakdown in the number of professors interviewed and their various disciplines was as follows: *Humanities:* English: 5, History: 3, Philosophy: 2; *Sciences:* Biology: 4, Chemistry: 2, Math: 2, Computer Science: 1, Geography: 1, Water Resources: 1; *Social Sciences:* Communications: 2, Political Science: 2, Psychology: 2, Sociology: 2, and Business: 1.

Part I, immediately below, introduces five assumptions commonly espoused by instructors of EAP; and, juxtaposing these, are the profes-

sors' reactions vis-à-vis how realistic each assumption is. In Part II, the professors offer advice on how to be successful in their college classes. (See appendix for teacher responses).

Part I: Assumptions About Foreign Students' Needs

Assumption 1: Students will be required to discuss in class

How much do professors emphasize whole-class participation at the freshman level?

None of the thirty professors interviewed (aside from those in Communications 101) require students to participate in class discussions. Although many professors said that they were impressed by students who would offer opinions and ask questions, none (with the exception of one Communications professor) said they would penalize a student who did not talk in class. There was general agreement among the professors that, nowadays, it is hard to get even American students to join in whole-class discussions.

According to the professors, however, speaking skills *are* important when meeting with instructors in one-on-one situations to ask questions and discuss study strategies or problems related to the course.

Students were not being required to give oral presentations in any of the courses, except for Communications 101. The two professors for this course (including the Chair of Communications 101) said EAP teachers could best prepare foreign students by giving them some exposure to talking before a group and by improving students' pronunciation. However, neither Communications professor felt that EAP teachers should concern themselves with teaching the modes (e.g. persuasive speeches), since they saw it as is the job and expertise of the Communications instructors themselves.

Assumption 2: Students will be required to write long papers

How much writing are college freshmen expected to do?

Naturally, the bulk of students' writing was being done for English 101 (essay-writing) and English 102 (research-paper writing). According to the five English 101 professors, students were writing eight papers of 1-5 pages per (16-week) semester, i.e. an average of between 1/2 and 2 1/2 pages per week. One of the five professors of English 101 assigned one essay per week of 1 1/2 pages.

Concerning writing requirements in other courses, Philosophy asked essay questions that required answers of 1 1/2 - 2 pages in length; on tests, History expected essay answers of 2 paragraphs in length and also

assigned one 2-4 -page essay each semester; Chemistry asked for 1-2 page synopses; Political Science requireed one 2-page essay; Psychology had a 2-page paper as a part of their final; and Communications assigned one paper of 2-3 pages in length per semester.

Assumption 3: Students need to learn the modes of writing (e.g. cause and effect)

How much previous experience with the modes of writing are freshmen expected to have?

Four of the five professors of English 101 recommended that the teaching of the modes be left entirely to the English Department (although one professor mentioned that the English Department itself was putting less stress on the modes than it did in the past). One professor among the four was concerned that, if EAP instructors tried to teach the modes, "they would just goof it up." The fifth professor (who, in addition to having spent many years teaching freshman-level Writing courses, was also the highly-respected head of the university Writing Center) thought that, as far as the modes were concerned, foreign students might benefit from being introduced to definition (at the paragraph level) and "some" comparison/contrast. One English professor felt that he would expect foreign students to be familiar with only expository writing. Perhaps surprisingly, these professors claimed that recently not even the American students were entering university with previous experience in employing the modes. Another comment from an English professor was that, considering the lack of writing done in American high schools nowadays, as many as half of her American students could probably benefit from taking an ESL Writing class. All five of the English 101 professors expressed the hope that the EAP teachers would teach their foreign students to write *simply and directly.* "S-V-O is all right for awhile (sic)," was one comment. Another professor stressed that EAP students should *not* be asked to do sentence-combining practice until they have developed basic sentence-level skills, a good base in grammar, and an adequate knowledge of vocabulary (although he noted that American students do not have very large vocabularies either). The five in English 101 were in agreement that EAP teachers should focus on helping foreign students build a solid *foundation* for good writing. As one English professor put it, "In the ESL business, it's the basics that count."

For more advanced writers, the professors suggested that there be some focus on sentence-level subordination. In fact, according to the Chair of Freshman English, at the start of a new term, when the depart-

ment analyzes students' writing samples in order to place them (in either a "remedial-level" Writing course, English 101 or English 102), it is the sophistication of students' sentence-level subordination that determines which course they are placed in.

Assumption 4: Students need to know how to use the library

Do professors assume that freshmen will have had prior experience in finding materials at the library?

For twenty-one of the thirty professors' courses, freshmen did not even need to use the library at all. If outside material is needed, the professors themselves furnished it. Of the nine remaining professors who *did* require use of the library, three merely had students search out current periodicals (e.g. *Time*) and one put material on reserve. Before assigning research papers, the five professors of English 102 would either arrange for a tour of the library for their whole class or put necessary source materials on reserve. No professor in English 102 felt that it was necessary for students to know how to use the library before taking their classes.

Assumption 5: Students need to know how to write research papers

How much previous experience with research-paper writing do professors assume students will have already had when they enroll in English 102?

Just as those teaching 101 felt it was *their* job to teach the modes, professors of English 102 believed that they themselves, and not the EAP teachers, should teach research-paper writing . At the start of a new term, they said that they assume neither the American nor the foreign students have had any experience in this area. And no professor in any of the other disciplines was assigning any type of research paper at all at the freshman-level . However, as preparation for *future* research-paper there was a general consensus in all disciplines that it would be very helpful if students could learn to paraphrase and synthesize information.

Part II:Advice From The Professors

As each interview neared its end, the professor was asked what advice he/she would like to offer foreign students on how to be successful in college classes and how EAP teachers might best prepare students *for* those classes. Following are the three most commonly-offered pieces of advice.

Advice 1: Talk to the professors

Almost half of the thirty professors advised that students who feel confused should come and talk with them as soon as possible.

A frustration many of them expressed was that foreign students often *say* they understand when, in fact, they do not. Also, too often, foreign students wait to talk to professors until it is too late for them to catch up. Five professors said they felt disappointed when foreign students dropped their classes without at least first talking with them about their chances of success. And two of the professors recommended that foreign students visit their offices within the first few weeks of a new term in order to get "hints" on study strategies.

Professors in the sciences in particular emphasized that foreign students should ask questions whenever they feel confused and that they should do so especially during exams, e.g. if they do not understand the phrasing of a question. Moreover, if a student is unable to finish a test within the allotted time, four professors said that, if they were aware that there was a problem, they would allow extra time.

Advice 2: Practice writing in class and under a time limit

Ten professors noted that writing under the pressure of time was a skill foreign students should develop.

According to the Chair of Freshman English, due to the increasing problems with plagiarism among (not only foreign) students, the trend in all disciplines is toward more in-class writing than before. For him, 25-30% of the grade for his English 101 course depends on in-class writing. It is thus crucial that freshmen develop speed and accuracy when writing under a time limit.

Three professors were concerned about foreign students' inability to complete essay-type exams within the allotted time, often, in their opinion, due to the students' overuse of dictionaries.

Advice 3: Practice taking multiple-choice tests

In American universities, freshman courses are often of the large lecture-type variety, and professors of those courses recommended that foreign students hone their skills at taking multiple-choice tests, since that is one of the most frequent types given.

The Business professor had found that multiple-choice tests were particularly difficult for foreign students, due, in his opinion, to their inability to apply test-taking strategies or to understand some of the finer nuances of language which can make the difference between a right and wrong answer.

Conclusion

In sum, although EAP curricula should not be based solely, or even primarily, on professors' perceptions, EAP instructors who are at least aware of what professors expect may make more informed judgments on what the content of their own courses should be. EAP programs that place too much emphasis on e.g. the modes of writing or research at the library risk detracting from other types of skill development that might better prepare foreign students for college classes. Learning what university professors expect of freshmen enrolled in their courses should aid EAP course and curriculum designers in providing students with the type of foundation on which university professors can most efficiently build.

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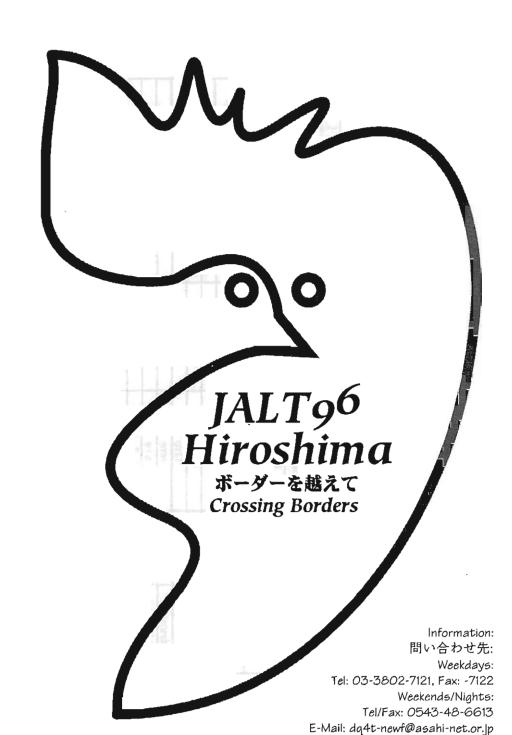
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Appendix

Responses to Assumptions by Courses

Number of Teachers	Course	Assumption				
		1 Requires Discussion	2 Length of Writing Assignments	3 Requires Understanding of Modes	4 Requires Understanding of Library	5 Requires Knowledge of Research Paper Writing
5	English	no	3 (12 pp) 1 (11/2 pp) 1 (15 pp)	3 (no) 1 (expository only) 1 (some)	no	no
3	History	no	2 (2 parag., short answer) 1 (25 pp)	no	no	no
2	Philosophy	no	12 pp	no	no	no
4	Biology	no	none	no	1 (periodical); 3 (no)	no
2	Chemistry	no	12 pp	no	no	no
2	Mathematics	no	none	no	no	no
1	Computer Science	no	none	no	no	no
1	Geography	no	paragraph, short answer	no	no	no
1	Water Resources	no	none	no	reserve section only	no
2	Communication	1 (yes); 1 (no)	23 pp	no	periodicals only	no
2	Political Science	no	2 pp	no	no	no
2	Psychology	no	2 pg final	no	no	no
2	Sociology	no	paragraph, short answer	no	no	no
1	Business	no	none	no	no	no

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Perspectives

Global Issues in EFL: Why and How

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The idea that functional proficiency and communicative competence can be attained through focusing on meaning has become widely accepted in the foreign language teaching community. Since the learner's attention to meaning is highly dependent upon the effective presentation of subject matter, as opposed to language *per se*, a surge of interest in content-based language instruction has resulted. This paper examines the theoretical and social rationale for using the content theme of global issues in foreign language instruction. It also presents information on adaptable materials related to global issues, discusses techniques for presentation of this information, and provides brief suggestions for such adaptations and classroom activities.

　意味に注目することによってコミュニケーション能力が身につくという考えは、外国語教育の世界では広く受け入れられている。学習者の注意を意味に向けさせることは、非言語的内容をいかに効果的に提示するかにかかっているために、内容中心の言語教育が注目を集めるようになった。この論文は、外国語教育においてグローバル問題という内容を使うことの理論的、社会的根拠を検討する。また、グローバル問題に関連した調節可能な教材を入手するための情報源も紹介し、この情報の提示のテクニックを論じ、調節と教室活動の短い例も含める。

Reflecting on the apparent failure of the Audio Lingual method, Krashen (1981) posited that conscious learning makes only a small contribution to communicative ability. This conception has been interpreted as meaning that "communicative competence is acquired through communication, not through conscious structure practice" (Savignon, 1983, p. 65). The popularization of the concept of communicative competence (Hymes, 1972; Munby, 1978; Savignon, 1983) has resulted in a movement to give use at least as much consideration as language *usage* in the foreign language classroom. "The ability to use a language depends both on language knowledge and the capacity for implementing it" (Widdowson, 1983, p. 18). In addition to

having a high degree of linguistic competence, learners, if they are able to implement language knowledge, must be able to distinguish and utilize the functional purposes of linguistic forms. They must be able to apply cognitive skills and strategies to concrete situations and use feedback to judge their success and calculate remedies. They must also appreciate the social meaning and context of language forms (Littlewood, 1982, p. 6).

To facilitate the attainment of these goals, teachers should attempt to stimulate critical thinking by emphasizing interaction between the learners and the informational content of the course materials. Instruction should direct the learners' conscious cognitive efforts toward processing the information. Analysis of and focus on language form should take place, not for its own sake but as a supplementary activity to assist in the determination and transmission of meaning. In this way, attention to linguistic structure will contribute to the ultimate goal of actual communication.

The application of this pedagogical position has led to the development of content-based second language instruction. "Language learning cannot justifiably be isolated from other kinds of learning that humans do, and from the larger educational goals that we may espouse for students who are studying foreign languages in the context of schools" (Casanave, 1992, p. 83). In their overview of content-based second language instruction, Brinton, Snow, and Wesche emphasize that "both in its overall purpose and in its implementation, content-based instruction aims at eliminating the artificial separation between language instruction and subject matter classes which exists in most educational settings" (1989, p. 2).

