ISSN 0287-2420

THE Language Teacher

全国語学教師協会

JULY 1985

¥750

THE JAPAN ASSOCIATION OF LANGUAGE TEACHERS

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特別増刊号

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The Language Teacher Special Supplement

Japan Association of Language Teachers JOURNAL

VOLUME 7
NUMBER 1
JULY 1985

THE JALT JOURNAL

Volume 7, No. 1 July, 1985

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**Saeko Fukushima and Yuko Iwata report on the difficulties encountered by Japanese students in manipulating the various polite forms of English. The Japanese language relies heavily on formulaic expressions to realise politeness; Japanese students seem at a loss on finding that there is no such analogous system in English.

**Harry Krasnick looks beyond the present pre-occupation with communicative competence to a time when ESL may be increasingly concerned with training students in the skills of intercultural competence, as well as teaching content through the target language.

**Dorothy Pedtke and three of her associates working on refugee resettlement in the Kansai area offer a unique, timely and very personal description of how the Vietnamese boat people are faring in Japan. Pedtke, the principal author, outlines the problems of resettlement in Japan in the wider context of uprooting, settlement and adaptation which seems to characterize the refugee experience around the world. She notes, however, that Japan presents some special challenges, including a social system which is not well geared to assimilation of ethnic minorities.

**Rudolf Schulte-Pelkum describes in a detailed and practical manner how he uses Total Physical Response and other listening-based methods in teaching German.

**Atsuko Tsuda and George Yule investigate the relationship between correct responses to language-test items and confidence. Work in this field is sparse, and the authors report some intriguing findings.

POLITENESS IN ENGLISH

Saeko Fukushima & Yuko Iwata

Abstract

The purposes of this paper are: (1) to investigate the production of politeness in English by Japanese advanced EFL students and (2) to point out the difficulties even advanced students have in producing polite expressions in English. First the experiment which was undertaken is described. The results showed that even advanced EFL students have difficulties in producing polite expressions in speech. The results were then analyzed by contrasting the way native English speakers made requests and invitations with the way Japanese EFL students produced them.

Introduction

As graduate students in a graduate linguistics program at an American university, the authors thought that they would not have much difficulty in communicating in English. However, we soon became aware of the different degrees of English formality when our American counterparts talked with their friends and when they talked with their teachers. As a result,

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This is a revised and expanded version of a paper presented by the authors at the 1983 conference of the Japan Association of Language Teachers in Nagoya.

despite our knowledge of English grammar and our awareness of informal spoken English, we did not feel comfortable talking with our professors.

There seem to be many Japanese EFL (English as a Foreign Language) students who have quite a large vocabulary and know the structure of English, but who cannot use English communicatively. If we are to teach second-language use successfully, we should teach not only vocabulary and structure but also how to use them, "for the purpose of transmitting and receiving thoughts, ideas, and feelings between speaker and hearer or writer and reader" (Brown, 1980:189). This is because "the culmination of language learning is not simply in the mastery of the forms of language, but the mastery of forms in order to accomplish the communicative functions of language" (Brown, 1980:189). We also believe that the final goal of language teaching lies in having students acquire communicative competence. Expressing politeness is one area of communicative competence. Politeness plays a very important role in communication and if one cannot use polite expressions appropriately, one may offend others' feelings. Therefore, the authors investigated the use of polite forms in English by Japanese EFL students at the advanced level. In this study we deal with politeness expressed by linguistic forms, without concerning ourselves with prosodic features of nonverbal behavior. The study was conducted using only female subjects and did not attempt to investigate sex differences in use of polite expressions.

Subjects

The subjects consisted of ten female students of advanced level attending an English language school in Tokyo. The authors selected them according to their scores on the CELT (Comprehensive English Language Test for Speakers of English as a Second Language published by McGraw-Hill Book Com-

pany). The CELT consists of structure, vocabulary and listening comprehension items. The average score of the advanced students was 216.9 out of 300. There was a native control group consisting of six female native speakers of English.

Procedure

The experiment was intended to test the production of politeness features. In particular it was designed to test how well Japanese advanced students could produce polite expressions according to status differences between speaker and hearer, i.e.: to test the notion that speech differs according to the person we speak to. Instructions were designed so that subjects would produce both "positive" and "negative" politeness features.[1] We asked the subjects to make the same request of their female teacher and their classmates and gave them the following instructions:

Invite your teacher to a formal dinner party at seven p.m. next Friday.
Ask her to come on time.
Ask her not to wear jeans.

In the second set of instructions, the word "teacher" was replaced by "friend". During the experiment the teacher and friends responded only with minimal utterances which would not affect the results, such as, "Yes," or "Uh-huh". All the utterances were tape-recorded, transcribed and analyzed. The transcribed data are summarized in the following table:

Table 1*

Subjects' requests to a teacher

	A. Production by Japanese students	B. Production by Native Speakers of English
1. Come to a party.	Would you come to a party at seven p.m. next Friday? (6) I'd like to invite you. (1) Please come to our dinner party at seven p.m. next Friday. (1)	I'm having a dinner party next Friday. I wonder if you would like to come if you have time. I am having a formal dinner party next Friday. So I was wondering if you would be free at that time. We'd very much like you to come.
2. Come on time.	Please come on time. (4) Please make sure to come on time. (1) Please don't be late. (1) Do you come on time? (1)	We are going to try and start pretty close to seven o'clock, because we are going to have it catered. So we don't want food to get cold. The caterers are coming right about 6:55. I'm asking people to come at seven o'clock sharp.
3. Don't wear jeans.	Please don't wear jeans. (6) You can't wear jeans. (1) Please wear a formal wear. (1) It's a formal party, so please come with a formal clothes. (1)	None of the other guests will be coming in jeans or anything like that. We're thinking of wearing long dresses maybe. Most of us are going to be wearing pretty nice dresses and all. We are really getting dressed up. I told all my friends. It's going to be a little bit formal and so, I think probably we'll dress up.

Table 2
Subjects' requests to a friend

	A. Production by Japanese students	B. Production by Native Speakers of English
4. Come to a party.	Please come to my party at seven p.m. next Friday. (3) Why don't you come to my party? (3) How about coming to my party? (1)	I'm having a party next Friday night. Can you come? I'm having a party on Friday at seven o'clock. It's a dinner party. Would you like to come?
6. Don't wear jeans.	Don't wear jeans. (8) I don't want you to wear jeans. (1)	I told her (the teacher) we are all going to wear long dresses. It's a formal dinner party, so obviously jeans are out. Could you get dressed up? Oh, there is one thing, though. It's going to be formal. So, no jeans. In fact, well, I invited Miss H. She's going to wear a long dress.

*The numbers in the parentheses in Tables 1 and 2 indicate the number of students out of the total of ten who produced the same utterance. As for the production by the native speakers, we selected the expressions which are characteristic of native speech. Since the expressions by the native speakers differed from person to person, we did not indicate the number.

Results and Discussion

Most of the Japanese students used "Would you ——?" to a teacher when they invited her to a party. They used more

casual expressions such as "Please ———." or "Why don't you ———?" to a friend, as shown in 1-A and 4-A in Tables 1 and 2. In other words, the Japanese EFL students tried to adjust the level of politeness according to the hearer's status. However, they could not use polite expressions very expertly compared with the native speakers.

When the Japanese students requested that the person come on time and not wear jeans, they could not use polite expressions very well either with their teacher or a friend. They used "please" very frequently; in fact "please" is almost the only polite expression they could use. In addition, they could not make the distinction between language appropriate to making a request to their teacher and to a friend. They used almost the same expressions both with their teacher and with their friend, except for the addition of "please." This is illustrated in 3-A and 6-A in Tables 1 and 2. They used "Please don't wear jeans," to their teacher and "Don't wear jeans," to their friend. It can be seen that the Japanese students were trying to be polite to their teacher, but the addition of "please" was their only way of realizing this intent.

The native speakers used both negative and positive politeness strategies. As for negative politeness, they used strategies such as "hedging," being indirect, and impersonalization of speaker and hearer.

Negative politeness used by native speakers

1. Hedging[2]

When the native speakers made requests not to wear jeans or to come on time, they used "kind of" and "pretty close," and softened the statement.

e.g. Jeans are *kind of* out.
We are going to try and start *pretty* close to seven o'clock.

2. Being indirect[3]

The sentence, using "wonder if," loses its original meaning which expresses curiosity. In the context of this experiment, the declarative sentence is used as an invitation. The use of the past tense helps to make the sentence indirect and polite. The progressive form also makes the sentence indirect, by implying uncertainty or indicating tentativeness.

e.g. I *was wondering if* you would be free at that time.

3. Impersonalization of speaker and hearer[4]

This strategy avoids referring to "I" or "you" directly. By impersonalizing the hearer, the statement can be made more indirect or polite. This strategy appears to shift the forms of the statement – and its implications – away from the hearer.

e.g. *We*'re thinking of wearing long dresses.
I'm asking *people* to come at seven o'clock sharp.

As for the strategies in positive politeness, the native speakers used devices such as seeking agreement, avoiding disagreement, giving reasons, and noticing and/or attending to the hearer.

Positive politeness used by the native speakers

1. Seeking agreement[5]

The speaker seeks agreement from the hearer by using "okay?", etc. This strategy is used to satisfy the hearer's face.

e.g. At seven on Friday. *Okay*?

2. Avoiding disagreement

This strategy also satisfied the hearer's face, by indicating that both the speaker and hearer have arrived at a shared

conclusion.

e.g. So, you'll be able to come *then*.

The use of *then* as a conclusory marker indicates that "the speaker is drawing a conclusion to a line of reasoning carried out cooperatively with the addressee" (Brown & Levinson, 1978:120). In other words, "*then* points to a conclusion of an actual agreement between the speaker and the hearer" (Brown & Levinson, 1978:120).

3. Giving reasons[6]

The native speakers give varying reasons why the hearer should come on time or wear a nice dress. Giving reasons leads the hearer to agree, and avoids an unreasonable imposition on the hearer by the speaker. The sample sentences listed in 5-B in Table 2 give reasons why the hearer should come on time. For example, the speaker used "the teacher" as the reason why the hearer should come on time. These sample sentences show how native speakers used another agency to evade the responsibility, thus giving an impression of politeness.

4. Noticing and/or attending to the hearer[7]

It is impolite to make a request abruptly. The native speakers began their conversation with greetings or a statement such as, "Do you have a minute to talk?", and then made the requests nicely.

We want to emphasize that we were seeking to compare the production of Japanese students with that of the native speakers. Most of the Japanese students used "Would you come to a party?" when they invited a teacher. The Japanese students could use the polite expressions in a way that did not threaten the hearer's face. However, when the Japanese students made requests which might threaten the hearer's face, they could not use the various politeness strategies that the native speak-

ers did. The only exception was when one Japanese subject said, "It's a formal party," to justify the request that the guests should not wear jeans. The number of reasons is not as many as in the case of the native speakers.

As mentioned above, the result of the experiment showed that Japanese students are not good at making requests politely. Why are polite expressions in English so difficult for Japanese students? In order to answer this question, we investigated the differences between Japanese and English polite expressions.

Ide (1979) defines use of polite expressions as a linguistic method to control social and psychological distance between the speaker and the addressee. Polite expressions can be expressed through either linguistic forms or contexts. In other words, polite expressions consist of formal expressions and considerate expressions. "Formal expressions are sets of fixed expressions expressing politeness. They are fixed formal expressions which change according to the status and familiarity of the speaker and the addressee and formality of the context" (Ide, 1974b:126). Considerate expressions are the expressions which are considered to be polite as used in the context of the situation. They do not have any fixed forms; they are implied polite expressions.

Formal expressions and considerate expressions have quite different characteristics; however both are found in Japanese and in English. In Japanese, speakers can freely express their polite attitudes or feelings toward a hearer by using honorifics and particles. But Japanese EFL students are at a loss when they want to express those attitudes and feelings in English, because English has neither honorifics nor particles. Moreover, most Japanese students of English seem to believe that English has no polite expressions. Many speakers of Japanese have said, "English sounds 'harsh' or 'impolite' to them" (Lakoff, 1972:908).

In fact, English has relatively few formal expressions analogous to the Japanese ones. As we already know, Japanese polite expressions rely heavily on formal expressions, especially honorifics and an extensive vocabulary of humbleness, respect, and in general, polite words. "The status difference between the speaker and the addressee and the person spoken of decides the choice of words" (Ide, 1974b:127). On the contrary, no analogous structure of polite words can be found in English polite expressions.

Though English does have some formal expressions, English formal polite expressions are mainly address forms. The title plus last name constitutes a formal expression, while the first name alone is considered informal. Other polite forms of address are: Sir, Ma'am and Your Majesty. Besides address forms, English formal expressions consist of *greetings* such as "How do you do?", Good morning", and "Hello" and *fixed expressions* such as "Thank you", "Please make yourself at home", and "Can I help you?" (Ide, 1974b & 1979). However, the total amount of formal expressions in English is minimal compared with that of Japanese. Thus, Japanese students tend to think that English has no polite expressions.

Since English has few formal expressions, politeness in English depends heavily on considerate expressions. Ide offers a few examples of considerate expressions in English (Ide, 1974:62):

e.g. *Would* you come to a party?

Besides *would*, there are a variety of expressions which are considered polite in certain situations.

e.g. You *must* come and have tea with us.

If one wants to invite a neighbor, who has just moved in, to tea, the sample sentence with *must* (ordinarily a strong imperative form) is much more considerate than a sentence such as "Would you come and have tea with us?"

e.g. A. Enjoy your drink. (Ide, 1982:141)
B. Don't drink more than you like. (Ide, 1982:141)
e.g. A. Would you sit down?
B. *Do* sit down. (Ide, 1974:62)

In certain contexts, sentence B is more polite than sentence A. "Don't drink more than you like," would be more considerate if it is said to a guest who doesn't drink much. "Do sit down." would be more appropriate if it is said to a person who hesitates to sit down.

As mentioned above, polite expressions in English consist mostly of considerate expressions. Since considerate expressions are not fixed expressions, Japanese students cannot depend on the use of ceremonial formulae in speaking English as they do in using Japanese. Instead of the formulae, they need to learn to express politeness with devices used for other purposes such as the use of modals, tenses, etc. They should give up using one set phrase in many situations and learn to manipulate words personally to create the impression of themselves and their feelings.

Conclusions

Although the number of subjects was limited, this study led us to several findings. First, the Japanese advanced students could not use polite expressions very well either with a teacher or with a friend. They could not use polite expressions, with the exception of "please", especially when they made requests to a hearer which might threaten the hearer's face.

Second, Japanese EFL students could not make distinctions between their teacher and their friend. Even though they added "please" to utterances directed to their teacher, on the whole, they used almost the same expressions both with their

teacher and with their friends. The Japanese students tried to use polite expressions according to the status difference. However, their English did not meet their need to express this consciousness.

Polite expressions play a very important role in Japanese and Japanese students are conscious of the language used according to status differences. If they cannot express their feelings in English, especially the desire to communicate politely, they cannot get their true meaning across to their listeners. Therefore, specific areas of politeness deserve greater emphasis in the EFL class in Japan. A better understanding of politeness features in English will help EFL students to communicate more effectively as competent speakers.

Notes

[1]In 1967 E. Goffman described politeness or deference in the context of a general theory of action or behavior, not restricted to linguistic communication. He defined the concept of deference as "the appreciation an individual shows to another through avoidance or presentation rituals" (Goffman, 1967:77). In an elaborate extension of Goffman's ideas, Brown and Levinson present a model in an attempt to account for politeness phenomena. Their model assumes that politeness is motivated by a speaker's desire to save face, his/her own face, or the hearer's face. "Face" is defined as "a set of wants satisfiable only by the actions (including expressions of wants) of others" (Brown & Levinson, 1978:65). "Face" consists of two related aspects: negative and positive face. Negative face is defined as wanting one's actions to be unimpeded by others. Positive face is defined as seeking to be acceptable to (at least) some others (Brown & Levinson, 1978:67). Positive politeness is oriented toward the positive face of the hearer, the positive self-image that he claims for himself. Negative politeness, on the other hand, is oriented mainly toward partially satisfying the hearer's negative face, his basic need to maintain claims of territory and self-determination.