If one accepts this perspective, one must ask what type of content material can successfully break down the traditional isolation of second language instruction from other kinds of learning and provide the necessary motivational interest, social context, and informational content. I propose that in many second and foreign language learning environments the content theme of "global issues" is appropriate. Defined as an interdisciplinary approach to contemporary sociopolitical problems of global concern, global issues can provide the informational content and meaning-focused interaction suggested to be necessary to attain functional proficiency in the TL (Ellis, 1994).

Necessary Conditions for a Content-Based Approach
    Brinton et al. (1989, p. 3) list the five following rationales underlying approaches for integrating the teaching of language and content. These are:

1. The language syllabus must take into account the eventual uses the learner will make of the target language.
2. Informational content which is perceived as relevant by the learner and increases motivation must be present.
3. Teaching should build on the previous experience of the learner and take into account existing knowledge of the subject matter and the academic environment as well as knowledge of the second language.
4. Instruction should focus on contextualized language use rather than sentence-level grammatical usage to reveal discourse features and social interaction patterns.
5. Finally, the learner must be able to understand what is presented through the interaction of existing imperfect language knowledge with cues from the situational and verbal contexts. (Krashen, 1985a; 1985b)

The use of global issues as a content theme will now be discussed in relation to these five points.

Eventual target language use

Because of the burgeoning development of modern electronic information processing and communication systems, the overall number of people who have regular opportunities to engage in international contacts and exchanges of information has increased greatly. At the same time, sociopolitical events in recent world history, variously referred to as "the fall of socialism," "the spread of democracy," "a new world order," or "the end of history," have given a larger than ever proportion of the world's population a political voice in the formulation of public policy. Thus, proficiency in language items and forms related to topics such as military conflict and national security, environment and development, human rights, energy resources, can enhance the capacity of the individual to respond to make informed decisions. Presentation and practice of language functions related to soliciting information, discussion, and persuasion can for the same reason benefit society and the individual, while, at the same time, promoting the learner's development of TL ability.

Relevance and motivation

Focusing on contemporary problems and controversies acknowledged to have consequences at both the individual and social level answers the need for relevance in course design and is likely to arouse motivation and sustain interest in learners. Furthermore, introducing global issues as content in EFL programs at Japanese universities is timely.

Although the National Council on Educational reform has stressed the important role of undergraduate education in internationalization and educational reform, much remains to be done (National Council on Educational Reform, 1986). For example, in a recent cross-cultural study on knowledge and attitudes toward global issues of students in Japan and the United States, a sample of 418 Japanese university freshmen and 407 seniors were surveyed. On average, the Japanese senior answered only two more questions correctly than the Japanese freshman. This contrasted with a nine-item improvement for American seniors over freshmen similarly surveyed. The authors of the study state:

> There is a widespread belief that students prove themselves by passing the university entrance examination and have earned the right not to work as hard for the next 4 years. This is a matter of growing concern to those in Japanese higher education and a central issue in the current debate surrounding needed reforms. (Cogan, Torney-Purta, and Anderson, 1988, p. 295)

One Japanese scholar notes, "social and intellectual internationalization would have to accompany economic achievement" (Kitamura, 1983, p. 1). In response, some recently established universities have demonstrated a greater awareness of the responsibility to fulfill this social role and several older universities have already formed new faculties to foster an interdisciplinary approach to contemporary problems (Coulmas, 1992). In the words of the report of the United States-Japan Conference on Cultural and Educational Interchange:

> The current reform interest differs from that of earlier periods in that it has not been precipitated by a major breakdown in the system or by a strong demand from the corporate sector for improvement. Rather, the current impetus stems from a growing sense in Japan that higher education is neither responding to new national needs in a changing world *nor to the changing concerns of Japanese youth.*" (Finn, 1987, p. 56, [italics added])

Previous experience and existing knowledge of the learner

How to exploit the existing imperfect target language knowledge of the learner is an important consideration in the selection and adaptation of materials and the design of classroom activities, regardless of the nature of the content theme. The use of authentic materials, generally defined as those not generated specifically for language teaching purposes (Johns, 1987), benefits the learner but also requires extensive adaptation. This adaptation is crucial since most materials must be simplified to the point where learners can employ their existing TL.

A further concern is how to activate the learner's previous knowl-
edge of the subject matter, or schemata (Rumelhart, 1980), under con-
sideration. The mass media is replete with information concerning
disarmament and national security, human rights, energy resources,
environmental protection and sustainable development, intercultural
communication and international trade, controversies about the ethical
use of modern technology, and similar reports. Governmental agencies
and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have been organized for
the expressed purpose of affecting and executing policy on issues such
as these. As a result, most language learners have been exposed to this
information in their native language. They have formed opinions about
the factors and processes which influence these issues and have ideas
about what the proper state of affairs should be.

The presence of such background knowledge gives the learner the
opportunity to engage in real communication—the imparting of ideas,
knowledge and opinions—not just information exchange as in an infor-
mation gap activity (Stapleton, 1992). The chance to express ideas and
opinions provides the focus on content and meaning which Krashen
(1982) posited as requisite for language acquisition.

Focus on contextualized language use

The recent emphasis on communicative competence has shifted the
focus of inquiry about language and language learning from the sen-
tence level to the discourse level. Hatch suggests that second language
learners must first learn how to interact verbally, then, through interac-
tion, syntactic structures are further developed (1978, p. 404). Expand-
ing on the need for contextualized language, Brown says,

> what are the rules that govern our conversation? How do we get someone's
> attention? How do we initiate topics? terminate topics? avoid topics? How
> does a person interrupt, correct, or seek clarification? These questions form
> an area of linguistic competence that every adult native speaker of a language
> possesses, yet few foreign language curricula traditionally deal with these
> important aspects of communicative competence. (1987, p. 206)

The mass media, governmental agencies, and non-governmental
organizations offer abundant information on topics of global interest.
This information may take the form of printed materials, informational
or documentary videotapes, or live guest speakers. The fact that inter-
national exchange of technological and sociopolitical information oc-
curs overwhelmingly in English holds special implications for the field
of EFL and has a positive effect on access to pedagogical resources.

With appropriate adaptation such authentic materials provide the learner with examples of the conversational language functions cited by Brown. Moreover, activities derived from these examples can serve to give the learner an opportunity to practice these functions. This is especially true of intermediate and advanced learners who are eager to participate in an exchange and discussion, using informed opinions.

The presentation of the informational content through a variety of media makes the material more vivid and compelling. These media may include a combination of printed materials, videotapes, live speakers, field trips to relevant sites, and simulation activities. However, as noted, the teacher must adapt these activities from the authentic materials to the level of the learners' capabilities.

Comprehension through interaction of language knowledge with cues

This item acknowledges the findings of recent research in second language acquisition and addresses the issue of "comprehensible input" (Krashen, 1981), the idea that input containing elements new to the learner can be understood through the interaction of cues from the situational and verbal contexts with the learner's existing linguistic knowledge, world knowledge, and expectations. There is evidence that comprehensible input may be a sufficient condition for attaining high proficiency in listening and reading yet may not develop accurate productive skills (Swain, 1985; Sheen, 1994). To improve production, it has been suggested that learners must produce "pushed" output (Swain, 1985), that is, output which, through negotiated interaction, has become increasingly like the TL.

These controversies imply that in all aspects of curriculum design, opportunities for meaning-focused output, as well as input, should be maximized by careful choice of the method of instruction, the nature of the content, and the selection and adaptation of materials. The content theme of global issues can promote both input and output through stimulating discussion of opinions.

Implementing a Global Issues Content-Based Curriculum

I will now discuss the implementation of a global issues-oriented approach to content-based EFL instruction within a Japanese context. Some aspects of implementation, including the degree and techniques of materials adaptation and also administrative issues, vary according to the specific educational setting. Others, such as the availability of authentic resources, restrictions on their use, and measures intended to

ensure objectivity, show less variation from classroom to classroom.

Availability of resources

Although the various mass media are sources of adaptable material, a word of caution should be offered concerning their use. In general, newspapers and magazines are very generous about the reproduction and adaptation of their products for classroom use. This is looked upon as a means of cultivation of future readership. Teachers need not have reservations about the use of such materials in individual classrooms or programs, but if one intends to publish a collection of teaching materials, naturally permission must be requested and compensation may be required.

In an EFL environment such as Japan, use of videotaped teaching materials can be a worthy substitute for being in an environment where the TL is spoken (Jeppsen, 1986). Even in an ESL environment, videotapes can serve to introduce useful cultural content. However, off-the-air recording of broadcast programming is complicated. In the United States, an off-the-air recording may be presented publicly only within the first ten school days following the original broadcast. Without special authorization, a teacher is allowed to show a segment only twice during those ten school days; and after 45 calendar days the tape must be erased (*Guidelines for off-air recording*, 1979). These restrictions make it difficult to prepare and use materials effectively.

Fortunately, teachers in Japan are not so constrained in the use of recordings. In response to inquiries by concerned educators, the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications has advised that when a foreign produced program has been broadcast on-the-air by a Japanese broadcasting organization, such as the government sponsored and private commercial networks and the broadcast satellite channels, it is considered that the foreign producer has been already been compensated for copyright by the Japanese broadcasting organization. Therefore, these materials are available for classroom use in Japan.

Teachers are also advised to be cautious about the use of commercial theatrical release feature films in either video or CD ROM format. In addition to the fact that most movies are too long, are scripted as opposed to unscripted, and lack adequate informational content for classroom use in higher education, some movie production companies and broadcast news organizations are entering the EFL materials market and becoming more assertive about copyright protection. Therefore, it is best to err on the side of caution. Computer software is another area of concern for issues of intellectual property rights. A patent on an algorithm is currently under consideration in the U.S.

There are three sources of abundant materials which teachers can use without reservations regarding copyright infringement. These are governmental agencies, non-governmental organizations, and corporations. Such entities all produce and distribute materials in English meant to impart information and advance their policies. These include printed materials, informational and documentary videotapes. Furthermore, many governmental agencies and private corporations in Japan maintain museums or exhibits to disseminate information regarding sociopolitical issues. Examples include: the Museum of Posts and Telecommunications, the IBM Information-Science Museum, and the Tokyo Electric Power Company Electric Energy Museum which features a one-third scale nuclear reactor model. Usually, guest speakers from such organizations are compensated by their employers. Although non-governmental organizations rarely have exhibits and public relations departments, they are another source of printed and videotaped information. They also often provide guest speakers who serve as excellent non-native speaker models for the students and who are willing to speak from a sense of commitment to their convictions without requiring remuneration. A directory of non-governmental organizations in Japan is available upon request (see Appendix 1).

Finally, the most technologically advanced information resources, for those fortunate enough to have access, are telecommunications networks, particularly the Internet. This has been characterized as "a global, high-speed computer network dedicated to research and education, used daily by more than one million people" (Sheppard, 1992, p. 182). Material from the Internet can expose the learner to authentic written discourse of TL native speakers, can provide direct access to cultural information, can focus the learner's attention on informational content, and can provide an opportunity for learners to participate in a collaborative project regarding a social or political issue of international importance or related to the learner's major field of study. An example of a global issues Internet project would be to have groups of Japanese EFL learners and other learners in a TL-speaking country who are studying Japanese politics do research and prepare a joint report or presentation comparing the conditions of foreign workers in both countries.

The issue of objectivity

To ask students to analyze information in a foreign language concerning a controversial issue and then use this information as the medium of their learning is a delicate matter. If the learners are not provided with a rationale for selecting a particular issue and given a means of viewing the issue within in a broader framework, the instructor may be

perceived as whimsical or biased. To preclude this, it is useful to solicit suggestions of what topics they would like to work with from the learners themselves.

It is also important for the teacher to accept diverse views, to allow the learners to take the position that there is no problem with the status quo. Regardless of the teacher's personal viewpoint, the purpose of content-based exercises is to develop the learners' language proficiency through logical analysis and communicative language use. The learners should be told that evaluation will be based exclusively on effective use of the TL and the ability to express well-supported opinions, whatever they might be.

For teachers who are involved in a cooperative language program, it is advantageous to compile an outline of topics and related resource organizations and materials. Besides serving as a source of organized information for instructors, a topic outline would allow the students to view the issues in a broader context and even function as a kind of menu (Appendix 2). If there is sufficient interest and cooperation among the teaching staff, adaptations of authentic materials concerning specific topics could be assembled into packets and shared.

For almost every social or political controversy, there is usually at least one NGO, one governmental agency, and one corporate entity active in the field. For example, the Citizens' Nuclear Information Center, the Atomic Energy Commission of Japan, and the Tokyo Electric Power Company, Inc. all have their own policy positions and are potential sources of information about the future of the Japanese nuclear industry. To be fair, and to promote development of critical thinking skills, the instructor should try to present the learners with information from as many sources as possible and direct them to resources they can use on their own.