[2]Hedges have a variety of surface manifestations. Among the most common are *just, maybe, kind of,* and *sort of*; expressions such as *I wonder if, the thing is, something like that,* and verbs such as *think* and modals such as *could*. They modify the force of a speech act (Brown & Levinson, 1978:150). For example, "I *kind of* have to talk it over with you" (Scarcella, 1980:281) is much softer than, "I have to talk it over with you." Another example: "We *were wondering if* you wanted to come along" (Scarcella, 1980:282).

[3]In this strategy, a speaker is faced with opposing tensions: the desire not to impose on the hearer's face at the same time as making the request clear. In this case, the compromise of conventional indirectness solves the problem. Conventional indirectness is "the use of phrases and sentences that have contextually unambiguous meanings which are different from their literal meanings" (Brown & Levinson, 1978:137). In this strategy, the utterance goes on record, and the speaker conveys his desire indirectly. "Conventional indirectness encodes the clash of wants, and so partially achieves them both" (Brown & Levinson, 1978:137).

e.g. I need a comb. (Brown & Levinson, 1978:139)
I'm looking for a comb. (Brown & Levinson, 1978:139)

If they are said to a shopkeeper, they are requests even without any final *please*.

[4]By avoiding the pronouns, "I" and "you", the speaker can indicate his desire not to impinge on the hearer. There are a variety of ways to impersonalize the speaker and the hearer. One is replacement of the pronouns "I" and "you" by indefinites. For example, "One shouldn't do things like that." is preferred to "You shouldn't do things like that." Another is the exclusive "we" for the avoidance of "I" and "you." It functions to distance the speaker and the hearer. The passive without agent is also used to remove direct reference to the speaker.

[5]Seeking agreement by using such question tags as *right?, okay?* and *alright?* is one of the positive politeness strategies.

[6]Another aspect of including the hearer in the activity is for the speaker to give reasons why the speaker wants the hearer to do something. In other words, giving reasons is a way of showing what help is needed.

e.g. I know it's an awful thing to ask you, but would you be so kind as to meet me in my hotel, because I don't know this city? (Ide, 1974:43)

[7]Another means of expressing positive politeness is by showing interest in and noticing the hearer. This can be done through greetings (Brown & Levinson, 1978:108).

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INTERCULTURAL COMPETENCE IN ESL FOR ADULTS

Harry Krasnick

Abstract

The communicative competence "revolution" in ESL has received considerable attention, but other developments of potential importance can also be discerned. They are (1) the concept of ESL competence as intercultural interactional competence; and (2) the acquisition of English through the study of subject matter. The combined effect of these developments is to pave the way for a more relevant and perhaps more effective ESL curriculum for adults. The philosophy of such an approach is outlined in this paper.

"The history of language teaching is the history of ideas about what language is and how languages are learned" (Richards 1984:7). Are the current changes in our ideas truly revolutionary, and indicative of a "paradigm shift," or are we merely witnessing a modification of our basic ideas? Raimes (1983) addressed this question recently and concluded that

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there is an *emerging* paradigm which:

- sees language as communication
- emphasizes real language use, as opposed to usage
- recommends a student-centered classroom
- encourages language acquisition
- develops humanistic, interpersonal approaches
- considers the nature of the learner, the learning process, and the learning environment

However, she concludes, a true paradigm shift has not yet occured:

> The current emphasis on communication has, I believe, been absorbed neatly into our positivist traditional framework. Far from superseding tradition, it has been assimilated into it. (1983, p.543)

For now, she feels, "Terra Incognita will remain our home" (1983:543).

Raimes' analysis is reasonable within its own terms of reference: she has examined recent developments within the boundaries of what is commonly recognized as the field of ESL at the present time. However, if a wider view of ESL is taken, the picture is changed somewhat by the implications of some recent developments both in ESL and in related fields. While it may be accurate to say that no true paradigm shift has yet occured in ESL, it is worthwhile examining these related developments in order to understand what the future may hold for the more traditional, narrower view of ESL. In this article I propose to present some viewpoints in intercultural communication and interactional competence which appear to have great relevance for ESL in general as well as for the issues that Raimes discusses.

Intercultural Communicative Competence

Larry Smith (1978) drew attention to the fact that English is used not only by visitors and immigrants to English-speaking countries, but also by members of groups or nations that have adopted English as an official lingua franca and by individuals who use English in multicultural settings where all the participants may be non-native speakers of English. This conception of English as an international language (EIL) as Smith terms it, is beginning to receive more and more attention (see Smith 1981; Kachru 1982). More recently, James Baxter (1983) has used the phrase "intercultural communicative competence" to emphasize the intercultural nature of most communication where ESL is used.

The viewpoints of researchers such as Smith and Baxter reflect a focus on real-life communication situations where English is used by ESL-speakers (whereas much current thinking in ESL results from an interest in the process of language learning in classrooms). One example of the application of the intercultural communication point of view in ESL is the rapidly growing interest in the use of English as a second (or international) language in the workplace (see, for example, Baxter, Coon, Frentzen, Hambrook, & Roberts 1983; and various papers in Gumperz 1982). Researchers in Great Britain (notably Tom Jupp, Celia Roberts, and associates) have engaged in pioneering work in attacking communication problems which result from what might be called the lack of intercultural communicative competence. Many of the misunderstandings that occur in the multicultural workplace can be traced to inter-group differences in how language is used in interpersonal communication, rather than to lack of fluency in English.

At the heart of this focus is the importance of culture, which is also the basis of the communicative competence

"revolution" in ESL, of course, in that rules of language use are culturally determined, as was made quite clear in Hymes' (1974) redefinition of linguistics as *socio*linguistics. Raimes' (1983) examination of the effect of this viewpoint upon current thinking in ESL suggested, as stated above, that no truly substantial change has resulted yet, but the intercultural communication perspective in ESL may be a factor that will help bring about such a change in the future.

A fundamental alteration in "ideas about what language is" *is* implied in the intercultural perspective. If language-in-use is governed by cultural norms, that is, if language cannot be understood properly apart from its cultural context, then ESL and EIL should in most cases be taken as necessarily referring to intercultural communication (an exception would be the use of English for international communication – for example, when English is adopted as a lingua franca, and the users are from the same cultural background – see Smith 1978). This observation – that the use of ESL or EIL usually implies intercultural communication – is simple, and basic, but it seems to have been overlooked in many quarters so far. The tendency has been to pay "lip service" to the intercultural aspect of ESL, just as, in Raimes' (1983) view, the communicative approach is often claimed without being practiced.

The idea of communicative competence as one component of cultural competence (see Hammerly 1982; Krasnick 1984) links second language teaching directly with traditional cognate disciplines such as anthropology, sociology, and social psychology, as well as with the growing field of intercultural communication itself (see, for example, Barnlund 1975; Brislin 1981; Condon & Yousef 1975; Gudykunst & Kim 1984; Hall 1976; Samovar & Porter 1982; Samovar, Porter, & Jain 1981). The concept of *subjective culture* is central to these disciplines, and one unavoidable implication is that an understanding of subjective culture should be a goal of ESL teacher

training programs. Though this linkage of language and culture brings with it great possibilities for development not only with respect to how language is conceptualized but also for teaching language through content (see below), culture is something with which not all ESL teachers are comfortable (Alptekin 1981; Bancroft 1975; Jacobson 1971; Marks & Heffernan-Gabrera 1977). However, it is true that one cannot teach what one does not know, then teachers must take responsibility for commencing their own education in this area, if it is lacking. All of the methods suggested later in this article for use with ESL students can of course be used by teachers themselves in upgrading their own knowledge and skills. It should also be pointed out that, while learning about other cultures inevitably sensitizes one to the characteristics of one's own culture, the systematic study of one's own culture is probably the easiest way to begin since in most cases there are suitable materials available in the teacher's native language, and the teacher has considerable experiential background.

Aside from the problem of a general lack of awareness of culture, there are some specific problems. First, culture can be problematic in all situations because so much of it is covert, that is, difficult to discern or recognize. This certainly applies as well to one's own culture; in fact, the problem is probably worse in that case. Because of the hidden nature of culture, native-speaker ESL teachers may not realize what a very considerable cultural "load" is involved in teaching ESL. The failure to appreciate the intercultural nature of ESL instruction may interfere with the teacher's ability to emphathize with the students' experience of learning ESL (see Mizuno 1983 for a sensitive approach to this problem). Because cultures consist of different and often diametrically opposed rules, and because much of culture is subjective and covert, intercultural communication must be considered intrinsically problematic, with great potential for interpersonal misunder-

standing (good illustrations of this may be found in Condon & Yousef 1975; Gumperz 1982). The development of intercultural communicative competence in the learner is made more difficult to the extent that the problem is not addressed in a systematic way; that is, ignoring the issues makes things worse. Of course, in teaching English as a *foreign* language, where the teacher's own cultural values and rules are not those of the community, the teacher who takes his or her own culture for granted is the teacher who will encounter the greatest difficulties. Vexing problems caused by the failure to address the learners' culturally governed approach to second language learning have been brought to light in Japan and, more recently, the People's Republic of China. In this sense, teacher-student communication may be considered paradigmatic of intercultural communication in general.

On the learner's part, culture can be problematic both because it may be taken for granted by him or her, too; and because the learner often tends to acquire someone else's (that is, usually, the teacher's) culture along with the second language. One reason this is the case is that, recalling the discussion earlier of the cultural nature of communication rules, how the language is properly used is itself part of the culture of the group of people ("speech community") whose native language that is. This can pose a threat to the learner's cultural identity in a way that the study of methematics, to take a counter-example, usually does not (see Alptekin & Alptekin 1984).

The worst possible situation, perhaps, is where the essentially cultural nature of the language teaching enterprise is not recognized or addressed, and neither the form nor the content of the instruction takes account of intercultural issues. Even if the student is fortunate enough to emerge from the course of instruction without having experienced any culturally-based discomfort, he or she may well experience it later, in

daily life. This can occur on a personal level, of course, but it can also affect international negotiations in business or political affairs, as Kume (1984) shows. Using Nagoya's loss to Seoul in the competition to host the 1988 Summer Olympic Games as an example of intercultural (in)competence in persuasion, Kume warns:

> Persuasion in an international arena involves many factors that do not require careful consideration when the speech is intended for homogeneous or mono-cultural audiences. People from different cultural and ethnic backgrounds have different values and assumptions about their lives, their human relations, and their approaches to the problems they face. (1984, p.63).

What is true with repect to international organizations, such as the International Olympic Committee, is also true with respect to multinational corporations. In the case of interpersonal encounters in daily life, the cost of intercultural incompetence may be reckoned in terms of satisfaction, joy, or the achievement of personal goals; in business or politics, the cost may be calculated in dollars and cents (or yen). This potential for problems does not mean that there is cause for despair, but rather that there is work to be done.

In concluding this section on intercultural communicative competence, it may be useful to comment on the role of competence itself as a concept. Emphasizing competence over performance directs attention to the individual's "true," context-free ability. The result is that all other factors are relegated to analyses of social situations, leaving the individual's linguistic – or, more specifically, communicative – competence as the proper concern for the second language teacher. (After all, the thinking seems to go, the teacher cannot be responsible for analyzing all the interpersonal transactions in

which the learner may be involved, either during instruction or after it has ended.) However, the development of the disciplines of sociolinguistics and intercultural communication has revealed a problem in this emphasis upon competence over performance: the two cannot be so easily separated in everyday life, where, to mention what is the single most important problem confronting the analyst, language and culture are thoroughly and completely mixed (see Krasnick 1984). The evolving intercultural perspective in language teaching tends to place less importance on the theoretical separation between competence and performance, focusing instead on the successful use of language for ordinary purposes in everyday situations. This has lead in turn to a concern with what competence in using language in everyday life actually involves. Only when questions of this sort are answered can we expect to know what intercultural communicative competence entails.

Intercultural Interactional Competence

One part of the growing intercultural force in language teaching is the intercultural communicative competence perspective, as discussed above. Another component is the concept of intercultural *interactional* competence (see Krasnick 1984), which emerges from the observation that in everyday life, language is nearly always used for some interactional purposes. Language has what Schutz called an "in-order-to" motive (Schutz 1972). Others have acknowledged this in referring to language as "fundamentally and primarily a *social instrument*" (Dewey, cited in Seelye 1974:13; emphasis added), and as "a mode of action, and not an instrument of reflection" (Malinowski, cited in Hudson 1980:109). The language found in many ESL textbooks, in contrast, lacks this

purposefulness:

> In language teaching that has people talking to each other about quarters and nickels or about the hours of the British Museum for no identifiable purpose other than to practice a sentence pattern or a function, what is being emphasized is still the message itself (language), as it was in the traditional paradigm. Students can be talking to each other in a language class and the focus can still be on the form of the language itself and not on the context of reality. (Raimes 1983, p. 544f).

A similar approach is taken by Jakobovits and Gordon (1979), who distinguish between teaching *language* and teaching *talk*. They suggest that a major weakness in second language teaching is the reliance upon *simulated* interaction in the classroom. In real life, they argue:

> . . . the participants count each others' [*sic*] moves as *spontaneous*, i.e., taken as a sign of *relationship* between the participants; whereas in simulated talk, the moves of the participants count as *role performance* or as play acting: e.g., in a classroom, the student's move in a practice exchange counts only as his performance as a student who is practising, not as an individual with an identity acting on his own behalf, i.e., NOT in relationship. This is why all sorts of overlay activity can be noticed during such practisings of simulated exchanges: embarrassment, giggles, hesitations, interruptions, rehearsals, repetitions, corrections, flood outs, etc. (1979, p.9; emphasis in the original)

It is in this sense that the ordinary second language classroom, and the communication that takes place therein, is not "real."

The competence that is cultivated in the classroom is likely to be confined to competence in using language correctly with

respect to linguistic structure and communicative situation. What is absent is the notion of creating social relationships and/or managing social interaction. One criterion, then, is whether language is used for a recognizable purpose. There is no point, of course, in aiming for interactional competence to the exclusion of linguistic and communicative competence. Rather the latter are encompassed within the former. Normally this can be taken for granted, but in attempting to set out the difference between communication and interaction, the distinction becomes important. This emphasis on interaction in fields such as anthropology, sociology, intercultural communication, and negotiation. The same variation can be observed in different occupational spheres: interaction is of great concern to businessman, lawyers, and politicians, while teachers tend to restrict themselves to communication and analysis. What is being argued here is that, to the extent that the second language will be used in real life by the learner, interactional competence is relevant.

This may be a potentially controversial approach to language to take with respect to second language teaching in part because it highlights aspects of the learner's personal qualities which may diverge from his or her apparent ability to learn language as it is presented in traditional ESL student textbooks. That is, a student may master the rules of grammar and syntax, possess an adequate vocabulary, and know how to use language politely, and still fail utterly in interactional tasks in intercultural situations. Even in the native language situation, of course, there are individuals who produce well-formed sentences (linguistic competence) and use conventional and appropriately polite forms of speech (communicative competence) but are still unsuccessful in negotiating, persuading, placating, reassuring, justifying, and so on. Such individuals are interactionally incompetent.

Interactional competence is a part of cultural competence,

since the rules of interaction are culturally variable. The "deep structure" of culture includes its basic values, that is, whatever is considered good or desirable; and the important norms, or rules, associated with those values (see Condon & Yousef 1975; Stewart 1972). Patterns of interpersonal communication are, of course, of prime importance (see Barnlund 1975 for some pertinent examples). When the concept of interactional competence is applied to second language teaching, the problem can be seen immediately: the user of English for intercultural or international communication frequently does not have the advantage of sharing the cultural background and expectations for communication and interaction of the other party. The study by Kume (1984) exemplified this problem. The situation is made even more difficult by the fact that, as noted earlier, the parties may be unaware of their own culturally based expectations as well.

For most people, one of the primary goals of everyday interaction is presenting themselves in a good light ("putting your best foot forward," "making a good impression"). The late sociologist Erving Goffman coined the term "impression management" (Goffman 1959) to describe the pursuit of this goal by people in their daily lives. His "dramaturgical" metaphor has the communicator playing the role of the actor, with the others as the audience. He saw everyday social interaction as consisting in large part of the ongoing negotiation of meaning among individuals. His famous treatise on the subject begins with the observation:

> When an individual enters the presence of others, they commonly seek to acquire information about him or to bring into play information about him already possessed. (1959, p.1)

The others, then, are already cast in their roles as audience

members. As for the actor:

> While in the presence of others, the individual typically infuses his activity with signs which dramatically highlight and portray confirmatory facts that might otherwise remain unapparent or obscure. For if the individual's activity is to become significant to others, he must mobilize his activity so that it will express *during the interaction* what he wishes to convey. (1959, p.30; emphasis in the original)

In terms of the present discussion, "expressing" what one wishes to convey, and making the impression that one wishes to make, is the interactional goal, the purpose for which language – usually, along with other modalities – is being used.

The implications for interactional competence in multicultural settings or intercultural interactions, though Goffman does not take them up specifically, stem directly from the fact that:

> . . . when the individual presents himself before others, *his performance will tend to incorporate and exemplify the officially accredited values of the society,* more so, in fact, than does his behavior as a whole. (1959, p. 35; emphasis added)

The importance of values in impression management makes it clear that cultural competence is involved. Within our own societies, that is, in monocultural situations, we tend to take these things for granted most of the time, taking explicit notice of them only in special situations, for example, job interviews or ceremonies. It is Goffman's position, though, that impression management is actually a pervasive feature of everyday life. It is just that, as with many other areas of our innate social and cultural knowledge, impression management

is part of "what everybody knows," and so does not ordinarily receive our attention. For intercultural communication, however, it is problematic. Having what some people refer to as "common sense" is not enough, for the simple reason that common sense is common only to the particular social group involved, that is, common sense is culture-specific. Achieving success in intercultural encounters requires intercultural interactional competence. The implications of all this for ESL curriculum follow directly.

Content In ESL : The Vast Wasteland

Perhaps due in part to its modern role as part of military intelligence training, post-war second language teaching has much of the feeling of behavioral training, as opposed to education. Foreign language instruction, such as the study of European languages in North America or the study of English in Asia, often tends to be more of a classically educational enterprise, in that there is an interest in the history and institutions of the people whose language is being studied, and access to their literature through the study of their language is often contemplated. Interpersonal communication may not be a goal at all. In English as second language instruction, there has been a great emphasis on interpersonal communication, but not much emphasis on education. Finding out which methods of teaching produce the best results for interpersonal communication is always a valid concern, of course, but there is also the issue of content in second language learning. The ongoing discussion concerning the relative merits of grammar-based or communication-based syllabi has little to do with the question of content.

Until comparatively recently, it seems to have been assumed that no real content teaching could be integrated into ESL

instruction, and in any case the desirability of real content[1] was rarely discussed. In ESL, then, the term "learning" can have two different meanings: it can refer to the development of interpersonal communication skills; and it can refer to the learning of subject matter, including knowledge and ways of organizing knowledge. The two meanings of the term can be seen in the question – rarely asked – "Do you learn anything while you are learning ESL?" The answer to that question used to be, "No," but the possibility of integrating language learning and content learning is currently being demonstrated in North America. This is a development which has considerable implications both for the question of how second language competence is most effectively developed, and for the challenge of designing a responsive second language curriculum. It has implications for the intercultural perspective in ESL, too.

Some recent experiments at the University of Ottawa[2], a bilingual (French and English) university in the capital city of Canada, are lending support to Krashen's model of language acquisition (see Krashen 1982; Krashen & Terrell 1983). The experiments involve university students who are taking an Introductory Psychology course which is taught in their second language (both English and French). The research data show that the students who are studying psychology in their second language, are with only minimal assistance from a second language teacher, improving their second language ability as well as their peers who are receiving ordinary second language instruction. Furthermore – and this is critical, in the circumstances – the students are learning psychology as well as students who study it in their native language. The idea that training and education need not be mutually exclusive, that there *can* be real content in ESL instruction itself, is a fairly revolutionary one. It is, however, consistent with Krashen's theory of second language acquisition, and seems to

meet a need. To take advantage of these new possibilities, of course, we will need to have a model of both language learning and content learning, such as the one presented in Mohan's *Language and Content* (1985, forthcoming). What is also exciting is that the intercultural perspective in ESL and the language-content issue combine very naturally.

For university students, such as those in the Ottawa experiments, the proper content for ESL instruction may well be dictated by the students' academic programs – psychology, English literature, and so on. But what of second language learners who are not university students? Although they may not have brought with them any specific expectations for learning (in the sense of education), a great opportunity is lost nonetheless if the ESL curriculum is devoid of useful content. Too often, it seems, the "content" in ESL student textbooks serves only as a vehicle for the language, as Raimes has noted above. There is no intention to teach any content area which is of value in its own right. At best the textbook writer selects some factual information which it is hoped will prove interesting to the students, for example, information about holidays or government or material culture. In some cases, English-language literature is studied, but again typically this is only a means of getting the students to read something in English. Compared to what the University of Ottawa students are learning – in ESL – most ESL students learn next to nothing.

While university students can be said to come equipped, as it were, with easily identifiable content needs, in other cases a needs analysis must be conducted. What needs have the textbook publishers discovered so far with respect to content? Student groups with particular needs are accommodated in the cases of Vocational English, English for Science and Technology, and English for Academic Purposes, to take some common examples, but these constitute well-known excep-

tions to the general rule, which appears to be: no special content learning need take place – language is enough. This approach can no longer be justified, if the results of the Ottawa studies are valid and the implications taken to heart. Learners' time is valuable, and should not be wasted on empty instruction.

The possibility of learning something of value, and the question of what is of most value to ESL learners can be approached in terms of intercultural interactional competence, as outlined herein. There are three major points to be made:

(1) In many instances the learner will be using language in intercultural communication.
(2) Communication is usually for some (interactional) purpose.
(3) Many times the goal is achieved through some combination of impression management and/or negotiation.

It is these things, the stuff of everyday communication, which dictate the content to be learned by adult ESL students, especially those who will be using English in intercultural situations where the stakes can be relatively high. This line of thinking, unlike the trend toward "communicative" language teaching, does imply a true paradigm shift. Certainly in terms of ESL curriculum and instruction there is a shift in emphasis away from the question of how to teach and toward the question of what to teach. With respect to the underlying conception of language, the old view of language as a set of empty categories is being replaced by a view of language as an integral part of culture. Competence in using a second language, as stated earlier, is therefore part of cultural competence. And the appropriate content for ESL is thus content for intercultural competence. Teaching only language "will leave the students social cripples" (McLeod 1976:217).

Content For Intercultural Competence In ESL For Adults

In the preceding discussion I have raised the possibility that adult ESL students can learn something of value to themselves while developing linguistic and communicative competence. In this section I will attempt to outline what content the curriculum would contain, and in the next section I will say something about instructional methodology. Although a rather general treatment will be offered, it should be borne in mind that groups of leaners do have different needs. In fact, the concept of "ESP" may come to be more useful than that of ESL in this connection, since we are referring to specified needs, namely, English for Intercultural Encounters.

First all learners intending to use English in intercultural settings should gain some familiarity with the basic concepts of the discipline of intercultural communication. Many learners may have some acquaintance with some or all of the concepts from their everyday experience, but by and large they do not have a systematic, conceptually-oriented approach to intercultural communication. They should learn about topics such as: gestural and postural communication; proxemics (use of space); silence; cultural influences on rhetoric; and cultural preferences in verbal communication style. The work of John Condon (for example, Condon & Yousef 1975), Dean Barnlund (1975), and Edward Stewart (1972) is readily accessible and could form the basis for this component of the ESL-through-intercultural communication curriculum. The writer has used Levine and Adelman's student textbook *Beyond Language: Intercultural Communication for ESL* (1982) with university-bound ESL students from a variety of cultural backgrounds, including Japanese students, and this experience very strongly suggests that the general intercultural communication-oriented approach to content in ESL is workable. As a matter of fact, the students found the book both

interesting and useful in adapting to life in North America. It would probably be equally well received in any situation where the learners had any interest at all in North Americans, and certainly the approach it exemplifies can be used with respect to any target culture. In principle, a culture-general version could also be produced. (This textbook seems to be the only one currently available which offers a ready-made treatment of the topics mentioned above, and other related issues. A companion volume, authored by James Baxter and Deena Levine, and aimed at lower-level ESL students, is in preparation.)

Second, learners planning to use English in particular cultural or national settings should study the general features of the target culture in a systematic way. This may mean adapting materials that are essentially anthropological or sociological in nature, rather than using materials designed for tourists or visitors, since the latter are not, as a rule, organized around a recognized set of concepts or concerns[3]. Newbury House Publishers, in the United States, have initiated a Series on Nonverbal Behavior which is exemplary of a practical approach to culture learning. The volume on Brazil (Harrison 1983), for example, discusses elements of everyday subjective culture such as "machismo," privacy, and doing favors, in addition to standard topics such as conversational style, social organization, gestures, and so on. More of a psychocultural approach – also very helpful in making sense of the target culture – is taken in Stewart's *American Cultural Patterns: A Cross-Cultural Perspective* (1972). Barnlund's (1975) comparison of Japanese and North American communication styles is another good example of a contrastive approach. Though studies of this type are not designed for language learners, they do contain information which is essential for interactional competence, and they offer a starting point for curriculum developers who wish to prepare ESL learners

for successful interaction in identifiable milieux. They would also be useful for ESL teachers seeking to acquaint themselves with cultural analysis. Such culture-specific treatments are helpful, in addition, in reinforcing the general approach to intercultural communication presented in culture-general works such as Brislin (1981) and Gudykunst and Kim (1984).

The third component is, like the first, somewhat general in nature in that it can be applied in every cultural context. It comprises the basic concepts and strategies of impression management, as presented by Goffman (1959) and later writers (for example, Schlenker 1980; Tedeschi 1981). Since, as Goffman noted, impression management is related directly to the cultural values of the audience, it is possible to tailor this aspect of the curriculum to the needs of particular groups of learners, including those intending to use English for international communication.

If we are dealing with adults, the learners' general awareness of the very existence of nonverbal communication, cultural differences in communication values and norms, and the phenomenon of "putting your best foot forward," can be presumed, just as adult learners can be presumed to know more than children do about how conversations are initiated and carried on. The significance of making impression management a subject of inquiry in the ESL classroom can best be appreciated by considering the difference between "the man in the street" and the sociologist – the latter seeks to understand everyday phenomena in terms of a theory of human behavior, whereas the former is content merely to act from moment to moment.

The first three components have this in common: it is probably not necessary to achieve total mastery, that is, to act completely like a native member of the target group, in order to reap benefits. The major problem in interpersonal intercultural communication is the drawing of negative in-

ferences about the other's intentions due to lack of familiarity with that other's culture and the way that it shapes his behavior. Making what can clearly be seen to be an attempt to modify one's behavior – that is, to accommodate – may be one way to show one's good intentions.

The fourth component in this brief discussion of content for intercultural competence in ESL is one which may have more relevance for some learners than for others: principles of negotiation and mediation, in cross-cultural perspective. Even so, it can serve to illustrate the use which can be made of a patterned form of interaction which occurs in both the learner's culture and the other culture. The phenomenon of negotiation can be focused on traditional subjects of negotiation, such as business transactions; or on interpersonal dispute resolution (called mediation: seen, for example, Folberg & Taylor 1984), or the negotiation of respectability (see Douglas & Waksler 1982). The cross-cultural or contrastive approach would be suitable for business negotiation (see, for example, Harris & Moran 1979); negotiating respectability is a part of impression management; and mediation as a form of dispute resolution has the potential for application in a broad range of cultural settings. It would be a rare adult ESL learner who contemplated using English in face-to-face intercultural interaction but had no need to negotiate or manage the outcome of various transactions. The same principles apply to non-face-to-face interaction (see below).

The four components outlined above are all oriented toward successful interaction. They may be broadly grouped into two categories:

(1) *knowledge* (of principles and concepts of intercultural communication; and of target culture); and
(2) *ability* (to make a good impression; and to negotiate a satisfactory outcome).

To repeat something argued earlier, *all* ESL learners have the potential to learn something of value while developing their English skills. The curricular content proposed here represents an attempt to specify what is valuable for intercultural interactional competence.

Many learners, of course, do not contemplate having face-to-face interaction with English-speakers from other cultures. They still may have a need to develop intercultural interactional competence, however. If they are dealing with others through writing, most of the points made in the foregoing discussion will apply. For example, in commercial transactions, face-to-face interaction may represent the culmination of a campaign that began with a successful exchange of letters. Success and failure are opposite concepts, but they do not refer to two realities, one of which is the "mirror image" of the other. There are many ways to fail – many ways, for example, to give a bad impression due to intercultural incompetence – but there is only one way to succeed. So the need for intercultural interactional competence does not depend on there being face-to-face interaction .

The preceding discussion is oriented toward the needs of the one who initiates the interaction, the one who may be said to have the goal. However, the other party may also have something to gain; indeed, the creation of a successful relationship implies that both parties benefit. While A may "fail" if he does not meet B's expectations (see Kume 1984, for example), B may also be said to lose if he does not appreciate the cultural factors which influence or explain A's approach. In other words, when people from different cultural backgrounds are considering working together, both sides need intercultural interactional competence. In this case, B needs to be able to correctly interpret the meaning of A's initial contact. If B makes a negative evaluation of A because of cultural differences in interaction or communication style,

B fails, because the potential for a mutually beneficial relationship has been lost. In other words, intercultural interactional competence comprises both receptive as well as productive competence.

A Note On Instruction

When the focus of the teaching is on interaction, as in the present discussion, the approach to instruction should be modified. Learning about intercultural communication and impression management and negotiation, like learning how to speak English, is learning for *use*. One use-oriented method which might be appropriate for businessmen and other professionals learning ESL is the case study method. Moran (1980:vii) states:

> The case study method in intercultural education is based on the assumption that working effectively in a multicultural environment is a *skill* more than it is a collection of techniques or ideas. An effective way of learning these skills is to practice them in a simulation type process.

Role-play has considerable potential, too, of course, and "attribution" techniques such as the culture assimilator or cultural sensitizer have also proven to be effective (see Albert 1983). Of course, these methods have been developed by North Americans, and they should be used selectively, depending on the student group involved. In situations where the emphasis is on receptive rather than productive competence, and/or where experiential learning is not compatible with the students' expectations or preferences, the culture assimilator might be best, because it is aimed at receptive competence, initially – understanding the reasons for others' behavior –

and it uses a conventional format (reading comprehension exercises, followed perhaps by discussion). As a generalization, it may be stated that emphasizing receptive skills before productive skills will give the students time to begin to get acquainted with the target culture before they are themselves asked to perform in novel ways.

The case study method may also use the "critical incidents" which are the heart of the culture assimilator method, but the instructional focus is on problem analysis (the culture assimilator utilizes a straightforward "programmed learning" format). Learners who are comfortable with discussion and analysis would find the case study method acceptable.