Presentation of informational content

As mentioned, background knowledge is crucial to overall comprehension. The new information that a learner receives must be processed in connection with previous knowledge in order for the new material to be successfully understood (Carrell and Eisterhold, 1988). For this reason, it is best to begin a teaching module with a general introduction and informal discussion to activate the learner's background knowledge of the particular issue. After the issue has been introduced, it is interesting to do a survey or poll of the students' initial opinions. Then, the learners should be assigned readings of differing points of view from the mass media. This allows the learners to question or justify their

initial opinions, introduces them to unfamiliar lexical items and expres-
sions necessary to talk about the topic, and gives the instructor a chance
to explain and give contextualized examples of grammatical structures.
The reading assignments may be exploited by jigsaw activities, cloze
passages, true/false and multiple choice quizzes, comprehension ques-
tions, paraphrasing activities, sequencing exercises, comprehension
questions, etc. Currently, the number of articles being published in the
professional EFL literature which detail specific instructional activities
related particular global topics is increasing rapidly (Cates, 1992; Fujioka,
1992; Stempleski, 1992).

After the reading activity, the class can be divided into groups of four
to six for the culminating activity of the module. This might be a persua-
sive speech advocating a proposed public policy, a debate, a panel discus-
sion, a simulation, etc. The instructor should be ready to assist the groups
by providing information resources for their research, for example video-
taped information from one of the resource organizations previously men-
tioned. In most classroom situations, it is desirable for videotapes to be 40
minutes or less in length. The brevity promotes better understanding of
the nonlinguistic content as well as allowing greater explanation and ex-
ploitation of linguistic items. Henderson and Setliff make some sugges-
tions for effective use of videotapes of television news which can be generally
applied to other varieties of video:

> It is advisable to break the piece down into short sections according to the
> developmental organization of the report. Each short piece should be
> introduced before viewing and briefly discussed after viewing; students
> should be encouraged to ask questions about anything they may have
> difficulty understanding so they will be better prepared to process the
> following parts. Once the entire segment has been presented, a series of
> practice activities can provide learners with opportunities to use the new
> vocabulary and structures that have been selected as target patterns. This
> would also be an appropriate time to give concentrated practice in the
> pronunciation of sounds or sound combinations that the students may
> find especially troublesome. All of these activities will make it possible for
> the learners to increase their level of comprehension as they proceed to
> the next step, which is to view the news segment in its entirety,
> concentrating on meaning and on the developmental structure of the report.
> Finally, as a follow-up activity, the class can use the information they have
> heard as a basis for questions and answers or for more extended discussion.
> This may consist primarily of comprehension questions to check on the
> students' grasp of the overall message of the report, and their understanding
> of specific important details. For more advanced learners, a more open-
> ended discussion of their own opinions and reactions would be valuable.

The important thing is that learners be given an opportunity to use the
target language items as well as the new knowledge they have gained
from the news segment. (Henderson and Setliff, 1992, pp. 262-263)

During the final activity, a field trip to a relevant site can drive home the
reality of the topic under discussion and further motivate the learners.
Inviting a guest speaker from one of the resource organizations can also
increase motivation. If there are no objections, it is recommended to
videotape guest lectures and the students' final activity for later exami-
nation and analysis. A follow-up survey to track change in learner opin-
ions compared to the initial survey can also be instructive.

Some Disadvantages

The disadvantages of using global issues as the content theme for
EFL instruction seem to be twofold and they are the same for any con-
tent-based language program, regardless of the informational content.
Firstly, the instructor must take responsibility for materials adaptation
and development. Substantially more preparation for class may be re-
quired. However, it should noted that support from program adminis-
trators and cooperation among teachers can lighten this burden
considerably. The other disadvantage is that teachers must manage in-
formation from areas outside their professional training. Some may be
uncomfortable with this, but they should be assured that it is unneces- ·
sary to become a technical expert in these fields to conduct a language
class which addresses general issues.

Conclusions

The benefits of content-based instruction are manifold and outweigh
the few disadvantages. Relating the curriculum to aspects of the real
world activates background knowledge and enhances the motivation of
the learners. Skills of organizing content information which can general-
ize across disciplines are refined. The TL is not simply treated as an
object of study, but is used as a means of communication. Adaptations
of materials can be tailored to the proficiency level of the learners and
modules can be condensed or expanded, simplified or made more dif-
ficult, as appropriate.

Content-based second/foreign language instruction itself is a rela-
tively new field and much empirical research and work in design and
implementation remains to be done. The efforts of classroom teachers

to cooperate in the establishment of integrated curricula and coordinate elements of classroom practice with theory of second language acquisition will expedite this process.

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Appendix 1: Directory of Non-Governmental Organizations in Japan and NGOs Active in International Cooperation

Compiled and published by: Japanese NGO Center for International Cooperation (JANIC)
Address: #3 Daini-shibata Building, 3-21 Kanda-nishiki-cho, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo, Japan 101
Cost: ¥2,500 plus postage.

This directory lists 186 Japanese organizations involved in a wide variety of cooperative, non-profit activities in developing countries throughout the world. These groups are categorized according to purpose, size, and funding. They are indexed according to field of interest, geographical area of activity, and alphabetically in English and Japanese. Information is provided on contact persons, staff and support, objectives, activities, field of assistance, regions of activity, financial status, membership, and affiliated organizations overseas.

Appendix 2: Sample Outline

The following is a sample outline for the topic of human rights, with potential resoucres which could be revised and expanded.

Legend: T =   major topic
        S =   subtopics
        N =   adaptable non-ESL materials
        C =   related computer software
        E =   ESL materials to serve as procedural models
        V =   adaptable videos
        R =   relevant resource organizations

T: Human Rights.
    S: Political Prisoners and Nonviolent Dissent.
       Forced Labor.
       Refugees.
       Prejudice and Discrimination: Race, Ethnicity, Religion, Social Background, Age, Gender, Physical and Mental Disabilities.
       Examples and examination of social pressure, cultural relativism, and universal values.
    E: Refugees, Unit 14, *Our World*, Eichosha Longman (intermediate)*.
       Women's Liberation: The Search for Equality, Unit 7, *Advanced Listening Comprehension*, Newbury House (advanced)
       Writing a Short Constitution and Bill of Rights, Unit 20, *The Non-Stop Discussion Workbook*, Newbury House (intermediate/advanced).
    N:Teaching About Human Rights: Issues of Justice in a Global Age, Center for Teaching International Relations, University of Denver.
    V: United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, State of Siege, Missing, The Chocolate War, 60 Minutes Documentary: Chinese Prison Industry, M.L.K.: I Have a Dream Speech, Cry Freedom, Gandhi, The Hooded Men.
    R: United Nations Information Center, Amnesty International, Japan Anti-Apartheid Committee.

* Note: The texts are given here for reference only. Relevant laws apply to all copyrighted materials

Imagery, Verbal Processes, and Second Language Learning

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It has long been theorized that imagery underlies many verbal processes. Although this hypothesis is not without controversy, it is supported by connectionist theories which hold that the processing of linguistic units is done in parallel and may be based on different kinds of underlying forms. Further support is offered by the results of research on the role of imagery in expediting various aspects of the language learning process. Thus, hearers may not rely solely on parsing when comprehending ambiguous sentences, but may also employ imagery as a disambiguation strategy. This paper attempts to describe the nature of imagery, to show its place in theories of language learning and to provide guidelines for its use in the second language classroom.

多くの言語処理の根底にイメージがあるという理論は昔からある。この仮説には異論が
ないわけではないが、言語処理においては異なるユニットの処理が並行して行われ、異な
る種類の形式がもとになっているかもしれないと主張するコネクショニスト理論は、この
仮説を支持している。さらに、言語学習の過程をさまざまな面で促進するイメージの役割
に関する研究からもこの仮説を支持する結果が得られている。つまり、聞き手は、曖昧な
文を理解するときにパーシングのみに依存するのではなく、意味を特定するためのストラ
テジーとして、イメージを使っているかもしれないということである。この論文は、イ
メージの特性を記述し、それが言語学習理論の中にどのように位置づけられるかを示し、
第二言語の授業での利用法のガイドラインを提供する。

Τhe deep structure of much language might be composed of images. Twenty years ago, such a statement would have been made with few to listen. Now, however, the theories underlying language learning known as connectionism, parallel distributed processing (PDP), or associationism give new weight to this possibility. In a PDP model of language (see Ney and Pearson, 1990; Rumelhart and McClelland, 1987; Shirai and Yap, 1993) the processing of linguistic units is suggested to be done in parallel. PDP approaches have been used to program computers to imitate human language learning (Rumelhart, 1987; Seidenberg, 1994)

and, based on the results of such research, it appears that information for the production and recognition of language may come from a number of different places in the brain. It is therefore quite possible that certain linguistic elements are based on different kinds of underlying forms. For a number of people, one such underlying form might be imagery.

Ambiguous elements, for instance, may be of this nature and may possibly be disambiguated by the use of imagery as well as parsing. Consider the disambiguation of *The shooting of the hunters* (Chomsky, 1957, p. 88). Traditional grammarians parse the sentence in a serial fashion so that, in one reading, the noun, "hunters," is subject and in another reading the noun, "hunters," is object. However, it is possible that some English speakers may also call up images of the hunters being shot for one interpretation and the hunters doing some shooting for the other interpretation, thereby retrieving information as images which provide for the disambiguation of the two readings of sentence.

The sentence, *Time flies*, is also ambiguous, although the ambiguity might not be readily apparent. For most people, the Latin words *Tempus fugit* come to mind. However, for a less frequent reading, there is an image of a man with a stop watch timing flies in a miniature fly race. At this point, there are two possible "readings" of *Time flies*. There is the picture of the man, the flies, and the stop watch and there is the abstract concept of the rapid passage of time. The underlying forms for *Time flies* on the one hand, might be verbal and, on the other hand, might also be imagery.

Similarly, in speech ["the" sənz reiz miit] is ambiguous, whereas the written form is not ambiguous; it is either "the sons raise meat" (that is, they work on a cattle ranch) or "the sun's rays meet" (as, for instance, in an evening sunset). Each of these meanings can be visualized in terms of imagery.

A bi-modal disambiguation of these two examples, the sentence *Time flies* and the phrase, [sənz reiz miit], can be explained by the presence of two systems in the mind, one verbal and the other non-verbal. Paivio's dual coding hypothesis (1986) holds that all human thought is either in the form of words or images. As suggested by Marschark and Hunt (1989, p. 710), "Human cognition is assumed to include separate but interconnected verbal and imaginal processing systems." The verbal system might well conform to Chomsky's deep structure as logical form; whereas the non-verbal may be cast in the form of imagery. To quote Paivio, "the nonverbal and verbal symbolic systems are assumed to be functionally independent in the sense that one system can be active without the other or both can be active in parallel ..." (1986, p. 62), as they are in the two "readings" of the

examples given above or in a computer simulation of the phrases using PDP analysis (Ney and Pearson, 1990).

This line of reasoning presents the possibility that speakers of a language do not only use an elaborate system of parsing to arrive at an understanding of an ambiguous reference, but may also have access to imagery as well. And it is at this point that imagery and its effect on mental processes fits into the teaching/learning paradigm. From such a perspective, it may be that Asher's position (1969, 1972, 1977) that children learn languages better than adults because they learn in the context of bodily action may not be completely accurate. Language learning by children is facilitated not only by the context of bodily action but also by the contexts of images, emotions and whatever else is in the perceptual field of the youngsters. In contrast, language learning by adults in many classroom settings is often more limited in terms of input rich in and evocative of the images, bodily actions and emotions found in a natural setting. Such a context-free learning environment may tend to mitigate against free access of the imagery pathway as a learning strategy.

A Connectionist Perspective on Language-Specific Forms

In the early days of transformational grammar, Lakoff (1969) published a paper suggesting that pattern practice is ineffective since language is innate. However, if this is so, then how do humans learn vocabulary and those facets of a language that are language specific and, thus, cannot be a part of an innate universal grammar? This question remains relevant since linguists and language teaching methodologists have said very little about the mastery of vocabulary or linguistic features which are language specific, often irregular and seldom rule-based. The answer is not found in a transformational system of language analysis which, all along, has pushed irregularities off into the lexicon and has never provided any hint as to how the irregular facets of language are learned. An alternative interpretation of the process of language learning is found in connectionist or PDP systems where "Rule-based, analogy-based, and rote-based ..." facets of language are learned by the same mechanisms and in the same way (Rumelhart and McClelland, 1987, p. 226; see also Shirai and Yap, 1993; Seidenberg, 1994).

Cohen's *The Use of Verbal and Imagery Mnemonics in Second Language Vocabulary Learning* presents a quick survey of methods that minimize "The use of the native language in the classroom . . ." (1987, p. 52) but skip the practice-based exercises of many language learning methods. However, practice as classroom pedagogy seems to be on the

verge of a resurgence under the impetus of associationism, connectionism, and PDP. (See Gasser, 1990; Ney and Pearson, 1990; Sokolik, 1990.) Since the transformational revolution in 1957, it is impossible to ignore the creative aspect of language use. Now, however, with the advent of connectionism, it is no longer possible to down play the habitual aspect of language use. The first requires that the language teacher use creative exercises, as in communicative language teaching methods or the Natural Approach; the second requires that exercises be used to help with the drudgery of learning the habitual aspects of language use. As Gallagher states, "I don't know anybody who has learned a second language who has not had to do a lot of memorization" (1976, p. 93).