Perhaps the most culture-bound method is the workshop or training approach, where participants get "hands-on" experience in practising the skills involved. Negotiation, either with or without a third party such as a mediator, is an example. Anything which smacks of individualism or assertiveness might clash with the cultural background of many learners from countries in East Asia or Southeast Asia, but yet the study of mediation (see Folberg & Taylor 1984), for example – that is, how to be a mediator – is a valuable undertaking which might not present such serious problems. Learning how to mediate also includes learning something about negotiation, conciliation, compromise, and collaboration – all useful interactional skills that can be learned and practiced in a classroom setting. Learning mediation meets the test of real content learning, and thus the language used therein represents real talk, not simulated talk.

Conclusion

Raimes (1983) addresses a question of real importance in asking whether a paradigm shift has taken place in ESL, but

perhaps she does not go as far as she could in framing her question. A more significant issue may be the extent to which the entire ESL enterprise is being shaped by factors such as the growing importance of English as an international language, the application of intercultural communication approaches to ESL, and the question of teaching ESL through content teaching. Taken together with the concept of interactional competence, these changes foreshadow a curriculum well suited to the needs of adults who will be using English for social, business, and political purposes in intercultural interaction.

Whether the curriculum is orientated to American culture, as in Levine and Adelman's (1982) textbook for pre-university students, oriented to other culture cultures, or culture-general, it will focus strongly on *language as communication, communication as social interaction, and social interaction as culturally governed behavior.* It will provide adult ESL students with something valuable to learn while improving their English, and, according to the input theory, their language development will proceed more quickly because language will be being used in a natural way, namely as a means of learning something which is worth learning for its own sake.

In summary, there is great economy to be achieved in the confluence of two separate but related propositions:

(1) There is something in addition to merely language itself that ESL students can benefit from learning; and
(2) they can learn it while they learn English.

Merging these theoretical propositions and putting them into practice seems eminently reasonable, and may lead to an entirely new way of looking at second language instruction.

Notes

[1]Much content in ESL instruction represents only simulated learning, not real learning, just as most role-plays in ESL represent simulated, rather than real, interaction. Formal education, for example, secondary or post-secondary studies, where the medium of instruction is the student's second language, does not represent real content in ESL instruction because English has already been learned. The question is, was any content learned while the second language was being learned? Or, to put it another way, was English learned *through* learning something else?

[2]There is insufficient space to describe the experiments in this paper. The interested reader should refer to: Edwards, H., Wesche, M., Krashen, S., Clement, R., & Kruidenier, B., "Second language acquisition through subject-matter learning: a study of sheltered psychology classes at the University of Ottawa," *University of Ottawa Centre for Second Language Learning Journal*, 1983, *28*, 29-54, and *Canadian Modern Language Review*, 1984, *41*, 268-282; Wesche, M., "A promising experiment at Ottawa University," *Language and Society* (a publication of the Commisioner of Official Languages of Canada), 1984, *12*, 20-25; and Wesche, M., & Ready, D., "Foreigner talk in the university classroom," paper presented at the 10th University of Michigan Conference on Applied Linguistics, Ann Arbor, Michigan, October 1983 (forthcoming in a collection of papers edited by Gass, S., & Madden, C., Newbury House Publishers).

[3]The unsuitability of literature for this purpose has been discussed in Krasnick 1984.

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ISSN 0289-7938
全国語学教師協会
VOL. IX, NO. 2 FEBRUARY 1985

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REFUGEE RESETTLEMENT IN JAPAN

Dorothy A. Pedtke
with
Joseph De Witte, S.D.B.
Yoko Lastri
Lam Hong Phat

Abstract

On the tenth anniversary of the fall of Saigon, we present a picture of the situation of Indochinese refugees in Japan, an analysis of the legal, social and psychological problems in the lives of those who have elected to settle in Japan permanently, and some suggestions for improving their position and helping them to make the most of their new lives.

After a brief overview of the history of Indochinese refugees elsewhere in the world as well as here since 1975, the article offers personal statements by individuals with a close perspective on refugee problems in Japan, then summarizes two professional analyses of culture shock and resettlement needs, and finally suggests areas in which interested persons can help. Also included are a refugee's recollections of his home in Cambodia, and an imprisoned Vietnamese poet's dreams for the future.

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Ten years have passed now since the fall of Saigon in 1975 and the end of the Vietnam War, and our recollections are gradually dimming. More recent world crises have nearly wiped out even our memories of the Pol Pot regime's atrocities in Cambodia (1977-1979), and the countless Africans today tragically starving in Ethiopia, the Sudan and elsewhere have pre-empted world concern formerly claimed by the Indochinese, most of whom are by now, relatively speaking, better off than the Africans.

For many people (such as my mother, who spent a month at the Philippine Refugee Processing Center [PRPC] in Bataan, where I was working before I came to Japan, and then sponsored a Cambodian family in the United States, keeping mother, father and six children in our home in Indiana from July through December, 1982), the immediate problems of resettlement have always been more comprehensible and deserving of attention than the wars that made them necessary. While the PRPC is nothing like the first asylum camps in Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia and Hong Kong from which the refugees came to our Center for language training and cultural orientation on their way to resettlement ("our" refugees were the lucky ones cleared for entry into the United States, Germany or Norway), even there, there was fear and a disrupted life, illness, the difficulty of learning to cope in a new language and culture, anxiety for family members still in the homelands or first asylum camps, terrible memories of war and treks through danger to asylum, weeks of hunger and thirst and despair on a boat, trauma from rape and robbery in either boat or jungle, and finally, guilt at simply having survived when so many others had died on the way or been left behind.

Most of us learned about these experiences in a theoretical way, at least, during the 1970s, when articles and news commentaries about the war and refugees were frequent, and programs to facilitate resettlement, teach language and provide

elementary job training were springing up in every corner of the United States, as well as, to a slightly lesser extent, in other countries such as Canada, Australia, China, Great Britain, France and Germany, where there were also large influxes of refugees.

The United States began taking in refugees as soon as the war ended. At that point there was strong popular support for refugee programs, combined with generous government financing. At the beginning there was little logistical support or expertise, but organizations such as the Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL)[1] began at once to produce dictionaries, teaching materials and information guides, in the refugees' languages as well as in English, and develop orientation programs for both the refugees and the local people working with them. Churches and welfare offices in communities that received refugees joined together to work out ways to cope with the situation. As Kleinmann (1984) mentions in his article on teaching English to refugees in the United States, the United States eventually accepted three-quarters of a million refugees from Indochina alone, and the program is still in operation.

The large number of programs inevitably gave rise to some very interesting materials development and research projects. Refugee programs have claimed a large percentage of the papers and publications on display at recent TESOL (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages) conferences, and there has even come to be a Special Interest Group on Refugee Concerns as part of the Association.

Later at a TESOL conference, someone pointed out that, in a sense, America was made of and by refugees, having been dealing with refugee problems since the first settlers arrived. We ought, therefore, the speaker suggested, to be accustomed to it by now, and be able to keep the situation in better perspective and avoid reinventing all those wheels each time

a new group of refugees is created by some change in the world situation.

Recently many countries, including the United States, have begun to tighten their qualifications for admission to refugee status and the right to resettlement. This has left large numbers of Indochinese refugees, perhaps as many as 200,000, "marooned in first asylum camps scattered from Malaysia to Japan" (Saucci, 1984:21). With good reason, the countries hosting these camps of first asylum are experiencing a good deal of anxiety about the fate of these refugees, and the difficulties caused by their continuing presence. Thus the development of resettlement opportunities in alternative locations has increased in importance. One of the alternatives is Japan.

Background to Resettlement in Japan

"Boat people" have been arriving in Japan since as early as 1975. The term "boat people" refers to refugees, nearly all Vietnamese, who have escaped from their countries by setting out in small crowded boats hoping to reach a free country such as the Philippines on the other side of the South China Sea, or be picked up by passing ships on the way. The term has come to be used in Japan for any and all refugees, but it is properly used only to refer to those who have escaped in boats. Most Cambodian refugees trekked across their country to the Thai border camps. A few escaped by boat to Malaysia or Thailand, but for the most part, Cambodians are not boat people, nor are all Vietnamese. The boats that I have seen are hardly sea-going vessels. They were wooden fishing boats, the largest about 65 feet (20 meters) long, and were said to have started off with about 65 people aboard. By the time they reached the shore, there were more like 30, and only half of those were still alive, many of them too weak to get out of the boat by themselves.

No refugee boats actually come to Japan, but survivors are picked up in the South China Sea by Japanese ships or other ships en route to Japan. The international convention is that refugees will be sent for resettlement to the countries of the ships that picked them up, or the countries to which those ships were headed. This has caused situations where ships passed by refugees' boats without picking them up because of the impossibility of accepting them into that country later. The United States has held to a policy of picking up all boat people encountered on the seas, but without agreeing to admit all such refugees into the United States for permanent resettlement. This improves the chances of the boat people for survival; still, many boats never reach shore, and of those that do, many of the passengers have died or been killed on the way, or die soon afterwards of malnutrition and exposure. The trip over the China Sea by refugee boat is not exactly like a cruise on "Love Boat".

In 1975 there was still no legal basis for admitting boat people into Japan as refugees. In consideration of its small size and density of population, Japan for some time preferred not to accept refugees for permanent resettlement. They accepted boat people under the category of "seamen rescued at sea" and kept them in Japan only with a United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) guarantee for support and eventual transfer to a third country for resettlement. In 1977 provisions were made for first asylum camps in Japan, but not yet for permanent resettlement. A quota of 500 was established, to include some from the first-asylum boat people already in Japan, for "local integration", and others selected from camps in other countries to be brought to Japan, with the provision that they express a desire to resettle in Japan.

Thus there are in Japan not only Vietnamese boat people, but also a number of Cambodians and Laotians. This means there are two types of refugees in Japan now: a relatively large

number of first asylum cases waiting to be accepted into other countries, and a smaller number of refugees who have been accepted as permanent residents in Japan. Some 7,000 cases of first asylum have passed through Japan and been sent on elsewhere. Right now there are about 1,150 pending cases. As for permanent resident status cases, the government has gradually increased the quota until presently it is up to 5,000. The number of refugees already resettled in this country currently stands officially at 2,388; as of January 31, 1985, the total included 1,136 Vietnamese, 670 Cambodians and 582 Laotians.[2]

Although at first, criteria for acceptance for resident status were very strict, now the Japanese government is said to be ready to accept any refugee who is capable of holding a job, i.e., of taking care of himself, according to UNHCR Public Information Officer Ms. Minja Yang. In this respect, Ms. Yang reported, the Japanese government can be considered one of the most liberal among countries accepting refugees. This does not mean that there are no problems, but it does mean that the situation is better here than in most other places, Ms. Yang believes.

To aid refugees in resettlement, the Japanese government has established three camps. Refugees are kept in the camps for three months for language training. Before they leave the camp, a job is found for them, and then they are on their own. From that point on, the refugees have legal access to exactly the same kinds of social and financial assistance to which Japanese citizens are entitled, including such benefits as welfare, housing allowances and unemployment compensation, if needed and the refugee has qualified. Each person is responsible for getting into a program of medical insurance if his job does not provide it, but this is also true for Japanese citizens. Ms. Yang stressed the fact that the Japanese government has gone to considerable effort to ensure that refugees

are provided with the best situation possible. It is now up to society to provide for any other needs.

In theory, the situation sounds quite fair. Comparable programs in the United States are much more luxurious, but they have not been without problems, either. On the other hand, whether the programs are fair or not in comparison with what is available to Japanese, the refugees still have many needs which they are not capable of meeting by themselves. The purpose of this article, concerned primarily with the refugees who have decided to opt for permanent residence in Japan, is to look at some of these problems, consider possible alternatives for solving them, and in the end, make a plea for help from anyone who is in a position to give it.

The Life of a Refugee in Japan

To bring these dry statistics down to a more personal level, three personal statements have been offered by three very different people. Almost the only thing they have in common is their experience with refugees. The first is from Ms. Yoko Lastri, a Japanese woman who has contributed numerous hours to helping refugees develop their skills in Japanese. She is presently giving up Sundays as a volunteer teacher at the Association for Indochinese Refugee Resettlement Assistance – Kansai center in Osaka. She is both a Japanese reacting to the new presence of the Indochinese refugees in her country, and a trained language teacher who sees refugee problems in a professional light. She has observed the refugees making desperate efforts to learn enough language to qualify for resident status, then lose the sense of urgency once they qualify, in spite of the fact that good language proficiency is a major key in solving most of the problems they encounter in work and daily life situations. While she understands the reasons only a few students take advantage of the free courses

offered at the Association, where she now teaches, she wishes more would understand the importance of this opportunity and come to study. Still, she feels the refugees really want to improve their lives, encourages them to work hard and wishes them success and a prosperous future.

Yoko Lastri

ベトナム難民に日本語を教える機会に恵まれて

まだ3年しか経たないが、彼らが日常生活で直面する問題や彼らの物の考え方が最近少しずつ分ってきたような気がする。

教室では、総体的に彼らは陽気で、受動的で、又勤勉である。そして絶えず楽しい雰囲気なので、教師としては非常に教えやすい。私が最初にベトナム人に日本語を教えた日野ベトナム難民施設に住む難民達は、アメリカやオーストラリアなどへの海外定住を希望して待っていたり、日本の定住センターへの入所の順番待ち、あるいは日野キャンプへ直接定住を希望して待っている人たちであった。

日本語の能力と定職を持つことは、定住権を得るために必要なことであり、難民たちは、はやく定住権を得るために日本語の勉強に必死に取り組み、その意気込みが私にも伝わってくるのだった。だから日野キャンプが1984年12月に閉鎖され、救援の道が閉ざされたのは難民たちにとって不幸なことである。

現在は、大阪にある「インドシナ難民の定住を支える会」でベトナム人に日本語を教えているが、この会は、仕事があり、定住権を持っている、大阪近郊のベトナム難民のみを対象としている。彼らは定住権を得てからは、日本語の学習態度に明らかな差がでてきている。定住権を持っている難民のほとんどは定住センターで最低3ケ月間勉強し、日本語の基礎を修得している。この基礎があれば、本人の意志さえあれば、上達は早いはずである。しかし実際には、日本語が上手で、仕事及び日常生活に支障がないという人は、ほんの僅かの人達で、これらの人達は、日本語に問題のある人達に比べて一般的に新しい生活によりよくなじんでいるように見える。

日本語が上手に話せるということが、難民の生活において多くの困難を克服していく上でもっとも重要な鍵になりそうである。日本語で意志の疎通ができるということが、難民にとって仕事を得る機会が広がり、よりよい給料が手に入れられることを可能にする。これは、難民が日常生活で遭遇するおきまりの出来事の処理において起る誤解をさけるのに役立つ。

「インドシナ難民を支える会」では、こういった人達が少しでも、より良い暮しができる様に、彼らに日本語の授業を無料で受けてもらおうというのが目的の1つである。

この会の教室はあまり広くないが、我々は今よりももっと多くの生徒を教えることができる。

しかし我々スタッフの予想に反して、この会を利用する人は少なく、現在のところ勉強に熱心な人達を中心とする極く一部の人達だけしか利用していないのは非常に残念である。彼等の大部分は工場で働いており、残業が多く、唯一の休日である日曜日を日本語の授業で費したくないと云う彼等の云い分は分からないでもないが。更に問題はそれだけではなく、幾つかに分かれているグループ間のベトナム人同志の問題も関係している様に思える。

現在を如何に楽しく過すかは、ベトナム人に限らず誰にとっても関心事ではあるが、縁あって日本に定住する事になった以上は、もっと未来にも目を向けて、より良い仕事、生活のために、日本語学習に何とか力を入れる様になってもらいたいと、一日本語教師として、また一日本人として心から願っている。

*　　*　　*

The second person is Fr. Joseph De Witte, S.D.B., pastor of Hirano Catholic Church, which is located on the Tanimachi subway line, in an area of Osaka in which many refugees reside. His parish has been receiving groups of refugees since 1980, and serves as a meeting place for refugees from all over the area. Born in Belgium, Fr. De Witte has lived in Japan since 1950, and has gone through the problems of settling in Japan himself. Besides the training that goes with his vocation, he also holds a master's degree in the teaching of English as a second language from Loyola Marymount University in Los Angeles, but the pastoral concern and compassion are what stand out when he is with the refugees.

Fr. Joseph De Witte

My experience with the Vietnamese boat people started on November 28, 1980. I was attending a meeting of Catholic priests of the Kansai area when a telephone call came from Caritas-Tokyo, asking me to accept immediately 50 people out of a group of 150 refugees who would arrive the next day at Yokohama aboard a tanker which had rescued them somewhere in the South China Sea. As there were no provisions

made by the Japanese Government at this time, the refugees were all taken care of by religious institutions. After some delay in obtaining a "landing permit", on December 2, 69 Vietnamese arrived by chartered bus, which carried them from the boat right to my house. It was a moving moment: elderly people, babies with their mothers and a few fathers, and many youths arriving on a cold, dark, rainy evening. *Futon* (bedding) and blankets had been brought in previously. A warm meal was prepared and ravenously eaten. The refugees' faces were still showing fear and suspicion after their three weeks' ordeal. The next morning the sun was shining and when they realized that there was no reason to fear, their faces became bright, and little by little smiles appeared. It took a few more days to settle down comfortably. Newsmen came around and reported the arrival in the newspapers and on television. In a matter of a couple of days we were inundated by gift parcels from all over Osaka. Everybody had enough clothes to wear and enough to eat.

The following weeks were taken up by officials for interviews and administrative matters. The refugees' landing permit was valid for five days only. A three-month stay was eventually given, and quite rapidly life in this camp became routine. The children were accepted in the nearest primary school, *arubaito* (part-time work) was found for the men, and the women did the kitchen work. In early February, the first group of six was able to leave for Switzerland, and a month later a group left for Australia. At the beginning of May, those who were still here left all together for the Himeji Camp. This was the end of the Hirano Camp, and the end of my first period of experience with the Vietnamese refugees. For myself it was a very rewarding period of being the instrument of channeling so much good will through all kinds of activities in cooperation with Lions Clubs, Rotary Clubs, PTS's, *chonaikai* (neighborhood associations), and several other *kumiai* (cooperatives).

My second period of work with and for the refugees started when some of the first people graduated from the Teiju Center in Himeji and came to settle down in the area around Hirano. This time they were supposed to be on their own, self-supporting through a job they were given through the intercession of the Center upon leaving.

Assisting the settled resident refugees is also a rewarding task, but is at times much more difficult than assisting just-arrived boat people. The material needs, although not completely absent, are less pressing than the psychological needs. The integration into Japanese society brings new problems unforeseen and unexpected by most of the refugees.

Language training has to continue, now on an individual basis, and as most of the refugees have never been accustomed to regular and continuing study, it is almost impossible for us to persuade them to be methodical in their study of the Japanese language. We can already notice differences in adjustment to the social circumstances according to their mastery of the language. This is very clearly to be observed among the Vietnamese with Chinese background, who are able to adjust quite rapidly to reading Japanese.

The overabundance of entertainment possibilities, the strong desire to earn some extra money to buy a stereo, a motorbike or even a car are other impediments to regular study. The refugees have relatives in their home country, and most of them will go to any extreme in order to send their folks home a check, a parcel with clothes, musical equipment and what not. It is all right to be thinking about their relatives, but I tell them repeatedly that they will need the money in the future for themselves. If they do not put away a part of what they earn, sooner or later they will end up on the government's welfare program or relying on outside help from private social organizations.

Employment and housing are provided as part of the care

of the Center. In most cases this is only a temporary solution. A very high percentage find their working conditions below expectations, either because of the low wages they earn, having too much or not enough overtime, strict regulations concerning starting time and absence without prenotice, or not liking the company-provided lunch. Misunderstandings occur frequently because of imperfect understanding of what they are told to do. Sometimes this may even be because of failure to understand the local dialect or informal Japanese.

This catalogue of problems and difficulties they enounter is most incomplete because each individual is unique in the way he overcomes or is not able to overcome the difficulties he meets.

It is also my impression that some of the companies that agree to hire refugees are doing so to economize on personnel costs. On the other hand, many of the refugees come to Japan without any previous experience in a high-tech society and without qualifications that would allow them to take advantage of jobs offering higher wages. This is one of the reasons I advise as strongly as I can that they make use of all opportunities to learn whatever they can. They could improve their language skills for free by listening attentively to the NHK (*Nihon Hoso Kyokai*, the Japan Broadcasting Corporation) news reports, or to the educational channel on TV. One more way to improve their general adaptation to this society, and at no cost, is to enroll in the evening junior high school provided by the government in the bigger cities. There is no age limit; the only condition is never having had education of an equal degree at the junior high school level. I suspect most of the refugees would qualify, and in fact, three young people willing to study have been accepted in an evening school in the Osaka area. The students work till four or five o'clock and start classes at 5:40. It may be necessary to change residences for this purpose, as a great commuting distance could be too

much of a burden.

If some refugees have worked at their jobs for more than a year, I advise them to stop working, go on unemployment benefits, and enroll in one of the higher vocational training schools. These are also without cost except for workclothes, books and smaller things. There are plenty of choices among six-month, one-year or two-year courses in all kinds of trades. Upon graduating successfully from this kind of school, they will be equipped with some skill, and through the mediation of the school office, they will be able to find a more rewarding job. I found the teaching staff of these schools extremely cooperative.

The existence of a small Indochinese minority in the midst of the Japanese society has been brought to the public eye through television and newspaper reports, and has impressed many readers and listeners. But when it comes to actual personal contact for a prolonged time, the refugees are mostly left on their own. "If you can help yourself. . . ." Public awareness of the plight of the refugees as individuals has to be stirred up, both through the media and on a person-to-person basis. This is especially important among the lower levels of society, those who are the refugees' companions at their place of employment, where patience and goodwill toward each other is so much needed. It is my hunch that satisfactory relationships between the refugee minorities and Japanese society will grow in time to come.

* * *

The third person is a Vietnamese refugee named Lam Hong Phat. He has lived in Japan for about five years. He came in as a boat person, lived in several camps before being accepted for permanent residence, and married a Vietnamese woman he

met in the Himeji Camp. Phat has held several jobs here, welding in a factory, tiling roofs and repairing tires. Now he is trying to further his plan to enter university. Although he finished high school in Vietnam, he has had to take some high school courses in Japan as well, in order to be in a position to pass the university entrance examination. He has already failed the exam once, but is not giving up on this dream. He has one older brother living in Canada and a younger brother living here with him, but nine family members are still in Vietnam.

Phat speaks from the point of a view of a person who has decided to settle in Japan after going through the difficulties of getting here and getting approved for settlement. He hopes that in the future he will be able to help others, just as many people have helped him here. In his presentation, he speaks of why he had to leave Vietnam, and what he has met in Japan; how helpful many volunteers have been and how much they are appreciated. He suggests that having a place for cultural exchange would help the refugees to get accustomed to Japanese society. In the letter that accompanied his paper, he noted that he has found the Japanese people usually rather conservative, and feels that they do not really understand the refugees' situation and the problems they face because of the differences in language and ways of thinking.

Lam Hong Phat

南ベトナムは陥落してからまもなく10周年になります。10年間に絶えず難民が国をはなれて平和な自由の国々を求めていきました。

国内では社会主義の下で独尊、非人権、経済低迷、官僚主義など、それに国外では軍事干渉を目的として若者をカンボジアに送り込んでいます。いわゆる「国際共産主義化」による東南アジア地域の平和を脅威と感じている人々は現政府を抵抗できずきびしい現状でよりよい道を選ばなければなりませんので祖国をでていって、社会主義のさまざまな現実を告発しています。

幸い、私達は自由世界にもとづいたときから私達はかくれずよろこぶ、なるほど、それは真実な民主主義だと痛感しました。日本のみなさんは暖い心で歓迎してくれました。やはり平和な国の中で互いに人類と人類のたすけあいを感じることができました。しかし日本政府は難民問題にはあまり関心を示しませんでした。いろんな理由があって難民対策をなかなか発表しませんでした。世界各国からの要請があってやっと、1979年4月、日本政府は難民対策をとりいれ、私達は日本に定住することができました。日本に定住希望した者は姫路や大和定住促進センターで3ケ月の日本教育を受けたあと、定住センター、職安のあっせんで各地中小企業などに就職してきました。

はじめ、何ケ月ぐらいでうまくやっていけると思いますが、日本の高度経済社会の中で考え方の違いで人間関係がうまくいかなかったり、言葉のかべや生活諸問題をのりこえられなかったりして、転職を繰り返す傾向がおおかったです。それで民間団体や難民を支える会などのボランティア活動や全国から寄せられましたみなさまの善意、暖かい励ましと多額の寄付金のおかげで、トラン・ゴーランさんやファム・スンさんが大学に入学することができました。とくに今年1月、フン君とリエンさんの心臓病の手術費用をカンパして手術ができました。

異国の地で、みなさまの優しい心や暖かい御支援で、私達の多い困難やニーズを解決でき私達を感激しました。私達は本当にお礼を言いきれない程、心から感謝いたしました。これから文化交流センターのような施設ができればいいと思います。文化交流センターを利用して、まず私達の文化伝統や民族舞踊、音楽を発展させて、各国の人々とつきあって互に文化を交流して難民への理解を深めていただきたいと思います。そうすれば、私達は一日も早く日本社会に解け込めるようになると思っております。

今後共、みなさまの暖かい御援助を得て、あふれる自由、幸福を私達に広げて下さい。最後にみなさまの御健康を祈るとともに、みなさまのボランティア活動で日本政府も動かざるを得ない状況を作るようにお願い申し上げます。

Factors Involved in Successful Integration

The Role of Language

In each of these statements, language proficiency is cited as a primary factor in the successful integration of the refugee into society. Even if he speaks the language of his new country, the refugee has plenty of problems, but at least with the language, he has some chance of dealing with the problems. Without language facility, his chances of overcoming the

difficulties are poor indeed. As far back as the 1960s, educators and government officials were studying the reasons behind foreign student "braindrain". To aid developing nations, the United States government was giving scholarships to third-world-country students, with the condition that they return to work in their home countries for a minimum period after their studies were completed. Even after signing their agreement to this condition, many students were not returning home, preferring to remain in the United States. Educators began to realize that good language training was part of their problem. The more successfully the language programs prepared the students for university study in the United States, the more likely the students were to decide to remain in the United States, and the less effective the foreign aid programs would be for third world development. Students who didn't learn so much English were more likely to go home. Clearly fluency in the language was facilitating and encouraging integration into the society.

Language is not, of course, the only factor involved. It is one part of a much larger and more complex problem, one which is not unique to refugees but affects nearly everyone who goes to live in a culture other than his own.

Culture Shock

The phenomenon of culture shock is so prevalent that it has been much analyzed by psychologists and sociologists. Oberg (1979), for example, describes culture shock as "precipitated by the anxiety that results from losing all our familiar signs and symbols of social intercourse. . . . These cues, which may be words, gestures, facial expressions, customs, or norms, are acquired by all of us in the course of growing up and are as much a part of our culture as the language we speak or the beliefs we accept. All of us depend for our peace of mind and

our efficiency on hundreds of these cues, most of which we do not carry on the level of conscious awareness" (p. 43).

Oberg defines four phases of culture shock: the first he calls first impressions, when everything is new and exciting (in the refugees' case, they may feel a deep sense of gratitude toward the new country for accepting them, at this point). The second phase comes when the newness wears off and the difficulties of life in the new environment become more pronounced, even overwhelming, yet seem to be met with indifference on the part of the people of the host country, and hostility develops in the newcomer. The third stage is reached when the newcomer begins to recover his sense of humor and is able to "grin and bear it". Finally, at the fourth stage, the newcomer has picked up a little language and developed some skill in coping, and begins to feel more comfortable, even to enjoy the new country. At this point the person may be said to have adjusted, at least as far as his own attitude is concerned.

The refugees in Japan seem to follow this pattern just as we did, most of us, when we arrived here, or perhaps more strongly in our first overseas situation, if this is not the first experience in a different culture. There is a large difference in degree of suffering, however, between the ordinary traveller, who has come to a place by choice and can in most cases leave at any time, and who has any number of support sources while staying, and the refugee, who never wanted to come in the first place, who has no support from company or embassy, and who cannot ever go home again, because his home no longer exists or his life would be in great danger. It must be partly a matter of the number of cues that are missing in the new life situation, but surely the impossibility of going home again must be a very strong factor. In my own experience as a "world traveller" who has lived and worked in several different countries under a variety of conditions, the fact that

I have a home of over forty years' stability to go back to for vacation and between countries has made an immeasurable difference in my ability to adjust to change and new ways of living.

A refugee friend who spent many years in camps before he was able to settle down in Minnesota has written about his home in Cambodia (Sokhom, 1984), drawing a vivid picture of his home as a protector, almost human, which has been torn from him. Anyone who feels the refugees have left their homes lightly, or only for material gain, will see from this description that such a view is not accurate. The language of this essay was so delightful that I made no attempt to edit it, other than omitting some parts in the interests of brevity.

Namoch Sokhom on Leaving Home. Being away from new home at St. Paul, Minnesota, for weeks to come to St. Olaf College is one thing. I know I can always go back and see this home at any time I want. But before this it was different. I've been away from my home at Cambodia for eleven years now. Besides moving from place to place I also know that there is no way I will see my home again. It is a very unfortunate matter for me. However I can still remember things I shared with her and got from her.... She stood in the middle of a big lot surrounded by all kind of popular fruit trees that Cambodian people like to eat.... At the back of the house, we have three big and very tall bushes of bamboo and one tall palm tree to protect the wind from the east.... These made the whole place cool, shady and smelly of different flower at different season. Everything seemed very suitable with each other. . .when I walked to the other side of the village and looked at her, my home.... She had red tile roof and surrounded by green trees, and leaves wiggling to and fro with the smooth gently blowing wind like the dancing angels in the cloud. She did made the very beautiful home.

I remember one day I fell off from her front stair. I almost hated her but I know my home was sorry for what had happened. I was carried to put on a bed under the house and laid there. The rain started to fall down and the storm began to show its power upon the tree leaves scratching my home's roof like a rooster ready to fight. But still what a wonderful thing to have: home! I could feel she embraced me with her only hands and kept me warm away from freezing and wetting.

But that was not all. I recalled one day when Papa was very tired from a long day of work. He got out from his car and started to step up on the stair. I could see the expression on his face was gradually changing from tired and boring to delightful and affectionate face, as he saw us sitting around the supper waiting for him in the middle of the room of the sweet home. Each step he passed, it seemed that it reminded him of something that was quite delightful and memorable about our home and our family. He seemed to know that his long day was ended and again free and safe. Home arriving means happiness and security for our family. As our home gained her ageness she had shown more and more of the important role of being part of us and we were part of her. She shared sadness and joy every time with us without complaining why she were there to listen to us.

What about at night; at night she worked even harder than the day time while we slept soundly under her tranquil and experientful guardian. It was always quiet, relaxing and peaceful in my room, but for home herself was not quite that way. She was working on her acquaintance with nature, wind, birds, coldness, and of course the quietness of the night. . . .her job never ended, she stretched herself hard against the wet, the wild wind, the wild insect, and the cold air from the sky just to keep us away from freezing, shivering and biting. Oh; my home. . . Oh; my home. . . You are beautiful and full of kind-

ness. Your beauty, kindness, wisdom and guardian are always in my mind. Away from you doesn't mean I forget you but away from you makes me always miss you much!