These two aspects of language use, the habitual and the creative, are found in a PDP or connectionist model. Rumelhart and McClelland (1987, p. 226) provide support for such a duality when they write about "rote" learning and "A blend of rule-based, analogy-based, and rote-based learning." The present report deals largely with what Rumelhart and McClelland call "rote" learning (see also Chandler, 1993).

Research Findings on the Role of Imagery in Learning

At this point, it is useful to look at the place of imagery in the teaching/ learning paradigm. Here we find that imagery is used to improve reading (Long, Winograd and Bridge, 1989; Oakhill and Patel, 1991; Jawitz, 1990, Cothern, Konopack and Willis, 1990), geometry instruction and reasoning (Battista and Clements, 1991; Mitsuda, 1994). It is also used to aid students in mastering writing (Good, 1986; Jampole, 1990; Miller, 1990; Worley, 1991) and in the comprehension of complex verbal material (Drose, 1989). Jampole, Konopak, Readence and Moser (1991) found positive effects for the use of imagery in the creative writing of academically gifted elementary students and Yoder (1991) determined that use of imagery helped college students in reading. McDermott and Roediger (1994) found that it also helped in test-taking. Nelson (1992) determined that imagery assisted fourth graders in verbal narrations and Jawitz (1990) found that it also helped elementary students in reading comprehension. Imagery has been shown to facilitate the recall of science textbook material (Knuttgen, 1992) and historical facts (Ruggieri and Alfieri, 1992; Dretzke and Levin, 1990), and has also been used extensively in teaching the learning disabled (Rawley, 1991; Ferro, 1991; Whitmire and Stone 1991).

Imagery has been especially valuable in helping students to learn second language vocabulary (Cohen, 1987; Wang, Thomas and Ouelette, 1992; Johnson, Adams and Bruning, 1985; Hager, 1990) and has been

shown to have improved the retention of Chinese characters in a language class (Wang et al., 1992). Imagery has been used to enhance the whole language classroom in teaching language arts (Shaw, 1990) and also to encourage creativity with Native American children (Nelson and Lalemi, 1991). There is even a *Journal of Mental Imagery* which discusses, among other things, the use of mental imagery in medical procedures (Korol and von Baeyer, 1992; see also Daake and Gueldner, 1989).

These diverse studies point to the necessity of describing the nature of imagery, especially as it is used pedagogically.

Types of Imagery in the Language Classroom

In second language classrooms, many teachers use imagery in the form of pictures to help with the mastery of vocabulary. These pictures call up high-imagery words that "are easier to remember than abstract, low-imagery words" (Coltheart and Winograd, 1986, p. 174; see also Stokes, 1929). Imagery can be classified according to the various types of imagining devices that serve as mnemonics. For instance, in *peg type mnemonics*, vocabulary items are associated with pegs by being referenced to pictureable words. This type of mnemonic has been used for years.

Paivio recounts how he first encountered the peg mnemonic in an undergraduate psychology course. He and other students were introduced to a so-called "expert mnemonist" who exhibited amazing powers of memory. In the demonstration, the students named twenty objects around them. The students then took turns choosing the numbers in any order. The "expert mnemonist" (in reality, a graduate assistant posing as an expert) then named the object corresponding to each number. The professor then explained how the graduate assistant had managed such a feat, and how it was possible for most people to do the same.

> The assistant had used a mnemonic scheme consisting of twenty memory pegs that rhymed with numbers—one-run, two-zoo, three-tree, four-door, and so on. She had imagined the first item in a bizarre interactive relation with someone running, the second similarly associated with a zoo animal. When a number was subsequently called out, she retrieved the corresponding peg word and its associated compound image, from which the target item could be recalled. (Paivio, 1991, p. 2)

Wang et al. (1992, p. 359) refer to this as the "one-is-a-bun" pegword system in which a set of pre-memorized concrete pegwords are used that rhyme with numbers (one-bun, two-shoe, three-tree, etc.). The pegwords serve as mental pegs on which a person "hangs" the items to

be remembered by using visual imagery to associate the pegwords with the item (Higbee, Markham and Crandall, 1991, p. 65). Paivio states that many of the popular memory systems since the 1920's have been based on the pegword system (1991).

The keyword mnemonic system uses imagery in much the same fashion as the pegword system. For Wang et al. (1992, p. 359), the keyword mnemonic would be invoked, for instance, by an English speaker learning the Spanish word *caballero* who decides that "eye" is a good keyword since it is found in the pronunciation of the second syllable. The learner would then form an interactive image that incorporates both the keyword, "eye," and English translation of *caballero*. A suitable image might be the eye of a horse. The keyword, then would evoke *caballero* and, at the same time, would evoke the image in the English translation, "horseman."

Cohen (1987, p. 45) discusses this use of a *keyword mnemonic*, suggesting that the keyword—a native language word or phrase which is similar in sound to part or all of the foreign language word—is an "acoustic link" between the native language item and the foreign language word to be learned. He then goes on to state that:

> An interacting image is created between the recoded or functional stimulus, the keyword, and the native language word or phrase ... the imagery link. The intended result is that an encounter with the foreign word will evoke the key word which in turn re-evokes the imagery link, and finally the native language equivalent can then be retrieved from the interaction or imagery link. (Cohen, 1987, p. 45)

In the teaching of Spanish as a foreign language, Cohen gives the example of an English speaking learner who masters the Spanish word *pato*, duck, by creating a mental image or being furnished with

> a picture of a duck wearing a pot (the key word) on its head. When they are asked the meaning of *pato*, this evokes the key word "pot," which in turn re-evokes the image of the duck wearing the pot on its head. (Cohen, 1987, p. 45)

At this point, it might be pointed out that the mnemonic used appears rather bizarre because ducks do not normally go around with tin pots on their heads, but, in some studies, the more bizarre the imagery, the more effective it is (Iaccino and Sowa, 1989; Kline and Lowell, 1991; McDaniel and Einstein, 1989).

Johnson et al. (1985, p. 125) discuss the use of a keyword in German class where the keyword, "car," might be used to evoke the German word, kartoffel, which means "potato." To do this the students might

visualize a car with large potatoes for wheels. Wang et al. (1992, p. 520) use the example of the keyword, "egg," being offered to evoke the French word *eglise* (church). The visual image linking the two words would be a church built of eggs. In all of these exercises, a keyword is a familiar word that bears an acoustic resemblance to a novel word.

Paivio (1991, p. 203) discusses an example in which the French word *couteau*, "knife," would be presented to English speaking students who would then learn by selecting, "toe," as the key word since the last part of the word couteau sounds like the word "toe." While hearing the word *couteau* being uttered, these students imagine a knife cutting a toe. After the exercise, they would remember the image of a knife cutting a toe when presented with the English word "knife" and from the image of the knife they would reconstruct the word *couteau*.

Another example of the peg mnemonic involves teaching the French keyword *tornado*, or "tornado" for the German *torlauf*, or 'slalom', which is also translated as '*slalom*' in French. Since a skier in the slalom moves down the mountain side like a tornado (*tornade*) the association would be easy (Desrochers and Wieland, 1989, p. 27).

Thus, keyword and peg word mnemonics are very similar. The difference lies in the fact that the peg word mnemonic requires a rhyming couplet between the mnemonic word, a number, and the key word, whereas the keyword requires only a rhyming syllable with the mnemonic word.

At this point, it might be wise to inject a word of caution. Over time, students sometimes have difficulty recalling the keyword or the word to which it is linked. Thus, Johnson et al. suggest:

> Keywords which are both semantically and acoustically related to target words might be more resistant to decoding failure. The previously learned meaning of the keyword, already well integrated in semantic memory and similar to the meaning of the new word, could provide an additional, durable cue for recall. (1985, p. 137)

In another type of mnemonic, the chain type, "Words are remembered by their use in a story, by their being linked together through a series of visual images or by their use in rhymes" (Cohen, 1987, p. 44). Thus, attempts to link language learning exercises to some sort of discourse are chain mnemonics.

In slightly different words, chain mnemonics are "encoding mnemonics whereby verbal material (e.g. a word, phrase, or a sentence) and visual imagery serve as cognitive mediators" (Cohen, 1987, p. 45). As a result, a verbal mnemonic for a Spanish speaker learning the En-

glish word "chalk" might be constructed in the following fashion. The student might be presented with a sentence: *La tisa se choca con la pizzara* (The chalk strikes the blackboard). In this, "The Spanish mnemonic [*choca* - "strike"] has a sound similar to that of the target-language word [chalk] and is linked in meaning through the sentence that is created" (Cohen 1987, p. 45). Here, *choca* would be the link in the chain mnemonic.

By way of summary, then, mnemonics can be either peg type, chain type or keyword type, and can be either student-generated or instructor-provided. Conventionally, these mnemonics can employ various combinations of verbal and pictorial devices. When mnemonics are provided, the teacher may supply both the keywords on tape and interactive pictures on slides or as handouts (Trout-Ervin, 1990).

Using Imagery to Support Language Learning

The advantages of using mnemonics in the language class are many. First, let us consider the use of imagery as an ongoing process during speaking, reading and writing. "Images may be continually constructed and held in working memory as new information is assimilated" (Long et al., 1989, p. 368). This continual use of imagery enables memory. "There is substantial evidence that speed of acquisition and immediate recall [of second language vocabulary] are enhanced by the keyword method" (Wang et al., 1992, p. 520). Simply put, Wang and his colleagues determined that imagery mnemonics aided second language learners in acquiring vocabulary. Besides this, the use of mnemonics helped in the retention of the vocabulary learned. Coltheart and Winograd (1986, p. 179) assert that, "Word imagery remains a robust determinant of memory."

As a second important consideration, Kasper (1985) notes,

imagery and rehearsal influence recall in different ways. While imagery subjects were able to generalize what they had learned to novel contexts, rehearsal subjects were not. This suggests that imagery enhances recall by inducing subjects to process item specific information for individual words, while rehearsal leads to the processing of complete units and dependence upon the context of original learning. (Kaspar, 1985, p. 1080A)

Learning vocabulary through the use of imagery allows learners more flexibility in recall and promotes the ability to recall vocabulary in novel environments (Long et al., 1989). Furthermore "Imagery is involved in the organization and storage of information (Lesgold, McCormick, and

Golinck, 1975, p. 369)." As reinforcement for this point, results of experiments,

> indicate that the peg mnemonic and high-imagery both helped learning more than they helped retention, that high-imagery helped recall more than did low-imagery only for high-familiarity sayings, and that the recall measures affected high-imagery sayings more than low-imagery sayings. (Higbee et al., 1991)

Regarding this consideration, Paivio has stated, "The concreteness or image-arousing value of the peg word is assumed to be important in the rhyme mnemonic technique" (1991, p. 3).

This point is of significance because learning vocabulary has been slighted by generations of linguists and language teachers. And strangely enough, it has now been displaced by the teaching of grammar. It should not have been. When students learn words properly, they also learn grammar. For example, if students have not learned that the verb, 'enjoy' is followed by the gerund and not the infinitive, they have not learned the word. So, in a very real sense, the learning of vocabulary entails the learning of grammar. However, it should be noted that, although many communicative teaching methods tend to minimize vocabulary learning, this is not true of Suggestopedia (Bancroft, 1977, 1978; Racle, 1979), which has offered teachers a means to aid students in the mastery of vocabulary. Further, as Stevick (1986) maintains, if most non-verbal systems, including emotion, can be classified as imagery, then it follows that the success of Suggestopedic teaching rests at least partly in the imaging systems that are utilized so effectively in this method.

Conclusions

If verbal processes have as their deep structure images as well as words and phrases (Paivio, 1991), then it stands to reason that images help in the mastery of language related material. Further, it would seem that models derived from current theoretical positions such as connectionism (PDP) give a theoretical basis for the use of imagery. As a result, it would seem prudent for second language teachers to fill classroom material with images to aid students in their quest for mastery of the target language. Such images include keyword mnemonic devices, peg word mnemonic devices and chain mnemonics, all of which have been shown to aid students in the mastery of second language vocabulary.

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Reviews

Sociolinguistics. Janet Holmes. London and New York: Longman, 1992. 412 pp.

Language in Society: An Introduction to Sociolinguistics. Susanne Romaine. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994. 235 pp.

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Throughout the 20th century, "core" linguistics has focused on grammar of isolated sentences that are unrelated to any particular speaker, status, or situation. When the term "applied linguistics" appeared in the 1960s during the heyday of contrastive analysis, the conventional wisdom of the period was that a detailed comparison and contrast of the learners' native grammar with the target grammar constituted the proper focus and preparation for foreign language teachers. At that time, applied linguistics was, therefore, very much applied "linguistics."

At about the same time, "sociolinguistics" was establishing itself as a new field, evolving out of dialectology and other disciplines interested in language variation. Although "sociolinguistics" is sometimes used synonymously with "applied linguistics," it is useful to distinguish the two from each other and from "linguistics." Sociolinguistics studies the relationship between language and society and accounts for linguistic variation. In contrast to core linguistics, sociolinguistics often examines language that is more than one sentence in length, explaining how it relates to a context of variables.