* * *

The Transplantation Process and Maslow's Hierarchy of Human Needs

While I was working at the PRPC, a Vietnamese staff member from CAL's Resource Center came to talk to us about refugee resettlement needs. Mr. Pho Ba Long ("Call me Long for short," said this gracious gentleman, who spent something like nineteen hours a day the three days he was in our camp, giving our teachers' seminar, talking with administrators, encouraging refugees and answering their questions, tramping from one end to the other of our seven-kilometer-long camp) was one of the earliest to arrive in the United States, in the days before all the programs were activated. By 1981 he was well settled in the United States with his wife and grown-up children, and could obtain a permit for overseas travel which would allow him to return to the U.S. This enabled him to visit programs overseas as well as in the United States. He is still a part-time member of CAL's staff in Washington.

Using Maslow's well-known Hierarchy of Human Needs (Fig. 1), Long demonstrated how the needs of the refugees changed as the "transplantation process"progressed. When the refugee first arrives, he may be hungry, ill and exhausted. Physiological needs are primary; physical rehabilitation is the first assistance the refugee needs. At this stage, the agents of assistance are dominant over the refugee.

Once the physiological needs are less prominent, the next greatest need is security. This includes not only freedom from physical fear, but also economic independence and the possi-

bility of taking care of himself rather than always accepting assistance from others. The refugee gradually gains some control over his own life, and learns not simply to submit to the decisions of the welfare groups, but to consider his needs for himself and to choose; sometimes even to say no to something he doesn't really want. Since the refugee is not in a strong position to seek out good jobs, he must learn to compromise and accept jobs at first that are less than preferable, but be ready to work hard and move up. One source of security at this point is the presence of a guide, a teacher, a friend on whom the refugee knows he can depend in case of need. It would seem ideal to have for such a friend a person from the same country who has been in the new country long enough to be able to cope with problems, explain, assist and advise. This is not always possible. For one thing, being refugees

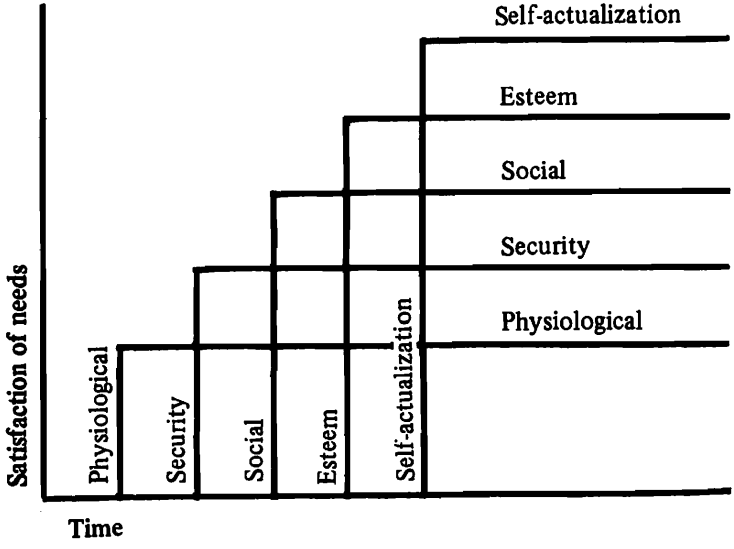

Figure 1. Long's Adaptation of Maslow's Hierarchy of Human Needs[3]

together does not necessarily mean that a given two people will be friends. Refugees come from all classes, all occupations, all levels of education, several religions and all age groups. Often people are thrown together who would never have had any social contact at all in their natural social environments. Out of necessity these widely different types of people sit next to each other in class, live together, and help each other, but they cannot always be friends in the sense intended here.

After a degree of security has been achieved, the refugee begins to need broader social contacts. He needs to develop his emotional stability. By this time he is beginning to be integrated, absorbed to some extent into the community, and converted to the new ways he lives among. His next need is for a sense of self-esteem. This should be the result of developing a sense of cultural identity. Until this point the refugee has been dependent on the community he lives in, and has had little opportunity to assert himself as a person in his own right. He is at the mercy of society to acknowledge him as a person of worth. He needs to be able to develop his sense of solidarity with the people of his own culture and country, through a center for getting together, a football team, dance group or other cultural or religious activity. It is even better if there is an opportunity to demonstrate cultural customs before an audience of interested and approving persons outside his own group, especially host country nationals. Because of his need for assistance, he and also his hosts may come to feel, at least subconsiciously, that he must somehow be lower, or poorer, or more stupid (since he cannot speak or understand). In fact the refugees come from very old and rich cultures and can make wonderful contributions to the cultural life of their new country. The more contact there is between the host group and the refugees, the more they will begin to understand and accept each other's similarities and differences,

and to appreciate what each has to offer the other. Furthermore, interest and appreciation are not enough in themselves. The refugees must be allowed and encouraged to maintain their native languages and their cultural heritage. Refugees whose culture is respected by their hosts will be better citizens.

Ideally, the refugee finally reaches the point of self-actualization. He has achieved a degree of harmony with his community, his family and himself. He is ready to participate in the life of his community as a responsible citizen. It should be thought of, Long suggests, as the transplantation of a new organ into a body. The organ relies on the body for life, and the body needs the organ and must do what is needed to protect it and keep it well. Each enriches the other.

Thus, as shown in the diagram in Figure 1, the refugees' needs totally reverse in order of importance with their progress through these phases. What was high in importance at the earliest stages is now less important or not a problem at all, while the needs that came far down the list at the beginning of the process have increased in importance. This aspect of the process is not always realized by the general public, which seems rarely to get beyond the level of collecting blankets and old clothing. Personal friendship and moral support are vital to the well-being of the refugee, particularly at this point. The longer he stays in his new country, and the better his material situation becomes, the more chance he has to reflect on what has happened to him, and the more real it becomes that he will probably never be able to return home, that the horrors he has gone through have actually happened to him. It is easy for him to fall into great depression.

As Fr. De Witte has also noted, the refugees themselves do not always understand what their real needs are during this process. The material needs at the beginning are obvious, but the psychological and social needs later are more subtle. The refugees must learn, for example, where to draw the

line for material "needs," and to use some restraint in amassing material possessions after a first plateau of security is reached. Rather, they must devote themselves to understanding their new situations and creating a niche for themselves in their new environment.

The Case in Japan

From the point of view of refugee resettlement, Japan poses a confusing set of contrasts. It is the country of both the traditional, insular, closed society and the Naruhodo the World syndrome. It is a place of high technical development and, at least superficially, many aspects of a Western orientation, while at the same time it retains many of its traditional Asian values. It is a country with a low level of welfare support, but a country which, in response to a brief news item about a Vietnamese young man who was able to get accepted by a Japanese university but lacked the money for tuition, sent in excess of ¥5,000,000 to help him through school. It imposes such social pressure to conform that at this year's Vietnamese New Year's/Tet festival the only woman wearing native Vietnamese dress was a Norwegian woman who had worked in the PRPC and was visiting in Japan on holiday. The Vietnamese women were all in western clothing like their Japanese guests. At such parties in America most Vietnamese women are in native dress. Japan is a country where there are large numbers of public concern groups who offer resettlement assistance in one way or another – every day in the newspapers there are stories of the sums of money or clothes or food collected for some needy group – but as Fr. De Witte observed, there are few Japanese who are willing to really make friends with a refugee, spend extensive time with him, and allow him to enter their personal lives.

I am convinced that at this point in Japan's development,

this is at least partly the result of lack of in-depth awareness of the needs. If the newspaper stories mentioned that the refugees needed befriending, most likely there would be appropriate responses. But of course this is not the only reason. The centuries-old tradition of exclusiveness in Japanese society, and the privacy most Japanese people preserve around their personal lives holds them back from such openness. Giving money, food or clothing is rather an impersonal act, if you consider the fact. Quite possibly many Japanese respond to the plight of the refugee not with sympathy but with some resentment that these strangers are allowed to settle here, with all the implications that involves. A few have even been heard to suggest that a refugee who says he loves his country and feels pain at having to leave it should have stayed there and fought from there to make it free, if he cares so much about it. Such a narrow point of view is understandable in the context of Japan.

Still, I believe that it is worth making some suggestions for steps that might be taken to alleviate the problems for both refugees and host nationals. Where there is basically a lot of good will, anything is possible.

Steps the Japanese Government Might Consider

The government of Japan has responded to needs by providing for the refugees the same kind of assistance that is made available to Japanese citizens, but would it not be possible to go a bit farther and set up some system of sponsorship such as exists in the United States? This could be completely voluntary on the part of the sponsors, and would go a long way toward overcoming the difficulties of language and cultural differences. Perhaps the government might allocate some funding for refugee self-help projects, such as the cultural centers that Phat suggests. Refugees often feel a keen

sense of responsiblity for helping their own people, but lack of funding poses such a barrier that no projects come to fruition. At least the salary of an administrator or coordinator could be made available so that there would be someone to provide stable and continuing direction or advice.

These days there is considerable discussion on the part of the government of the plan to increase Japan's role in training foreign students, and to provide better training in Japanese for foreigners, and better and more training for teachers to work in such programs. Surely there is some way that refugee language programs might be made a priority part of this plan.

Another very important area in which the government might at least be the initiator so that the full weight of its support would be behind the program is job development. There already exists such a program for handicapped Japanese citizens. Perhaps its parameters might be extended to include refugees.

The Role of the "Ordinary Citizen"

As with most social programs, refugee assistance will only succeed to the degree that public support encourages and contributes to it. There are innumerable areas that need the help of Japanese citizens to make them work. With only a small demand to be made on any one person, there could be volunteer centers through which a housewife, for example, might donate a morning a week to accompanying a refugee on some errand for which the refugee simply lacks the knowledge to carry out what is required of him. This might include applying for welfare, going to the doctor or dentist, visiting schools, getting driver's licenses. Many of the refugees have acquired a basic knowledge of Japanese, or have picked up English or French one place or another. While they are able

to communicate with individuals in an informal situation, they are not able to handle business or other formal situations. A small amount of time contributed to these necessary errands would make an enormous difference to the well-being and peace of mind of the refugee.

Part of the problem here is knowing how to make contact with someone who has such a need for help, but I am told that the Japanese newspapers offer even more of this kind of information that the English language papers. In some cases churches or temples can help make contacts. Fr. De Witte informs me that 90% of the organizations that provide refugee assistance in Japan are Catholic Church-related. The Caritas organization coordinates most of these activities, and has offices in most big cities. In Tokyo, Osaka and Kobe, at least, perhaps elsewhere as well, there are refugee groups that send teams of folkdancers or singers to international festivals, where they also offer native foods to be sampled. A few minutes talking with the refugees at the festivals would surely lead to contacts, as well as contribute to the sense of self-esteem mentioned above as so necessary to refugee intergration. The dancing and singing groups themselves can be invited to parties or fairs, a step that would benefit both refugee and local community.

What About JALT?

The very organization that is sponsoring the publication of these pages has a great deal to offer in the way of assistance to refugees. For one thing, the foundation for every other type of assistance is language. Where better to seek good language training than in the ranks of the membership of Japan's Association of Language Teachers? Anyone who offers any kind of personal assistance to the refugees will find it a learning experience, a broadening of horizons and a deepening of

understanding. For a language teacher, who is by the nature of his work deeply involved in other cultures, as well as in any area where language is involved in a problem, this is a special opportunity not to be missed. It is probably also a basic responsibility, if I might go so far.

A special need that might appeal to a special person is the translating into Japanese of the many folksongs and poems collected set to music, arranged, published and performed by a renowned Vietnamese musician named Pham Duy (see Nguyen and Duy, 1982), who recently visited Japan.[4] He is well-known to all Vietnamese, although there are many who do not know that he is still alive. He escaped to America, where he has made it his life work to preserve the music of Vietnam and make it known both to Vietnamese themselves as well as to the rest of us. He has collected hundreds of songs of all kinds, some old, some new. One of his volumes is entitled *Prison Songs*. Its contents are songs Duy himself composed for the poems of another Vietnamese, Nguyen Chi Thien, who spent twenty of the past thirty years in prison for opposing the regime in North Vietnam. He composed hundreds of poems in his head while in prison, and when finally released in 1978, had to rent out his room to prostitutes to earn enough money to buy pen and ink to write down his compositions. To get his poems published in spite of government censorship, Nguyen ran into the British Embassy in Hanoi and tossed the manuscript on a desk with a letter begging that they be published, at least in the West. Moments later he was re-arrested and no one knows whether he is now alive or dead.

In his poems he prefers to look forward with hope rather than back in anger, and to recall the signs of man's humanity rather than his inhumanity to his fellow man. Perhaps this hopeful call for humaneness and peace would be a suitable closing.

The Day Will Come

The day will come
When man
Will cast away his gun
His chains
His party
Reclaim his mourning turban
Break the vicious circle of unjust misfortune
Return to the temples
To the tombs of his ancestors
Neglected for so many years

Oppression will be forgotten
Hatred dissolve in the rising smoke of incense
And the last survivors will come home in peace
Some repenting
Others bearing flower wreaths
Kneel solemnly on their ancestors' grave
Ushering in the new era
When the white of babies' napkins
Will outshine the red of flags

Then young shepherds in their fields will sing
The simple joys of life in the home village
And the singing of the Internationale
Will be stifled
By the humming of kites
In the twilight skies
In the vast blue skies

(Nguyen and Duy, 1982:49)

Note: As this article goes to press, it has been learned that Nguyen Chi Thien is alive and still in prison in Vietnam, his twenty-third year in prison, at the age of 53. Amnesty International has made him one of their April 1985 Prisoners of the Month. Interested persons can send "courteous letters appealing for his release" to: His Excellency Pham van Dong, Prime Minister / Chu tich van dong Bo truong / Hanoi / Socialist Republic of Viet Nam.

Notes

[1]The Center for Applied Linguistics, Washington, D.C., for several years National Clearinghouse for Indochinese Refugee Affairs, later expanded to the National Clearinghouse for Refugee Affairs until the Clearinghouse closed in 1982. CAL still maintains, among its various activities, the Language and Orientation Resource Center, and provides provides professional support to all-nationality refugee programs throughout the United States and in the camps and training programs in Thailand, Indonesia and the Philippines, Pakistan, the Sudan and several countries in Europe where the U.S. Dept. of State is operating language and cultural orientation training programs. CAL can be contacted at 3520 Prospect St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20007, for further information.

[2]Statistics, and program and legal information were obtained through personal telephone communication with Ms. Minja Yang, Public Information Officer, UNHCR, Tokyo, March, 1985.

[3]Maslow's Hierarchical Model as modified by Pho Ba Long, Center for Applied Linguistics, for presentations on dealing with refugee resettlement needs, Philippine Refugee Processing Center, Morong, Bataan, the Philippines, September, 1981. See also Maslow, 1954, below.

[4]Duy is looking for someone with whom to produce translations of the songs into Japanese. They are already available in English and French as well as Vietnamese. Many of the songs are also recorded on tape.

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ISSN 0026-7902

Published quarterly at The University of Wisconsin Press

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A VIEW FROM THE CLASSROOM . . . .

HOW TOTAL PHYSICAL RESPONSE CAN BE MADE MORE ATTRACTIVE: A 36-HOUR TPR COURSE IN GERMAN AT THE GOETHE-INSTITUTE, TOKYO

Rudolf Schulte-Pelkum

Abstract

Total Physical Response (TPR) is ideal to initiate beginners in the study of a new language. It is also a very powerful method to make a fresh start with students who have received instruction previously in the language but who are conditioned in a negative sense by the institutional framework and traditional language teaching methods. Whereas it is sometimes claimed by critics of TPR that it may become monotonous if applied for a prolonged period, or that eventually the students will learn nothing else but understanding and giving commands, this paper refutes such criticisms. Indeed a wealth of new features are presented which can easily be incorporated into a TPR course, thus adding to the variety of classroom activities.

Rudolf Schulte-Pelkum graduated from Waseda University, Tokyo. 1974-1980 he did research on a contrastive German-Japanese grammar at the Institut für deutsche Sprache in Mannheim, Germany. In 1980, he was sent by the German Academic Exchange Service to Japan to occupy his present post as visiting professor at Rikkyo University in Tokyo.