Those who like to quibble with the term "applied linguistics" will enjoy doing the same with "sociolinguistics." Some areas of sociolin*guistics* are remote from the concerns of core linguistics, and few in university departments of sociology refer to themselves as *socio*linguists. These terminological distinctions, however, deserve more respect than they are commonly accorded, and ignorance of them and their histories has caused a lot of unnecessary misunderstanding and ill will.

Over the past two decades, applied linguists, including those in the language teaching profession, have been looking less to core linguistics and more to sociolinguistics in order to understand and address lan-

guage problems in education and society. This review examines two new "introductions to sociolinguistics" that may be of interest to applied linguists and language teachers.

In her preface, Janet Holmes, a Reader in Linguistics at Victoria University in Wellington, New Zealand, carefully states that her book has been written "for people who have never heard of sociolinguistics," and that she intends to prepare them for "more sophisticated" books in the field (p. x). Holmes has apparently developed this book from earlier drafts that she has field-tested with students in her classrooms. The Longman book jacket properly recommends the textbook for "senior school (6th form) and 1st year undergraduate students in sociolinguistics."

This textbook by Holmes may be the most carefully written, and symmetrical, introduction to sociolinguistics published. The twelve-chapter body of the text is framed by a short introductory chapter and a short conclusion. The twelve body-chapters are grouped into three major sections, each 110 to 120 pages in length and including four chapters. Each chapter has an introduction and a conclusion, and contains a number of highlighted and indented sociolinguistic "Examples" that illustrate some sociolinguistic topic. The "Examples," in turn, are frequently followed by "Exercises" testing or developing the reader's comprehension. Each "Exercise" is immediately followed by an "Answer." Relatively few works are cited within the text, and an extensive list of references appears at the end of the book. The main sections of all chapters are carefully edited.

Less well edited, at the end of each body-chapter, are poorly formatted and sometimes incomplete lists of important concepts introduced in the chapter, sources for the chapter, and suggestions for additional reading. In addition, some tables and examples (e.g., pp. 92, 271) are poorly formatted, and the index is not as thorough as it should be (e.g., omitting "India," which is used in several sections).

Section I, "Multilingual Speech Communities," contains four chapters on language choice, language maintenance and shift, language varieties and multilingual nations, and national languages and language planning. Here one finds sociolinguistic "Examples" from diverse speech communities around the world: the unemployed urban youth of eastern Zaire, the Vaupes in the northwest Amazon, the Cantonese of Singapore, among others. Below is a representative "Example" that Holmes included in her discussion of "language death and language loss," amid predictions that by the year 2000 almost all Australian Aboriginal languages will be extinct:

> Annie at 20 is a young speaker of Dyirbal, an Australian Aboriginal language. She also speaks English which she learned at school. There is no written Dyirbal material for her to read, and there are fewer and fewer contexts in which she can appropriately hear and speak the language. So she is steadily becoming less proficient in it. She can understand the Dyirbal she hears used by older people in her community, and she uses it to speak to her grandmother. But her grandmother is scathing about her ability in Dyirbal, saying Annie doesn't speak the language properly. (p. 62)

Especially in the early chapters, Holmes experiments with an introductory-textbook prose style that experienced readers may find annoying, for instance her definition and description of pidgin (p. 90). Another problem with the early chapters is that some answers to the exercises are a bit simplistic and misleading. For example, in Holmes' discussion (pp. 74, 88) of language planning and language revival, she stresses positive "attitudes" as the reason for the Israeli and the Tanzanian successes with Hebrew and Swahili, respectively; but she completely ignores what others have considered to be the crucial factor: the absence of a pre-existing common language used by the majority of the population. (Positive attitudes alone have not been enough in the case of motivated and patriotic Irish to re-establish Irish Gaelic into Ireland because the va*st majority already knew English* and could not shift away from that pre-existing language of contact.) Nonetheless, although one may not always be pleased with Holmes' "Answers" one must appreciate the way she reduces complex sociolinguistic data to neat, comprehensible packages that appeal to students.

In sections II and III, both the prose style and the discussion become more sophisticated. Section II, "Language Variation: Reflecting its users," contains four chapters on regional and social dialects, sex and age, ethnicity and social networks, and language change. This section covers a number of the classic studies on linguistic (mostly English) variation involving variables such as h-dropping, and final "-ing" in the USA and the UK. To these, Holmes adds some more recent and less widely publicized studies from Australia and New Zealand. Included in this section are "Explanations of women's linguistic behaviour" (pp. 171-181) and some interesting parallels between Maori English and British and American Black English.

Compared with Romaine, Holmes seems even-handed, dispassionate and (in as much as it is possible) objective in her description of sociolinguistic variation across gender, age, nationality, and other factors. Occasionally, however, Holmes shows a Western bias:

> Finally, the generalisation about women leading change towards the
> standard dialect applied only where women play some role in public life.
> In Iran and India, for instance, it has been found that women's speech
> does not follow the western pattern. In these places the status of women
> is relatively fixed and there is no motivation for them to lead linguistic
> change. It will not lead them anywhere socially. In these societies women
> do not lead linguistic innovation in any direction. (p. 234)

Unfortunately, Holmes does not address that fact that Turkey, Sri Lanka,
Pakistan, India, and the Philippines have all had democratically elected
female heads of state. Elsewhere, Holmes (p. 271) classifies "Style in
non-Western societies" as if there were a straightforward and simple
binary distinction. Sometimes she is not in command of the world data
that she uses, evident in her assessment that the population of India is
"over 700 million" (p. 79), and that in "West Africa, Hausa is learned as
a second language and used in nearly every market place" (p. 88).

Section III, "Language Variation: Reflecting its uses" contains four
chapters: on style, context, and register; speech functions, politeness,
and cross-cultural communication; sex, politeness, and stereotypes; and
attitudes and applications. Here, Holmes' steady tone and even-handed
treatment of gender provide a clear contrast with Romaine's treatment
of the same topics. Holmes summarizes a range of sociolinguistic re-
search by noting that, "it is quite clearly gender rather than occupational
status, social class, or some other social factor, which most adequately
accounts for the interactional patterns described" (p. 329).

These chapters in section III coincide with some of Holmes' own
areas of expertise and previous publications on pragmatics and mis-
communication. In section III, as in section II, she supplements classic
studies from Europe and North America with less widely known mate-
rial, often from Australia and New Zealand. The discussion of register,
for example, includes a fascinating account of Australian sports announcer
talk, and its syntactic reduction, syntactic inversion, and heavy noun
modification.

Susanne Romaine's text, Langu*age and Society*, covers many of the
same topics as Holmes'. Romaine's treatment of these topics, however,
is both more spontaneous and brilliant and less organized and careful.
The most deeply rooted difference between these two books lies in
their assumed readerships. Unlike Holmes, who is constantly attentive
to the needs of her 18-year-old reader, Romaine never bothers to iden-
tify her readership. It is clear from the outset, however, that Romaine is
speaking as much to her peer sociolinguists around the world as she is
to her students. Romaine has impressive credentials. A Professor of

English at Oxford, since 1988 she has published four books on pidgins and creoles, bilingualism, Tok Pisin, and Australian languages—all sources from which she draws freely to provide material for the book reviewed here.

Whereas Holmes selects examples from all around the world without exploring any particular culture or language at length or in depth, Romaine relies heavily on examples from the Germanic language branch in Europe and North America, and on her previous work involving Tok Pisin in Melanesia. As Melanesia is recycled across chapters and topics, and examined from different sociolinguistic angles, the reader leaves the book with a sense of the whole and of "having been there." Romaine grabs our attention and sweeps us through the text, which in sections is a pleasure to read. Unlike Holmes, however, Romaine seldom stops to review, summarize or check our understanding, Romaine's book is only half the length of that of Holmes, in part because Romaine assumes a much greater knowledge on the part of her readers.

Romaine's tone is confident, personal, cynical, and anecdotal, drawing freely on her own unpleasant experiences with neighbors and colleagues, and as a *professor* at Oxford among *male professors*. Her cloaked references (e.g., pp. viii, 25, 124) to sociolinguists may appeal to peers who know who and what she is talking about, but they are likely to confound students.

Romaine's bare bones table of contents inadequately reveals her chapters' contents, which, for that reason, must be spelled out below. In Chapter 1, "Language in Society/Society in Language," one quickly encounters one of the important resources of the book, the rich vein of sociolinguistic data drawn from the languages and societies of Papua New Guinea and New Britain. Using the Melanesian setting, Romaine clearly demonstrates why "language" and "dialect" are social rather than linguistic constructs and that "the very concept of discrete languages is probably a European cultural artifact fostered by processes such as literacy and standardization" (p. 12).

Chapter 2, "Language Choice," addresses individual and societal bilingualism and multilingualism. Here one finds familiar sociolinguistic examples dealing with Scandinavia, Quebec, Ireland, Hungarians in Austria, and Puerto Ricans and Amish in the USA. While Romaine acknowledges that a lot of standard theory on bilingualism is based on the European "one-language: one state" paradigm and is therefore limited, she fails to challenge this paradigm and ignores material on the bilingual's repertoire in multilingual settings which scholars in South and Southeast Asia have recently produced. Her heavy reliance on

European and North American scholarship here reflects one weakness of the book as a whole.

A good example of how Holmes and Romaine illustrate the same topic differently may be seen in a their accounts of "language shift" across "language domains." Both use the same example from a village in Austria, but Romaine's table (p. 51) involves 32 speakers interacting with each of 11 different "interlocutors." Holmes' table (p. 58) simplifies the material, showing just seven speakers and six "addressees," for her 18-year-old reader

Chapter 3, "Sociolinguistic Patterns," deals with sociolinguistic variables such as social class, style, gender, age, and network. In this chapter, more than any other, Romaine's carelessness in putting the book together is evident. She refers to Melbourne as having "the largest concentration of Greek speakers in the world" (p. 68). She also introduces Tok Pisin (p. 54), after having already used it and assumed familiarity with it earlier (pp. 10, 45, 46). The largest section, on language standardization, does not fit the rest of the chapter, although the material, especially that involving Western missionaries in Papua New Guinea, is interesting.

The subsections of Chapter 4, "Language and Gender," include "Man-Made Language," "Learning to Talk Like a Lady," and "Gossip Talk vs. Shop Talk." Here Romaine addresses two fundamental questions: How do women speak? How are they spoken about? The discussion, unfortunately, is not new and relies mostly on familiar examples from western cultures and little on her work with Australian and Melanesian languages. Romaine's argument ends at the same point where Holmes, always the more careful of the two, begins: "In conclusion, we can say that the study of men's versus women's speech is much more complicated than it at first appears" (Romaine, p. 131).

Chapter 5, "Linguistic Change in Social Perspective," deals with dialectology, focusing on numerous familiar examples of Low, Middle, and High German, rhotic and non-rhotic English dialects, and pronouns of solidarity. Little Melanesian material enlivens the discussion, perhaps because the linguistic history of preliterate cultures is difficult to reconstruct.

Chapter 6, "Pidgins and Creoles," drawing on Romaine's previous work in Melanesia, is one of the best chapters in the book. Here she interprets the distribution, origin, structure, and social context of pidgins. Romaine succeeds in illustrating a number of points introductory texts often avoid: (1) Creolization and decreolization can co-exist (p. 171); (2) "phonology remains the least stable component of otherwise stabilized pidgins" (p. 179), and (3) "there is no reduction in the overall semantic domains covered by a pidgin, but merely in the number of

items used to map them" (p. 181). In this chapter, as elsewhere, one wishes that Romaine had used more word-for-word glosses and phonetic transcription. Again, Holmes helps here by providing an appendix with a phonetic alphabet; Romaine does not.

Chapter 7, "Linguistic Problems as Societal Problems," is a concatenation of accusations involving "language and educational failure," deficit theories, biased testing, bilingual education, immersion, and "semilingualism." Romaine's rhetorical tone exhausts rather than inspires the reader and her arguments are weak on three counts: (1) most of the examples are familiar ones from Western cultures; (2) unlike Holmes (e.g., p. 357), Romaine neither acknowledges social progress nor inspires students to bring it about; (3) Romaine offers little support for her arguments. Describing American immigrants, for example, she says "The number of foreigners deported [who had been assessed as feeble-minded largely because they did not understand English] increased by approximately 350 percent in 1913 and 570 per cent in 1914" (p. 193). Unless we are given more information and some raw data as a baseline, it is impossible to interpret the significance of these percentages.

Holmes concludes as carefully as she began: she summarizes "sociolinguistic competence" and offers a conservative list of sociolinguistic universals involving solidarity, status, and formality for her students to look for in the future. Romaine concludes her final chapter, Chapter 8, as recklessly as she began: "While there are at the moment no ready-made social theories for sociolinguists to plug all of their data into which will cover all the aspects of language use I have discussed in the book, there is also no reason to dismiss the enterprise" (p. 227). One leaves Romaine's book more impressed by individual sections, especially those dealing with Melanesia, and less impressed with the overall organization and coherence of the work.

Neither Romaine's nor Holmes's book serves as a guide for "how to do sociolinguistics" or presents an eloquent, unifying theory, but no introduction ever does. Both books, however, offer numerous insights about language variation, and many of these insights should add to our understanding the larger social context in which of language learning and teaching occur.

Holmes' book is highly recommended for those it is written for—a class of eighteen-year-olds; older students may find it a bit slow, pedantic, and patronizing. Romaine's book, despite the many problems pointed out above, will appeal to readers who have already read at least one other introduction to sociolinguistics and are looking for another perspective of the field.

*Beyond the Monitor Model: Comments on Current Theory and Practice
in Second Language Acquisition.* Ronald M. Barasch and C. Vaughan
James (Eds.). Boston: Heinle and Heinle, 1994. 290 pp.

Reviewed by
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Educators variously find Stephen D. Krashen's influential ideas on sec-
ond language acquisition useful, objectionable, or both. Few remain
unaffected. Many use his terminology (comprehensible input, the affec-
tive filter) chiefly as convenient shorthand in discussing methods, espe-
cially when working from a communicative-based pedagogy. Even if
teachers have not read Krashen's theoretical works, such as *Principles
and Practice in Second Language Acquisition* (1982), they are probably
familiar with his and Terrell's *The Natural Approach* (1983), directly or
through secondary texts (see Richards & Rodgers, 1986, pp. 128-141).
Barasch and James' *Beyond the Monitor Model* continues this commen-
tary on Krashen's theories and their effects on the language teaching
community. One strength of the book is its writings critiquing or ex-
panding on most major aspects of Krashen's theory of language acquisi-
tion. Another strength is its essays by experts from North America as
well as Europe. (Krashen, unfortunately does not contribute.) Timely
topics in language teaching are brought up, directly or indirectly, through-
out the book. This review summarizes selected articles from the book to
show its breadth and tone.

Sheila M. Shannon's introduction outlines Krashen's theory of sec-
ond language acquisition and its five hypotheses: (1) the Acquisition
Learning Hypothesis; (2) the Natural Order Hypothesis; (3)he Monitor
Hypothesis; (4) the Input Hypothesis; and (5) the Affective Filter Hy-
pothesis. She highlights aspects of the hypotheses that have preoccu-
pied scholars and teachers, including those in this volume.

Part 1, "Theoretical Bases," begins with two essays strongly critical
of Krashen's theory. Peter af Trampe calls the monitor theory "simplistic
and unscientific" (p. 27). For example, Krashen's differentiation between
learning and acquisition is vague. Krashen does not explain precisely
how conscious and subconscious learning occur or differ, nor does he
account for the possibility that distinct aspects of language will be inter-
nalized differently. As af Trampe considers Krashen's advice theoreti-
cally unsound, he advises teachers to approach the theory "with the
healthy skepticism it deserves" (p. 36). As a cautionary tale, he relates

three cases where acceptance of a new "scientific" theory hurt educational efforts in Sweden.

In "Krashen's Theory, Acquisition Theory, and Theory," Kevin Gregg argues that the theory does not meet Atkinson's (1982) conditions for a language acquisition theory. Among the flaws he highlights is the failure to define a "domain of inquiry," or "D" in Atkinson's terminology. In other words, Krashen does not limit his analysis to one aspect of language, for example the acquisition of a phonological system (p. 39).

Next, Waldemar Marton argues in pedagogical terms against the tenet that "natural" practice of a second language is superior to organized presentation in the classroom. Marton's contribution is noteworthy for going beyond arguing theory to offering suggestions for teachers. Marton admits that Krashen uses some empirical evidence to support his "natural approach"; however, studies exist to the contrary. Marton questions Krashen's studies, stating that they are not "truly convincing for the simple reason that none of them in fact take into consideration one decisive factor—the quality of the teacher" (p. 60). Marton finds Krashen's reduction of language teaching to the providing of comprehensible input objectionable because it ignores strategies that have been successful in some situations. For example, Krashen and Terrell doubt the benefits of expansion (1983, p. 87), or the technique of repeating the speaker's incorrect utterance correctly. Some studies indicate, however, that these can be effective.

Wilga M. Rivers recommends an interactive approach that requires teachers to assess each teaching situation, indeed each student, separately. She argues that Krashen's view that comprehensible input leads to acquisition is not logical: it doesn't account for degrees of effectiveness of teachers or for students' motivational levels. Also, by recommending that students listen first and produce only later, she argues Krashen would have the teacher miss an opportunity to help the student gain confidence through interaction. Rivers reviews studies of situations very similar to Krashen's ideal situation of language acquisition, noting that in such cases students did not necessarily acquire greater accuracy in the target language, as he predicts, and sometimes developed "fossilized" inaccuracies (p. 84).

Essays in the next section, "Some Hypotheses Examined," continue to examine and critique the utility of aspects of Krashen's hypotheses. However, a shift from theory to the inclusion of research, analysis, and literature reviews makes these essays more practical for the teacher than most of those in the first section.

In "The Case for Learning," the late Carlos Yorio disputes Krashen's suggestion that acquisition as a strategy is superior to learning. Yorio

studied his own use of English, not his first language, and found that monitoring himself did not necessarily inhibit effective communication. Krashen suggests that such cases are atypical, since they are narrated by linguists or those interested in linguistics. Yorio responds that this is irrelevant, and that the fact that helpful monitoring is possible suggests it should be developed in learners. Additionally, Yorio holds that language learned solely through acquisition can lead to fossilized errors, to the academic or professional detriment of some learners. To this end he examines a case study of a Korean immigrant studying in a U.S. college and results drawn from the Canadian French immersion program.

Rod Ellis and Peter af Trampe both highlight elements of Krashen's theory that they find inadequate, due largely to vagueness or the ignoring of important information. According to Ellis, Krashen does not account for situational and linguistic context—the social aspects of language. As a result, his model has a limited usefulness. In "Rules, Consciousness, and Learning," af Trampe examines the role of rules in language development, and chastises Krashen for offering a vague definition of "rules" (p. 159). Additionally, he is dissatisfied with Krashen's classification of conscious learning and unconscious acquisition, a complaint that recurs throughout this book. Af Trampe finds it possible to assume that consciousness is a matter of degree, in regard to knowledge of rules and capacity for self-monitoring.

The third section, "From Theory to Practice," examines how Krashen's hypotheses can be or have been put into practice. Teresa Pica studied the progress of grammatical competency in students in three environments, including a group learning (acquiring) only through social interaction, and a group formally studying EFL. In other words, she studied what kind of input specifically leads to improvement. Krashen and Terrell write of the "limited role" that grammar instruction should play in certain contexts (1983, p. 57). Pica's results were inconclusive; in some cases they supported Krashen and Terrell's prediction, but in others they did not.

Next, William T. Littlewood examines the usefulness of the Natural Approach in teaching a foreign language in a secondary school. He imagines a tired teacher's response to *Principles and Practice and Second Language Acquisition* (Krashen, 1982). He imagines the teacher reacting positively, deciding to enliven the classroom with some motivating activities that will include reading and listening. This essays stands out as a reminder of the appeal that Krashen holds for many teachers who have observed that drilling and other traditional methods do not result in accurate language production in learners outside of the classroom.

Essays by Reinhold Freudenstein and Ian Dunlop both assert that many of Krashen's ideas are not new. Freudenstein provides many proofs of this, citing earlier research and citations. In some cases, similarities with earlier European models are striking; only the terminology is different. Freudenstein finds this indicative of a lack of professional dialogue which discourages the development of strong research that can be incorporated into methodology. He concludes with a reminder that teachers must think of students first, and should remember that one method is not necessarily ideal for all students.

A practical and accessible article by Bill VanPatten argues for the importance of input in language teaching. In "On Babies and Bathwater: Input in Foreign Language Learning," he also addresses the complaint by some EFL teachers that since Krashen's theories are based on data generated in second language situations, they should not be applied to teaching foreign languages. He thinks it mistaken to de-emphasize input in favor of grammar, simply because of changes that may result from the "Proficiency Movement" (p. 231). To throw out the input "baby" with the "bathwater" of the monitor theory seems needless. Rather, the input hypothesis can be modified to take variability into account (p. 229). VanPatten offers a "rough outline" for curriculum progression that accounts for using input as well as grammar instruction, with Natural Approach activities most evident in early and intermediate stage curriculum.

Karl J. Krahnke suggests that while Krashen's theory of acquisition has a "classificatory and descriptive function" (p. 247), it lacks details that would give teachers direction. The theory's generality allows, perhaps with positive results, "for individual teacher interpretation and application" (p. 246). The theory does not, however, offer specific aims or outcomes to teachers. It offers, in Krahnke's view, "empowerment" without "enlightenment." He warns, "language instruction that is based on vague license with no knowledge of the context in which that license has developed [nor] of what effects it will have also tends toward chaos" (p. 247). Overall then, as a methodological resource, Krahnke finds Krashen's theory limited.

The final section of *Beyond the Monitor Model*, "The Panacea Fallacy," includes essays reiterating many of the points discussed above. Christopher Brumfit reminds us that language teachers interact in an "unstable world," and "are more akin to social workers, marriage guidance counselors, career advisers, and even priests or parents than they are to lawyers, accountants, or even doctors" (p. 266). He recommends administrative changes to encourage dialogue between teachers and theorists. More interaction and an "openness of argument" will help

teachers acquire range in their varied situations. It is not the teacher's role to apply any particular theory, as Krashen seems to encourage in his writings.

Individuals with a thorough knowledge of Krashen's writing will find this book engaging. This book might supplement training grounded in communicative approaches, but instructors should bear in mind its negative tone and somewhat repetitious content. It might be more suitable as a text for a seminar specifically dealing with Krashen and his influence. The "Topics for Discussion" appendix would encourage seminar participants to relate readings to their own teaching experiences, and also to view the essays in light of other acquisition theory and research. Such discussion would go far to encourage teachers to consider the role of theory in their own classrooms, and to assess the merits of relying on scientific models.

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Language and the Law. John Gibbons (Ed.). London: Longman, 1994. 476 pp.

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In his introduction to *Language and the Law,* series editor Christopher N. Candlin states that "the series exists to explore the contention that our understanding of the social order is most easily and conveniently achieved through a critical awareness of the power of language; to recognize that access to and participation in the power forums of society

depend largely on a mastery of their discourses and through that knowledge and that communicative competence to enable the achievement of personal, social, and professional goals." The law is certainly a power forum constructed by language as well as played out through language. Furthermore, a lack of competence on the part of those uneducated in legal discourse often leads to disadvantage and inequality before the law and is thus a concern for social order. For these reasons, *Language and the Law* is a natural choice for this series.

The book collects papers written mainly by linguists for those with a professional interest in the law—lawyers, sociologists, anthropologists, and other linguists. Its three parts represent areas where language and the law coincide: language constructing law, language and disadvantage before the law, and forensic linguistics. Editor John Gibbons introduces each section, and a lawyer with a specific interest in the content concludes each section with a commentary.

Part 1, "Language Constructing Law," shows the evolution of the language of the law in the context of the developing literacy within a culture. The basis for this part is the chapter "The Language of the Law" (Maley) which examines three legal discourse situations—legislation, trial proceedings, and judicial judgments—and provides the framework for the rest of this part. The following four chapters take the reader through aspects of a legal system in pre-literate, literate, and post-literate cultures ranging from the concept of "accident" in the forensic discourse of the Huli people of Papua New Guinea (Goldman) to caveats and endorsements for video depositions (Person and Berch). The latter presents an interesting juxtaposition to the chapter on Anglo-Saxon wills (Danet and Bogoch) which examines the transition from oral to written wills while the advent of video depositions in the present era takes us in the opposite direction—from written to oral testimony. The chapter on "Cognitive Structuring in Legislative Provisions" (Bhatia) is an exemplary balance of the tools of the linguists and the needs of the lawyers. Through the use of a two-part interactive cognitive structure consisting of the main provisionary clause and its qualifications, Bhatia unravels some of the mysteries underlying the reading and interpretations of statutory legislation.

Part 2 of this book examines language and disadvantage before the law. Just because the law provides equal treatment for everyone does not mean that it is operating fairly. Gibbons advises constant vigilance in areas where disparities of power and knowledge of legal language produce injustice. This part begins with a chapter on the cross-examination of children in criminal courts (Brennan) where, in an adversarial

legal system, the victims of child abuse are abused again when they become the victims of the skilled language of a cross-examining lawyer—a telling criticism of the system. Walsh examines the ways courtroom styles disadvantage Aborigines within the Australian legal system, and Eades discusses the communication clash caused by cultural and linguistic differences between the modern Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal cultures in Australia. Labov and Harris provide a chapter on how linguistic testimony, such as surveys on interpretation, readability, and syntactic complexity, plays an important part in judicial decisions in the United States. Two of the cases they consider deal with ethnic and racial minorities disadvantaged by the complexities of written legal language.

Part 3, by its nature the most technical part of the book, covers forensic linguistics which primarily deals with expert linguistic evidence. The chapters in this part examine the reliability of such evidence in a variety of categories such as speaker recognition (Nolan), voice identification (Jones), disputed written authorship (Smith), and discourse analysis (Coulthard). This reveals the problems of admissibility of linguistic evidence due to the judiciary's suspicion of new disciplines, the probability rather than the certainty of the expert testimony, and the length of time and intelligibility of presentation to a court. The part concludes with a cautionary tale regarding the confidentiality of linguistic material (Simpson).