The Goethe-Institute in Tokyo invited me to give a TPR course in order to introduce the method to their teachers. It was decided to have a 5-week program with classes on Mondays, Wednesdays and Thursdays from 6:30 to 8:30 p.m. with a 10- to 15-minute break. In the third week, there was an extra session on Saturday that lasted from 2 to 6 p.m. The number of students was limited to 20.

On the first day, the students were briefed in Japanese by a Japanese colleague of mine to familiarize them with the method and to explain to them what they were supposed to do and what they could expect from the course. After that, Japanese was completely shut out from the course. The actual class started with the students picking their German names. This was done for three reasons: to establish an early link between spoken and written language, to allow the students to slip into a different identity and to allow me to use both the polite (*Sie*) and the plain forms of address (*du, ihr*). I had prepared name cards that contained just a first name and others that had *Herr, Frau* or *Frl.* plus a last name written on them. A student who chose a first name was addressed in the *du*-form, and a student who chose a last name was addressed in the *Sie*-form for the rest of the course. Another side effect of this name picking is that the names help to develop group dynamics right from the beginning and quite often the name becomes a lasting nickname.

The way TPR courses are generally conducted is well known[1], so I will limit this report to the parts that are new and different. I should like to emphasize that my teaching is not a random mixture of various methods, but rather an incorporation of carefully adapted features of other methods that are compatible with the basic principles of TPR. These features add to the variety of classroom activities and thus reduce the danger of the course becoming monotonous.

Introduction of new material

According to Asher, new vocabulary should mainly be introduced by the teacher acting it out. I prefer to introduce as much as possible by simple natural gestures which I continue to use when giving the respective commands. Over time, however, I gradually reduce use of gesture. For instance when telling someone to stand up in the first lesson I make an upward movement with both hands. Later on, the same "stand up" will be accompanied by the upward movement of one hand and even later the movement might be indicated only by two fingers. But even then the gesture is clear enough to reinforce the peripheral perception of the students. Only when I think that the respective vocabulary item has been well absorbed do I stop making an appropriate gesture, and at a later stage I even break off eye contact with the student who is performing. An interesting observation is that most of the students use similar gestures when they start speaking later on in the course. Apparently the gestures make it easier for them to overcome their shyness.

Gestures are very suitable when introducing new verbs or certain adjectives. For nouns I often use a different technique. Suppose there are five objects on the table that the students already know. A bit dramatically I add a sixth object which is new. But instead of starting with the new object, I have them manipulate some of the objects they already know before I ask them to point to or take the new object, which, by the way, I do without putting any emphasis on the new word. This makes it a bit more interesting for the students, and at the same time, helps them to distinguish new words from old material.

Limitation of vocabulary

In my first TPR course, which I taught in 1981, the material

I had developed, and which, by the way, was not a German translation of Asher (1977), contained about 450 vocabulary items. The course was developed for 30 hours of teaching (1 hour = 60 minutes). On later occasions I reduced the amount of vocabulary little by little. The latest course I gave at the Goethe-Institute contained only some 200 words. There are several reasons for this. One of them is that I came to appreciate Gattegno's philosophy of not introducing too many "luxury words" in the beginning but to emphasize structure instead. Another reason was that in my early courses I had students with previous exposure to German whereas in this latest course two-thirds of the students were complete beginners. I think that the amount and even the type of vocabulary taught should be adjusted to the needs of the students: With the emphasis on vocabulary, 400 – 500 words are quite feasible in a 30-hour course, but when the emphasis is put on structure, the vocabulary should be much more limited. Actually the amount of vocabulary the students came in contact with was much greater then 200 words, but these 200 were the words they actually absorbed and worked with.

Early speaking

According to my experience, students in a TPR course feel quite comfortable and relaxed from the second or third class onwards, but when they are given a chance to speak for the first time, all the anxiety and tension that prevails in a normal language class is back again. In order to make transition from listening to speaking easier I gave the students the opportunity to speak in true communicative situations, but on a very limited scale, from a rather early stage onwards. This was mainly done when playing games which absorbed the students so much that they were not really aware that they were

speaking German. For instance, the first game was played on the third day after the numbers from 1 to 19 had been introduced and practiced. The students were divided into three groups. Each group, sitting around a table, was given dice, first one, then two and later three. One in each group wrote the names of the group members on a sheet of paper and sat back so he could not see what was going on on the table. The students took turns and called out the number they had got, which was written down by the student who kept the records.

On the sixth day, the numbers from 1 – 999,999 were practiced in a Silent Way fashion. That is, I had one student write subsequent numbers on the board until we got the following pattern:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	11	12
10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90		
100										
1000										

Once this pattern is on the board, any number between 1 and 999,999 can be elicited with a pointer[2]. The students read in chorus or individually. This kind of practice is much more challenging than manipulating number cards, and at the same time, the students have a chance to hear their own voices.

One of the games I adopted is "Indian Poker." In the original version the players take a card each which they hold above their heads. They start betting without knowing their own card. In my version I use cards of different colors instead of playing cards. The students work in pairs, sitting at a table and facing each other. They pick a card with their eyes closed. They hold it above their heads. then open their eyes and try to guess their own color. This game seems to be a good indicator to see if the students are ready to switch roles from listening to speaking. When they really enjoy the game and

formed groups in front of a chart that had already been on the wall for a week or so and started discussing it. This seems to prove that it takes a certain lapse of time before new structure is really understood.

Visual aids

A new feature in this course was that I wrote some of the important new structures on large charts at the end of each class. These charts were hung up on the walls of the room and left there for the rest of the course. Usually the students did not ask any questions about this new structure when it was put up for the first time, but quite often during the break they speak at natural speed with a natural intonation, they are ready to speak.

Translation from listening to speaking

After having made sure that the class was ready to speak, I began the next class with a short review of the material from lesson one and two. This was the tenth time that the class met, that is, at the beginning of the 19th hour. Then I divided the students into three groups and gave each group an appropriate number of props. I told them that they would have a chance to practice for themselves for ten minutes and that I would leave the room for this period[3]. Although I left the room the students could be observed from a small window that is usually used for film projection. They seemed to be completely relaxed, and there was much action going on because they were eager to try the commands they had been listening to for so long. When I entered the room after 15 minutes, the students did not take any notice of me but just continued until I announced the break.

Cognitive digestion

In my first TPR courses I just handed out vocabulary lists from time to time which were used to reconfirm the meaning of the words presented up to that point. Later I added some important sentence patterns to these vocabulary lists. For this course I prepared weekly handouts (2 – 3 pages long) that had the new vocabulary in a column on the left side and a corresponding text on the right side. This text contained for the most part only sentences in the imperative, and I used the names of the students, so they could identify themselves more easily with the text. In short, it was nothing other than what the students were used to hearing in class. The students read these handouts first only to themselves. Then I encouraged them to discuss the parts they understood, as well as those they did not understand. For these discussions I used a Community Language Learning (CLL) set up.

CLL set-up

First, I formed three groups and had each group sit in a closed circle for this discussion. I myself stayed outside the circles, moving from group to group and giving minimal assistance in German whenever possible, or otherwise in Japanese. This division into three groups proved not to be very successful because the students with some knowledge of grammar tended to dominate their groups. On the next occasion I worked with two groups, which was a bit better than three but still not satisfactory. The third time I had the students form a single circle which was as close as possible. Although it seemed to be difficult to communicate with a person sitting right across on the other side, this set-up seemed to work best. So I adhered to it for the remainder of the course. The group dynamics that developed in this setting was

interesting to watch. For instance, a student who had forgotten the German word *Bein* would ask his neighbor. Instead of giving the Japanese translation, this neighbor would point to his own leg. Whenever a student asked me a question that I knew could be answered by another student, I put the two together to discuss the problem. Whenever the meaning could be derived from the context, I just drew attention to the context. As a matter of fact, TPR seems to make students more sensitive to paying attention to the context, because all their learning is done in the situational context here and now. I did not explain any grammar per se, but gave very short explanations whenever pertinent questions were asked. When there were no more questions on the part of the students, I would read the text and the students would act it out. When I worked with the third handout in the fourth week, the students took turns doing the reading. I would stand behind the student who was reading so I could help in a CLL fashion[4]. Only those parts that called for clarification were acted out. This kind of activity took much longer than I had planned, but judging by the reaction of the students, I saw that it was necessary. The speed in a TPR course is so fast that there is no time to think and digest. These CLL-like sessions seemed to satisfy the natural desire to understand things logically, without making it an ordinary grammar class.

Contact with a native speaker other than the teacher

For the Saturday class in the third week I took my nine-year old son along. After having introduced him and done some warming up, I stepped back and had the students tell him what to do. They gave him commands for about 30 minutes, sending him all over the room. About three-fourths of the students participated and some of them even tried to

get the shyer students involved by asking my son to take things like glasses away from them or to give them lots of things in order to elicit some kind of oral reaction. It has been my observation that students are much less self-conscious when talking to a child. If there is absolutely no native-speaker child available, the teacher can pretend to be a robot and act out the commands of the students with mechanical movements. He can even have a bell or a buzzer that rings whenever there is a mistake. All this helps to make speaking easier for the students.

Creative activities

Since I have started using TPR, I have the students make their own cardboard clocks in order to practice telling the time. In my former TPR courses I used this as an opportunity to give as many detailed TPR commands as possible, so all the students would make identical clocks. This time I stopped giving commands as soon as they realized what they were making. Instead of the commands, I commented what individual students were doing. This allowed the students to be creative. At the end of the course about half of the students took their clocks home as a souvenir. By adding more of such creative activities TPR courses will become more "humanistic."

Controlled Speech

In order to practice certain grammatical phenomena like verb conjugation, etc., I wrote sentence patterns like *Pfeif/Pfeift/Pfeifen Sie, wahrend ich/du/wir/. . ./ an die Tur gehe/gehst/gehen/. . ./.* (Whistle, while I am/you are/we are/. . ./

walking to the door) on a chart. After having shown the students how it worked, they took turns in having someone whistle and walk to the door. Speech in this activity is controlled in the sense that the students must use a certain pattern, but they have to think up an appropriate context and make their sentence accordingly.

Guided speech

In this activity the contents of a command or a question is presented to the students. To introduce this activity I need an aide, who can be a native speaker or an advanced student from another class. I tell the aide to tell so-and-so to do so-and-so, for instance: *"Sag Frau Muller, dass sie aufstehen soll!"* ("Tell Mrs. Muller to stand up!") The aide then turns to Frau Muller and says: *"Stehen Sie bitte auf!"* ("Stand up, please!") Five or six examples suffice to make the students understand what they are supposed to do. Once the students have understood the activity the aide can step back and I tell them directly: "A, tell B to do so-and-so!" This activity is very suitable for practicing, for example, the difference between definite and indefinite articles, the use of pronouns.

How to deal with errors

Errors should be treated as something natural – nothing to worry about. During the first stage of the course there are only two possible errors: no reaction at all or a wrong reaction. In the case of the latter, I tell the student what he did and contrast it with what I said. Whenever possible I underline a repeated command with slightly exaggerated gestures. Usually the students get it right on the second trial. If there is

hesitation, I have another student perform the action. The other error is no reaction at all, which shows that the student has difficulty in understanding or that he is not sure if he understood correctly. In that case I move up to the student and repeat the command in a rather soft voice as if I were just speaking only to him personally. On purpose I speak a little faster than usually and I accompany my command with an inviting gesture to help him to perform. If a student shows signs of getting nervous, I first show him by gesture to calm down and then I tell him to step back and watch. Then I call on another student to perform the action. If at that moment the face of the first student brightens up because all of a sudden he understood, I stop the second student and have the first student perform, because help is not necessary any more.

When the students have reached the stage where they speak themselves, there is a larger variety of possible errors. I do not correct all errors that are made in speaking. The decision whether to correct or not is a very subtle one. For instance, if a student is struggling very hard just to get the words in the right order, I do not correct any mistakes in pronunciation. If on the other hand he has no difficulty with the structure, I feel that he is ready to accept some correction in pronunciation. The way I correct also depends on the kind of activity the students are doing. If it is a controlled speech activity, I try to step in quickly from the side and when I am close to the student I give him assistance in a low voice. This gives the student more the impression that he is being helped rather than being corrected. Quite often a student who is saying something in front of the class seeks eye contact with me when he gets uncertain of his German. In that case I give him an approving nod. In guided speech, my technique of correcting is completely different. Suppose I said to a student to tell his neighbor to take a certain object and this student uses the wrong article when making his command. In that case I

shake my head in slight disapproval but keep smiling. I then have this student and/or other students nearby manipulate the object in question; that is, I give several commands to allow the student who made a mistake a chance to hear the correct form several times. Usuallytwoor three commands on my part are enough to bring forth a eureka effect. I then repeat the original request and most of the time the student gets it right now. If he happens to repeat the error or to make a different one, I repeat the procedure but ask a different student to give the command. I try to keep track of the errors and give the students who had difficulty another chance later on, which might even be in a subsequent lesson.

The use of music in class

As a new feature I used music in this course. The main reason for this was to help the students to relax and to create a more pleasant atmosphere. On the second day of class the students told me during the break that they had to make an enormous effort to concentrate, which they all agreed was a new but rather positive experience for most of them. As a matter of fact, many students said they had not realized that they could concentrate so easily for such long periods. As a teacher I was not pleased seeing them concentrate too hard and too intentionally, because it is known from the literature that self-conscious concentration is detrimental to language acquisition. In the following class I started with a review of previously learned material and played classical music as a background. All of the students except one commented positively on this new feature. I continued to use music like this occasionally but was careful not to overdo it.

Towards the end of the last class of the second week I introduced a new activity which was also connected with music.

After having done some breathing exercises, I told the class to sit down, just relax and close their eyes. I then played them a Bach chorale[5]. I sat in front of the class and kept my eyes closed. After the music had finished, I remained silent for about half a minute. Then I told the class to open their eyes because I was going to read a story to them. I read Leo Lionni's *Let's make rabbits*, which I had translated from the English. While reading, I used a lot of gestures and referred to the pictures in the book occasionally to help the students to understand key words. The whole reading lasted for about four minutes. Then I asked the students to close their eyes again and repeated the story. When I had finished reading, I kept silent for a minute to allow the students to go over in their minds what they had heard. I did not ask any questions about the story. Later I learned from personal comments that about half of the students had understood the first half of the story. But even those who did not understand commented favorably on this experience and said they wanted to have more of this in the future. So it became a standard practice for the rest of the course to read a story at the end of the Thursday lesson. Sometimes, when there was enough time, I repeated a story that had been read before to give the students a chance to measure their own progress. I tried to select stories that were thematically related to what the students had learned during the week.

Reading stories seems to be quite compatible with the method, since one of the main objectives of TPR is to develop listening comprehension. Stories give the students a chance to develop listening skills to understand longer stretches of language which are not in the imperative. In the case of German, story reading is about the only chance to introduce the narrative past, i.e., the *Prateritum*, which can hardly be put into the subordinate clause of a sentence in the imperative.

Talking about personal experiences of the teacher or current topics

This is another means of introducing language other than the imperative. For instance, on a day when it snowed I talked about a minor traffic accident which I pretended to have seen. To facilitate comprehension I made use of algebricks[6] to represent the position of the vehicles and persons involved.

Introducing questions at an early stage

Still another means of using language other than the imperative is to ask questions whenever the situational need arises. It happens quite often that I am looking for one of my props. In that case I ask myself: "Where's this or that?" Very soon, the students begin to understand and help me to find the object in question. I also ask for volunteers to come to the blackboard or to the table in the center. So the students get used to a variety of questions and when they start speaking they can handle more than just the imperative.