The papers in Langu*age and the Law* suggest solutions, as well as informing us of and criticizing prevailing trends. The major thread of advice in Part 1 (in line with the plain-language movements in the U.S., Australia, and England) is to narrow the gap between the language of the law and everyday language needs. However, this advice is balanced by the sensible recognition that many of the linguistic complexities of legal language, especially statutory legislation, are unavoidable due to the unenviable task of those who draft the law to be not only clear, precise, and unambiguous but also to be all-inclusive. In other words, legal discourses are contingent upon the systems within which they operate—for there to be a change in the language there needs to be change in the legal institution. However, this does not mean that there is no room for immediate improvement. Part 2 demonstrates areas of legal discourse, such as dealing with children and racial or ethnic minorities where disadvantage does occur, and counsels vigilance and offers measures to address such situations.

However, *Language and the Law* has its limits. First is its limited scope. The "Language" is English and the "Law" refers to systems primarily influenced by the Anglo-Saxon common law, which is adversarial in

its trial proceedings. Little account is taken of the European system which is "inquisitorial" or systems such as the Japanese where there is no jury system and criminal proceedings are based primarily on confessions and written testimony. Furthermore, 11 of the 19 papers and lawyer responses are by authors based in Australia and three of these papers are on issues involving the Aboriginal peoples. The disadvantages suffered by Aborigines within the Australian legal system because of disparities in culture and language may or may not transfer to other people who are disenfranchised or discriminated against, but that is not investigated here either in relation to other countries (with the exception of Blacks and Puerto Ricans in the United States) or even in relation to other minority populations within Australia itself.

A second problem lies in the structure of the book. There is a sense, rightly or wrongly, that the available papers dictated the structure of the book, rather than vice versa; although the papers are interesting and informative in themselves, the cohesion of the book seems forced. The lawyer responses at the end of each part tend to focus on a specific interest in a particular chapter rather than commenting on the full part, which suggests that the content matter of the section may be too wide or too complex for comment. In fact, parts of the final section on forensic linguistics become so technical and inaccessible to non-linguists that one wonders at the irony of a book which starts out with linguists advising us of the need to simplify the language of the law, and ends by becoming bogged down in the jargon and conflicts of the linguistic profession itself.

I have reviewed this book both as a lawyer and as a language teacher: I use the topic of law in content-based English language courses and am a qualified lawyer. La*nguage and the Law* is a brave and ambitious attempt to illuminate linguistics as found in the classroom by taking it into the context of the courtroom. In this it mostly succeeds. By demonstrating the practical application of linguistics to the language of the law and in particular showing how language is power and how people without the necessary language skills are disadvantaged within legal systems, the book fulfills many of the objectives in the series.

Further, the broad base of the book's material introduces linguists, lawyers, sociologists, and anthropologists to topics they might otherwise miss. While linguists wrote the majority of the papers, the topics are accessible and informative to lawyers and teachers of ESL or EFL. The section on forensic linguistics, as with any discipline involving expert testimony, is less accessible and thus serves as a salutary reminder to us as teachers of the problems students face when the process —

legal or linguistic or cultural—is difficult to present and comprehend.

Language and the Law is a welcome addition to the limited resources on the topic and provides a wide range of subjects by some distinguished writers relevant to a variety of disciplines. For teachers of English as a foreign language, the application of linguistic theories to legislative and judicial discourse is particularly enlightening. In addition, it reminds us that the rules of evidence and procedure do not often translate to other countries, and that we need to be aware of these differences. For those using current affairs topics as a teaching medium, legal, and more specifically these days, trial issues are increasingly important. Merely consider the cultural and linguistic components of cases such as the US soldiers accused of rape in Okinawa, the allegations and procedures in the Aum cases, the issues raised in the lengthy trial of O.J. Simpson, and the differing expectations of banks, legislators, and regulators in the Daiwa case. Language and the Law is a worthwhile reminder of how language does not exist in a vacuum but brings with it a whole array of advantages and disadvantages for the participants in the legal process.

Studies in Team Teaching. Minoru Wada and Antony Cominos (Eds.). Tokyo: Kenkyusha, 1994. 228 pp.

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With more than 3,300 participants and sending foreign teachers into secondary schools in Japan, the JET (Japan Exchange Teaching) program (started in 1987) is clearly a subject meriting serious study. Until now, as Wada notes in this volume, "the seemingly abundant literature … is based on personal impressions and anecdotes" (p. 42). That is precisely what the JALT Junior and Senior High School (formerly Team Teaching) N-SIG was formed to counteract and the task editors Wada and Cominos undertake in *Studies in Team Teaching.*

In their introduction, the editors argue for pedagogically informed team teaching, noting, "it is essential … to [marshal] both empirical evidence and theory driven argument which will help us to understand team teaching and [the] JET program" (pp. 5-6). They hope to complement the JET Program's organizers' (CLAIR) perspective that team teach-

ing is part of a larger project promoting "mutual understanding between Japan and other nations" (pp. 4-5). Wada and Cominos, while recognizing the political and budgetary limits the Home Affairs Ministry places on the program, argue for a firmer pedagogical base for JET instructors. In particular, they point out that the characteristics of JET participants— their youth (they must be under 35 years of age at entry), high turnover (they can serve a maximum of three years), and inexperience (only 11.7 percent of participants in 1991 had any sort of TEFL qualification [also discussed by Garant, p. 105])—probably has a significant effect on English education in Japan.

These concerns animate the book, which, while having no single overall argument, addresses a wide range of issues. The material falls into four areas and could have been usefully organized into sections along these lines: institutional influences on the JET Program and team teaching (Chapters 1, 3, 7, 14, 15, and 16); suggestions for classroom practice in a team teaching situation (Chapters 2, 8, 9, and 10); lessons drawn from the examination of specific team teaching situations (Chapters 4, 6, and 13); and the cultural and communication problems involved in native/non-native team teaching situations (Chapters 5, 11, and 12).

At the institutional level, in Chapter 1 Wada examines the relationship between team teaching and the 1989 revised curriculum for secondary schools. Wada, then a senior curriculum specialist in English at the Ministry of Education, points out that the JET Program was expected to play a crucial part in developing "communicative skills and mutual understanding between Japan and the rest of the world' (p. 9). However, problems in implementing team teaching emerged, first because in a "top-down" educational system, there is a "gap between what the 'top' wants to achieve and the 'bottom' really wants to do" (p. 15). A second, more basic, and more shocking, source of problems is the "fact that team teaching began without any form of pedagogic research to validate it as an effective educational innovation" (p. 15). With hindsight he urges this be rectified.

In Chapter 3, Gillis-Furutaka notes the worrying lack of teacher training of new AETs and proposes two new roles for JTEs who have studied TEFL abroad. First, they could train the inexperienced AETs. Second, they could help educate other JTEs whose training, based largely on the examples of senior teachers, tends to perpetuate outdated methods. However, Gillis-Furutaka overlooks a number of problems with this proposal. First, since the number of teachers sent abroad is pitifully small— in 1990, 175 teachers studied abroad for two months, 50 for 6 months, and only 5 for a year—the number of qualified JTE trainers is inad-

equate. Further, though she states, "communicative language teaching does not require the presence of a native speaker at all" (p. 38), Gillis-Furutaka fails to consider arguments for increasing the number of foreign-educated JTEs rather than increasing the number of AETs, who after all each represent a temporary investment.

One of the most commonly cited institutional constraints on English teaching in Japan is the college entrance exam system, and in Chapter 7 Law examines whether claims that they fail to test communication are well-founded (c.f. Shillaw, 1990). After making a careful study of the tests of 11 different universities, Law concludes: "College entrance ex-' ams are not perfect but they could be a lot worse; and reform-minded JTEs and AETs have better things to do than simply moan about them" (p. 100). Instead he suggests they recognize the administrative limits on testing oral skills and, in line with recent changes in exams, focus on replacing "yakudoku" translation reading classes with a more communicative approach. Law's article reminds us of the dangers of making wild claims that are unsubstantiated by empirical evidence.

In chapters 14 and 15, Gottlieb offers a study of team teaching in Australian universities, while Fanselow looks at "JET as an Exercise in Program Analysis." Gottlieb provides a detailed profile of a Japanese-language team teaching program in which native and non-native speakers teach separate but coordinated courses, arguing that this model could be considered in Japan—a proposition that ignores the limited TEFL qualifications of AETs. Gottlieb criticizes Krashen and Terrell's (1983) Natural Approach hypotheses when she writes, "learners ... do not just passively acquire the language through comprehensible input" (p. 197). Instead she seems to support consciousness-raising theories (Ellis, 1992) by writing, "Learners ... actively question ... the grammar they are using" (p. 197). She weakens her position by failing to support her arguments with empirical evidence or by referring to the theoretical literature. Similarly, Fanselow's paper is less grounded in academic research than in philosophical speculation. For example, to widen our perspectives on the JET program, he invites readers to make positive statements about the program and turn them into negative ones. He then urges us to back up such exercises with the systematic collection of data (interviews, observations, and reading), without offering readers his own supporting ideas.

In the final paper, Brogan describes British Council Koto-ku (Tokyo) team teaching projects which predate the JET program by two years. He describes methodological and institutional restrictions on English education stemming, on the one hand, from "teachers who feel most comfortable when lecturing about grammar" (p. 218) and on the other from

the "little time for teacher training" (p. 222). However, he concludes that team-teaching can help motivate both JTEs and students.

Chapters 2, 8, 9, and 10 offer various suggestions to counter the "ineffective utilization of ALTs in the classroom" (p. 18). Brown and Evans propose content-based teaching on cultural themes. Garant would have AETs focus on specific speaking and listening activities. Jannuzi conversely argues that they should focus on reading, and Griffee describes the use of songs in the team teaching classroom. Each article is well researched and backed up with relevant readings from the field. However, this emphasizes that more empirical research is required to recommend one teaching method over the others. I don't underestimate the difficulty of such research, but the limited experience and contact time of most AETs makes it all the more necessary.

In Chapter 4, the first of the three chapters looking at specific team teaching situations, Yukawa attempts to address the above problem using Hymes' (1982) ethnography of speaking. Her valuable study compares three classes in detail at different points in the academic year and analyses the effects of an AET on a JTE's teaching techniques. She shows that JTEs clearly modified their teaching methodology in both solo and team-taught classes as a result of team teaching, shifting from 63% to 28% translation in lessons over a six-month period. She concludes by suggesting, "Studies are needed of schools where innovative teachers have managed to unite the faculty in a common search for the best use of an AET" (p. 57).

In Chapter 6, Smith observes five team teaching relationships towards the end of the academic year in order to determine the content and activities of apparently successful team lessons. Though there are a wide range of activities, the emphasis falls on specific reviews of parts of the textbook or on general communicative reviews. Smith acknowledges that this is partly due to the timing of the study at the end of the school year, but he argues for "the presence in team teaching of 'review' activities" (p. 81) as one of the possibilities in otherwise "fossilized team teaching practices" (p. 88).

Chapter 13 describes an experiment in team teaching in Japanese universities and evaluates it based on a student questionnaire. This is less convincing than the detailed ethnographic transcriptions of Yukawa and Smith, and the conclusions are necessarily more general: "Students … found the combination of the two teachers to be interesting and stimulating" (p. 184). The authors admit that their data is subjective and needs to be followed up.

The three remaining chapters (5, 11, and 12) focus on inter-cultural problems in team teaching. Voci-Reed, looking at stress in Chapter 5,

points to differing role expectations, poor communications, and their limited influence as stress factors for AETs, and sees JTEs' stress factors in team teaching situations as professional responsibilities, cultural differences, and lack of support for innovation. Her proposals for solving such problems remain vague: "The key to success remains within individuals themselves" (p. 70). Identifying more specific responses is the next step. In Chapter 11, Miyazaki makes a detailed analysis of communication strategies between native and non-native teachers in a Japanese-language program in Australia. He notes, "communicative negotiation is indispensable in order for NNT [non-native teachers] to develop their interactive confidence in real social contexts" (p. 152). From this he argues that for the JET program this means enlarging the opportunities for AETs and JTEs to communicate in and out of school to increase the latter's communicative competence. In Chapter 12 Kobayashi uses a questionnaire to look at cultural differences perceived by JTEs and AETs, and discovers findings similar to Voci-Reed's. Like Voci-Reed's, Kobayashi's suggestions for dealing with these problems remain vague, noting that success "depends on one's personal viewpoint" and ability to "recognize that both [cultures] have merits and demerits" (p. 175).

In varying ways, these 16 papers attempt to marshal "both empirical evidence and theory driven argument" to improve team teaching in Japan, the stated goal of the volume. Clearly some are more successful than others. Moreover, the book's lack of thematic organization makes it difficult to see a direction in which to move. Nevertheless, it represents a welcome start on a larger project: the development of pedagogical viewpoints on the JET program. To a degree, the future of the JET program rests on these matters, especially as the broader "cultural understanding" goals of CLAIR become fulfilled through other means. That future is uncertain until genuine pedagogical benefits can be shown for team teaching. This book represents the first step on that road.

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Appropriate Methodology and Social Context. Adrian Holliday. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994. 237 pp.

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Reading *Appropriate Methodology and Social Context (AM&SC)* brought back memories of studying sociology and psychology. Yet, as interesting as this book was personally, I wondered about its appropriateness to the average L2 teacher in general and English teachers in Japan in particular. To evaluate this work on its applicability to L2 classrooms was difficult since it was not written as a classroom cookbook but as a sociological study. *AM&SC* appears to be aimed at educational sociologists. Does this book have relevance for practicing L2 teachers, or is it only for theoretical scholars? If the book does not provide clear solutions to real world problems, how can the determined L2 teacher find a way to apply specifically the information in it?

As the title implies, *AM&SC* presents arguments for using methodologies appropriate to the culture and country. It is divided into three main parts: Part A, The Cultures of the Classroom; Part B, Sources of Conflict; and Part C, Appropriate Methodology Design. Each of the 12 chapters includes a summary and questions for discussion. There is quite an extensive list of references. One potential drawback for the language teacher in Japan is that most of the case studies were drawn from experiences in the Middle East (i.e. Egypt, Iran, Morocco and Pakistan). There are only four references to Japan. However, if as statistics suggest, there is more difference within a group than between groups, then we can still learn from Holliday's analysis.

I have selected six salient points from the book for discussion.

Culture is changeable. It is important for L2 teachers to realize that their classroom cultures change not only with geographic borders, but with temporal ones as well. Indeed, the teaching of a language is often accompanied by the teaching of culture. As students master the new language, they may also adopt some of the cultural ways that go with that language, hence their classroom behavior may noticeably change during their years of study.

. *Cultural imperialism and classroom expectations.* A key point, addressed in section 3.5.3, is the varying expectations of students and teachers. One study cited in Holliday (Coleman, 1987) examined how local students and teachers on the one hand, and expatriate teachers

and curriculum developers on the other, saw the same situation differently. While the first group felt that learning not initially taking place was "not problematic as long as there was a harmonious teacher-learner relationship," the second group found the situation extremely unsettling for the very reason that learning was not taking place (p. 50). These varying expectations raise questions. Indeed, what is a teacher to do? What exactly is the job of an L2 teacher? It is to teach language? It is to meet some hidden agenda? Is it for some unstated and perhaps unknown purpose? Holliday reminds us that in most TESEP[1] (tertiary, secondary and primary) educational situations, the education process is intimately connected with socialization, and refers to other authors (cf. Bernstein, 1971; Stenhouse, 1975; LoCastro, 1989) in arguing that teachers are a primary source of socialization and "have responsibility as role models in the process of socializing their students" (p. 94).

In Part B, the schematic discussion of cultural imperialism, linguicism, politics, and the special needs of state education makes the reader aware of many problems faced by language teachers yet fails to provide solutions.

In BANA2 (Britain, Australasia, and North America) cultural and educational methodology, the concept of socialization as a factor in education may not be regarded as highly significant in secondary and post-secondary education. However, the emphasis placed on it in other cultures may be higher than what most native speaking English teachers are familiar with. Highly qualified, professional BANA educators may be placed in circumstances where they face low job satisfaction, low respect by their local peers and students, and an inability to complete their curriculum solely because of a misunderstanding of the social expectations. It follows that an understanding of Part B, Sources of Conflict, may help lessen the risk of culture shock in a new position.

Learning festivals: In section 3.2 the author introduces related concepts drawn from anthropology and applied to the classroom culture: "teaching spectacles" and "learning festivals." These, if pedagogically valid, would provide the basis for a valuable classroom approach. Teaching spectacles are seen as rituals which are staged by a teacher to serve a purpose. The example given (p. 36) is of an Indonesian puppet show with students being relatively passive viewers. A learning festival, on the other hand, is oriented toward increasing student participation. Obviously, this requires change and cooperation on the part of both the students and the teachers. I have sometimes found this to be a valuable approach. The classroom culture must first be thoroughly examined to determine whether a learning festival is appropriate, and if the neces-

sary changes are feasible. However, in many contemporary classroom environments a more traditional approach is expected and preferred.

Classroom culture: Most non-sociologists think of a 'culture' as a large body of people, a group such as those who inhabit a country or practice a religion. However, a culture may be a smaller unit, and Chapter 4 looks at institutional cultures and classroom cultures. One point deals with class size. As any TESEP teacher in Japan knows, large classes are the rule. Holliday suggests it is an error to attribute this to a lack of funds for education.

> Large classes might be permissible where prevailing educational ideologies do not see the role of the teacher as a monitor of learning, but [as] a fount of knowledge, which is delivered without any concession to the students, and which students must struggle to attain. (pp. 58-59)

Teaching or learning: Chapter 5.4, "Setting the scene for conflict", is difficult to sum up, yet contains some important points. In many cultures the concept of teaching implies a traditional teacher/lecturer and student/receiver style of education. However, many contemporary BANA methodologies encourage a more active learner role. Obviously, when students expect a passive role, with the teacher as the supplier of wisdom and knowledge, and are then faced with demands for active participation, conflict seems inevitable. Interestingly, this also occurs when non-BANA English teachers attend BANA institutes of higher learning.

This particular section also deals with a variety of dichotomies: linguistics vs. language skills; theory vs. practical application; professor vs. teacher; giving the lesson vs. managing the learning; discovery vs. confusion; learning without teaching. The points raised address issues which affect teachers in every cultural setting.

Appropriate methodology design: The title suggests the book is about appropriate methodology. However, even though the last three chapters are devoted to this topic with a few examples of curriculum design, the task is an impossible one. Even the most casual reader must surely see this point. After all, if culture is changeable and there is such a multitude of cultures that even discrete classroom cultures exist, then how can one text cover all conceivable methodologies? Holliday realizes this, and, rather than provide a single method, gives ideas on analyzing the particular classroom which can aid in designing a methodology appropriate to that venue.

This text is not for everybody. The teacher who needs a syllabus for next week, or the curriculum designer who must redesign the school's curriculum by next month will not be helped. However, it does a rea-

sonable job of introducing ways to take culture into account in aca-
demic preparation, and as such would be useful to study. For serious
teachers who want to better understand their classes and for those with
the time and willingness to undertake the venture, I recommend it. For
those in search of a quick answer to a social or cultural problem, it will
not be of much help.

Notes

1. Holliday repeatedly uses two acronyms, TESEP (tertiary, secondary and pri-
   mary) and BANA (Britain, Australasia, and North America).
2. Holliday has a very schematic view of the English language teaching world
   and divides it into two unequal parts: BANA and non-BANA (the rest of the
   world).

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As the introduction to this volume states: "The assessment of students'
language abilities is something on which teachers spend a fair amount
of class time in one way or another" (p. 1). It would appear, given the
recent literature in the field, that assessment is also something language

teachers think about quite a lot outside the classroom: JALT '95 in Nagoya took on testing as a central theme with the plenary address of J.D. Brown and the first publication in the JALT Applied Materials series (Brown and Yamashita, 1995) focuses on language testing in Japan. Globally, there has been an explosion recently in the number of books concentrating specifically on how we test our students (e.g. Alderson, Clapham, & Wall, 1995; Brown, 1995) and even on the 20th century history of language testing itself (Spolsky, 1995). *Assessing Language Ability in the Classroom* claims to support this body of literature rather than try to replicate it. Cohen claims that the book was not written for testing novices, but the back cover advertises it as "accessible to novices in the field." This strange identity crisis plagues the book throughout. Cohen attempts to address issues that are left out in other texts on assessment, yet in so doing leaves out large chunks of necessary basic information about the assessment process. In the end, however, the book raises interesting and valid points about assessment in our own classrooms.

The book has 10 chapters, with the chapters organizing themselves into identifiable groups, though the sequencing of the chapters themselves is puzzling and not very intuitive. The first two chapters invite the readers to question their own philosophy of and need for assessment. The second group of chapters (3 through 6) focuses more discretely on instruments and the assessment process and environment. The final group of chapters (7 through 10) addresses individual skills and alternatives to the ways they are traditionally assessed. Throughout each chapter, Research Notes give those readers who want a more theoretical understanding of the material short summaries of research studies relevant to the current topic. I found this feature helpful; it concentrated most of the references into small areas of the text, allowing readers to skip over them as they please, in turn helping the general flow of the prose, which seems a little less burdened with parenthetical references than other language assessment texts.

The first chapter asks teachers to inventory their own needs and purposes for assessment. A questionnaire presents eight questions to help readers decide how the book will be helpful and the discussion that follows guides the readers to relevant sections of the following chapters depending on the answers generated. For example, item four in the questionnaire asks the teacher to consider how often assessment should take place in their classroom. The discussion of the questionnaire directs the readers to chapter 2, which "looks briefly at the issues of when to assess and the challenge associated with working out a

series of ongoing, informal assessment techniques ..." (p. 9). This road map, a useful part of the text, makes the book more like a handbook and resource than a read-through volume on how to go about assessing students.

Chapter 2 includes brief discussions of the notions of reliability and validity, as well as the differences between norm-referenced and criterion-referenced instruments. Cohen highlights the role of the quiz, as opposed to the test, as a means of ongoing assessment of language ability. Although the terminology and concepts are defined, these discussions assume prior knowledge, not because they are complex but because they do not thoroughly cover these areas of assessment and are only partial thoughts on what these concepts mean in classroom testing. This weakens the book for anyone not comfortable with these concepts. If basic knowledge of these tenets is what is being sought by the reader, then this is not the volume to turn to.

Chapters 3 through 6 offer discussions of test-takers, instruments, and the processes involved in assessment. Chapter 3 sets forth a vocabulary for discussing assessment instruments, giving the reader a basis for the rest of the book. It also offers a "best of" selection of suggestions for those who are designing testing instruments for use in their classes. One example is an excellent suggestion about ways of gathering distractors for a multiple-choice measure. Rather than test developers guessing at what might be attractive distractors, Cohen suggests, citing relevant research, administering items in an open-ended format first and choosing popular wrong answers as distractors for future multiple-choice measures. This gem of a suggestion is one of many in this text.

Chapters 4 and 5 entertain issues and problems related to scoring and evaluating assessment instruments. They cover basic ground with a discussion of item analysis and revision and the meaning of a particular score on an instrument. More innovative suggestions are made regarding processes teachers may follow to continually evaluate assessment in programs and classrooms. Cohen includes a set of guidelines with some rather helpful and penetrating questions to ask about instruments.

Another insight from these two chapters is the use of student reporting about instruments themselves and about the strategies they use to answer items. Cohen discusses methods of gathering this information, including student verbal reports, inserting overt strategy items between language assessment items on an instrument, and administering checklist instruments on test-taking strategies after the fact. This leads to a discussion of students' test-taking strategies and what they can tell us about our own instruments.

Chapter 6 focuses on the development of assessment instruments. This seems out of place, since Chapters 3 through 5 deal with the processes of administering, scoring, evaluating, and gathering feedback on tests. It is strangely off-putting to read a discussion of item elicitation methods after we have already read an extended discussion of how to analyze whether items on a test have performed as we hoped they would. In many ways, the book would be more psychologically comforting if Chapters 3 through 6 were reversed. The introductory nature of the material contributes to the disjointed feeling.

By far the most useful part of the book, the final chapters (7, 8, and 9) raise important issues and provide a list of examples and possibilities for thinking about and assessing reading comprehension, listening and speaking, and writing. Here Cohen discusses current theory pertaining to these skills and various methods for eliciting performance in them. This section will help those who are designing their own instruments and need some fresh ideas. The brief treatment of computer-assisted testing of reading comprehension is an excellent example of the sort of insight that constitutes the greatest strength of the text.

In spite of these strengths, Assessing *Language Ability in the Classroom* tries to be too many things at once. The text contains useful and interesting directions to follow in assessment, information to put assessment into practice, and topics for further debate and clarification of one's own views. But without a great deal of effort in piecing together this scattered information, the reader comes away with a fuzzy picture of how to go about the task of assessment from beginning to end. This book does not provide a novice in language assessment with a clear and orderly presentation of the basic information needed to initiate an assessment process. We are left with a confusing question: who do we believe, the introduction, which claims the text was revised for those who have test-constructing experience, or the back cover, which claims it is accessible to the novice?

The conclusion to the text answers this question in a way when it says that the writer's goal was to give classroom teachers practical ideas on assessment, and "to write a testing book around the edges of other testing books—i.e., covering topics not covered in much depth elsewhere" (p. 358). Extending the metaphor, to me this book feels like only the edges of a picture, with many of the important details cut out and hidden away elsewhere. As a handbook of suggestions and an introduction to some currently debated issues in assessment, this book may prove satisfying. It is in this light that I again mention the questionnaire/ road map in Chapter 1. Properly used, this feature may guide the reader

directly to useful information, saving time and energy trying to figure out the organization and flow of the text as a whole. Readers requiring more systematic introduction to how to go about assessing students and evaluating instruments we use for assessment should look elsewhere.

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