The use of Silent Way charts

After the transition from listening to speaking, I used on two occasions charts similar to those that are used in the Silent Way; that is, I pointed out words on a chart and made the students form the sentences, which were in the imperative most of the time[7]. This was the only new feature in the course that met with some negative reaction on the part of the students. Some students felt that this kind of exercise was alien to the method, and others were confused by the colors and complained that the charts were difficult to read. There

are several possible reasons for this negative reaction. One may be that I started to work with the charts too abruptly without the students being ready for this type of work. Another reason may be that I have too little practice in the Silent Way because quite often I do not find the word I am looking for. Still another reason may be that the layout of the charts was really poor, even though I had tried to make them more legible from a distance than Gattegno's charts are. Yet another reason might be that my color scheme was not clear, as I had tried to distinguish between long and short vowels and between voiced and unvoiced consonants by different shades of the same color. Nevertheless, although there was some negative reaction, I think it would be worthwhile to repeat the experiment, because working with the charts can give the students a feeling for inflection.

Reports

Because there were so many new features in this course, I was eager to know the students' reactions. So at the end of every class I asked three volunteers to write a report. It would go far beyond the scope of this article to quote from these reports, but the general tenor was very positive. All students mentioned how much joy it was to be in that class. One student wrote that, before coming to the four-hour Saturday class, she thought how ever could she go through such a long period, but once the class had started, time passed just as if it were flying. As a matter of fact, on that day the students were so much involved in their group activities that they did not take any notice when I announced the end of the lesson at 6 p.m. For every class I had prepared a variety of activities and I tried to change the focus every twenty minutes to hold the interest of the students. The most moving comment

came from a teacher in elementary school. She wrote: "I used to reproach my pupils by saying: 'How come you can't do it? We just had this yesterday!' But being a student myself in this course has made me think a lot about education in general and my own teaching in particular. Having experienced myself how I feel when I have forgotten something which I am supposed to know because I have learned it before, and then feeling the great relief when the teacher helps me to learn it again without reproaching me in the slightest, I can now no longer reproach my own pupils."

Notes

1. Readers not familiar with the method are advised to read Asher 1982.
2. For a detailed description see Gattegno 1976, P.28 f.
3. This is advice I got from Tom and Sakiko Pendergast, who had tried this out before.
4. One of the best introductions to CLL (Community Language Learning) I know, can be found in Stevick 1980.
5. Note, however, that many people find Bach too stimulating to help them relax. For a list of appropriate music for the language classroom see Ferguson 1983.
6. Readers not familiar with algebricks, also called Cuisenaire rods after the inventor, should read chapter II in Stevick 1980 or chapter 6 in Gattegno 1976.
7. The use of colored charts is an integral part of the Silent Way. For more details see Gattegno 1976.

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THE CONFIDENCE FACTOR: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF THE INTERACTION OF SELF-CONFIDENCE AND ACCURACY IN TEST PERFORMANCE AMONG A GROUP OF JAPANESE LEARNERS OF ENGLISH

Atsuko Tsuda and George Yule

Abstract

In this study of a group of adult Japanese learners of English in the United States, an attempt is made to discover the relationship between confidence and accuracy in answering test items. The crucial aspect of confidence under investigation was considered to be a reflection of the language learner's perception of his or her knowledge. The students were required to answer 50 test items and to indicate, on a 5 point scale for each item, how sure they were of their answers. Generally, the average confidence ratings were found to be higher on correct answers than on wrong answers. However, two other patterns emerged on a number of items which indicated "non-confident correct answering" and "very confident wrong answering." The study shows that the as-

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Research of this type would not be possible without the willing participation of the subjects, in this case, the twenty Japanese learners of English whose help and cooperation we gratefully acknowledge. Nor would it be possible without the advice and support of a number of our colleagues at the University of Minnesota – Helen Jorstad, Kim Koffolt, Lora Polack, Tom Richards, Elaine Tarone and Jerry Yanz. Responsibility for whatever is found to be misguided or poorly expressed rests, of course, with us.

sumption of a straightforward relationship between accuracy and confidence in answering test items may be misguided. Implications for language teaching and the interpretation of test results are discussed.

There is a largely unexplored assumption held by many language teachers that a student's accuracy in answering a test item reflects knowledge, and inaccuracy reflects lack of knowledge. We rarely stop to consider if there is any relationship between the accuracy or inaccuracy of the answers a student chooses on a test and how sure the student is of the accuracy of those answers. Yet, we would probably be rather worried if it turned out to be the case that some learners were choosing correct answers with no confidence whatsoever, and choosing wrong answers with a great deal of confidence. In order to discover whether this is, in fact, a cause for concern, an exploratory study was carried out with twenty Japanese learners of English currently in the U.S.A. Since the key consideration in this investigation was the element of self-confidence, we should first explain just how we viewed this one important, yet little studied, affective variable in the learning process.

Self-confidence

If it is mentioned at all in approaches to language teaching, the role of positive self-confidence is usually associated with successful language learning. Beebe (1983) suggests that most good learners have "a healthy self-esteem" which keeps them from thinking that their errors make them look foolish. Krashen (1982) lists self-confidence as one of the three im-

portant affective variables in relation to his affective filter hypothesis, the other two being anxiety and motivation. He suggests elsewhere (1981) that self-confidence enables a person to encourage intake, or useful input, and to have a lower affective filter.

Brown also suggests that "a person with high self-esteem is able to reach out beyond himself more freely, to be less inhibited, and because of his ego strength, to make the necessary mistakes involved in language learning with less threat to his ego" (1977: 352). He argues that self-esteem "could have everything to do with success in learning a language" (1973: 233). With this in mind, we should not be surprised to find that lack of self-confidence is usually associated with unsuccessful learners. Naiman et al. (1975), as quoted by Krashen (1981), report that teachers felt that poor learners lacked self-confidence.

In one of the few reported attempts to study the effects of confidence, Kleinmann (1977; 1978) investigated avoidance among 24 native speakers of Arabic, 13 Spanish speakers and 2 Portuguese speakers, all studying ESL at the University of Pittsburgh. Four English structures were tested: (1) passive voice (2) infinitive complements (3) direct object pronouns in sentences containing an infinitive (4) the present progressive. On the basis of contrastive analysis, it was predicted that Arabic speakers would find (1) and (4) difficult, while Spanish and Portuguese speakers would find (2) and (3) difficult.

Subjects were given a multiple-choice comprehension test on these structures (except direct object pronouns), an adapted version of the Achievement Anxiety Test, the Success-Failure Inventory, and an indirect preference assessment task in which the above four structures were elicited orally by pictures or by verbal cues. They also rated their confidence in each of their answers on the comprehension test on a 5 point scale.

The results reveal that what was predicted to be difficult of each group of speakers was indeed generally avoided in the oral elicitation task by that group (with the exception of the present progressive). However, within a group, production in the oral task of structures which otherwise would be avoided seemed to be influenced by affective variables such as confidence, facilitative anxiety and motivational orientation. There was a significant correlation between confidence in the comprehension of the passive voice and production of that structure within the Arabic group. Kleinmann (1977) suggests that a learner's choice to avoid or not to avoid the use of a structure might be affected by confidence. However, the concept of confidence proposed here is not a reflection of the individual's knowledge of some structure, but rather a reflection of the learner's perception of his knowledge, which is not necessarily correct. We shall return to this concept later.

Murakami (1980) also investigated possible behavioral and attitudinal correlates of proficiency in listening and reading for 30 Japanese students studying at Southern Illinois University. A self-report questionnaire, a modified dictation procedure and a cloze test were administered. The correlation coeffecients between self-rating of speaking and listening skills reported on the two tests are as follows:

	dictation	cloze	total
Self-rating of speaking skill	.69	.51	.67
Self-rating of listening skill	.38	.32	.39
			(p=.05)

It is interesting to notice that the self-rating of speaking ability is more closely correlated with the two test results than is the rating of listening skill. There is a clue here that, for these Japanese students at least, their perception of their listening abilities was a relatively inaccurate reflection of

their general ability to use the language.

It may also be worth noting here that some recent work in the area of speech perception has also focused on the confidence ratings of (native English-speaking) subjects asked to identify speech sounds and words. The work of Yanz (1984) and Yanz and Anderson(1984) has suggested that we may not gain an accurate picture of the abilities of hearers to recognize what they hear if we simply ask them to identify words. If subjects are asked to assess the accuracy of their identifications, it is argued, we may gain insight into what the subjects treat as communication difficulties despite their recognition skills. In simple terms, language-users may identify a word correctly, yet their lack of confidence in that identification may lead them to put little faith in their interpretation of what they think the speaker said. Alternatively, they may make wrong identifications very confidently and be led to a false certainty that they understand what the speaker said. In both cases, they will experience communication problems, yet the source of those problems may remain obscure, if the confidence factor is not explored.

Apart from a few other studies involving second language learners (e.g. Mueller & Miller, 1970; Parsons 1983; Samuels & Griffore, 1979), there have not been many empirical studies conducted on the self-confidence issue. What does become apparent, however, is the need to maintain a clear distinction between the effect of confidence as a personality trait (which is very difficult to measure) and the effect of confidence, more narrowly defined as 'the learner's perception of his or her knowledge.' It is this latter concept which we set out to investigate in the study reported here.

Design of the Test

The test devised contained 4 sections: (1) a listening exercise

involving minimal pairs in single sentences - 25 items, (2) a listening exercise involving short dialogs - 5 items, (3) a grammar section – 10 items. Each time the student had to choose an answer for a test item, she also had to indicate how confident she was of that answer on a 5 point scale, ranging from "not sure at all" (= 1) to "completely sure" (=5). Some practice examples were provided to get the students used to the format. The test items used ranged from some which we predicted to be very easy to some that we considered relatively difficult. The inclusion of ostensibly 'easy' items was intended to encourage a full use of the confidence scale. Indeed, with an average test score of 75.4%, the students were clearly capable of answering the majority of test items correctly. Some examples from each section may make the format clearer.

Part 1

For each item in this part, the subject would hear a tape-recorded sentence, while looking at that sentence written down, minus one word, as in this example:

When did they _____ him? **fire** / **hire** 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5

The subject had to circle the word which had been in the sentence when it was spoken on the tape. Then he had to indicate how sure he was of his answer on the scale, with "not sure at all" beside 1, and "completely sure" beside 5.

This example we would not consider particularly difficult. Although both verbs are possible, syntactically and semantically, the correct one would have to be identified on listening alone. However, since Japanese has no /f/, but does have /h/,

we would anticipate that the sounds in contrast here would be quite distinct. In fact, all 20 subjects answered this item correctly.

However, the /l/ and /r/ phonemic contrast in English is generally believed to be tricky for Japanese learners, so we would predict that the following item might cause problems:

It was a big _____. **lock**
rock

Notice that there are no syntactic or semantic clues in the sentence. In fact, fewer than half of the subjects got this one correct.

A range of other contrasts were used in this part. Those which provided significant results are discussed in detail later.

Part 2

In this section, fairly idiomatic English expressions were included in short dialogs on tape. Here is an example of one dialog, followed by the answers the subject had to choose from on the answer sheet.

Speaker A: HeyJohn, did you pass the test?

Speaker B: You must be joking.

(a) John is sure he passed
(b) John is not sure if he passed or not
(c) John is sure he did not pass

The items in this section depend on some knowledge of colloquial/spoken English and we predicted that the subjects

might have some difficulty with such items. There was, however, an average of 72% accuracy on these items.

Part 3

This section contained fairly typical language test items covering aspects of English grammar. Here is one example:

She gave me _____ good advice.	**a**
	some
	a few

This was predicted to be a tricky item since there is no distinction of countability in Japanese nouns, yet the correct answer here depends on a recognition that *advice* in English is a noncount noun. There were 13 correct and 7 incorrect answers on this one item. However, a very interesting result was obtained on the confidence ratings. The average level of confidence indicated by those who got the answer wrong was higher than for those who got it right. Now, this was not predicted. We shall discuss this type of finding in detail later.

Part 4

In this section were fairly typical vocabulary test items, such as the following example:

	exercised
I have _____ the piano for one year.	**trained**
	practiced

Of our 20 subjects, 16 got this item correct, and their average confidence rating was quite a bit higher than those who chose

the wrong answer. This result is, of course, much more in line with expectations.

In the whole study, we did find that a lot of items demonstrated a predictable pattern of higher confidence ratings among those getting correct answers. However, we did find some other interesting patterns.

Results of Confidence Ratings

The first thing we have to note about our results is that there was no polarization of the confidence ratings in such a way that all correct answers were rated 5 and all wrong answers rated 1. There was a general pattern which showed us that the average confidence on correct answers, across all sections, was higher at 3.97 than the 3.28 recorded as the average confidence on wrong answers. Generally, these learners were a bit more sure about their correct answers than their wrong answers. That general result is reassuring, but the narrowness of the gap between the two averages indicates that the difference felt by learners between correct and wrong may not be as clear-cut as we often assume.

The effect of learners' perception of their knowledge, when they get an item right, can be seen in a high average confidence rating such as 4.45 on an item which all learners answered correctly. A quite different effect can be seen when an item seems to have been problematic. Let us look at some examples.

In Part 1 of the test, the following item occurred:

The Japanese eat bean _____.

card

curd

The correct answer, *curd*, was chosen by all 20 subjects, but the average confidence rating of 3.5 is surprisingly low. We suspect this reflects some doubt among the learners that their perception of their own knowledge may not be accurate. It is an example of *non-confident correct answering*. The opposite extreme is illustrated by our next example.

Also in Part 1 of the test, this item occurred.

I met _____ yesterday.

John
Joan

The correct answer was *Joan*. Only 8 subjects chose this as the correct answer, with an average confidence rating of 3.95. However, 12 subjects chose the wrong answer and their average confidence rating was high at 4.25. For these learners, their perception of their own knowledge is inaccurate. This is a particularly clear example of *very confident wrong answering*.

In Part 4 of the test, subjects met this example:

She _____ me an umbrella.

borrowed
took
lent

This was answered correctly as *lent* by the majority of subjects, with an average confidence rating of 4.00. However, three subjects chose a wrong answer, each indicating the highest possible confidence rating of 5.00. This type of finding should prove particularly disturbing because it indicates that these students are "completely sure" that they are correct when, in fact, they are wrong. It may be that we have gained a little insight into what students mean when they say they got answers correct on a test, but don't understand why they were

given a low grade. Such confidence about the wrong use of a word may prove to be a huge barrier against any attempts by a teacher to get the student to learn the correct use.

Table 1

Frequency of highest confidence ratings (=5s) indicated by subjects for wrong answers, distributed according to subjects' test scores.

Test Scores (out of 50)	Group 1 (1-3 '5s')	Group 2 (No '5s')	Group 3 (4-9 '5s')
47	S15		
46			
45			
44	S17	S13	
43	S19		
42	S7		
41	S11	S10	
40		S18	
39		S6	
38		S8	
37			S12
36		S1	S20,S4
35			
34		S16	S3
33		S5	
32			
31			S9
30			S2
29	S14		

Grouping via Confidence Indicators

The phenomenon of high confidence displayed on answers which were incorrect led us to consider the possibility that there might be some way of grouping students according to

their frequent use of high confidence ratings on wrong answers. Accordingly, we created three groupings, where group 1 included those who produced between one and three 5s, on the confidence scale, accompanying wrong answers, group 2 produced no 5s for wrong answers, and group 3 provided between four and nine 5s to accompany wrong answers. Table 1 shows these groups, distributed according to the number of correct answers they had on the test items.

The distribution which occurs in Table 1 does not illustrate perfect divisions into single groups. However, it illustrates a very interesting tendency. Could it be that group 3 represents those learners who keep making mistakes, yet do not realize they are making mistakes? They are still, possibly, at a stage in learning the second language where, in a sense, *they don't realize how much they don't know.* Group 1, on the other hand, tend to get the answers correct. Perhaps they are used to doing quite well on tests and have developed a certain confidence about the second language. They occasionally get things wrong, but they do it with some confidence because *they have the general experience of being correct.* That leaves group 2, in the middle, who have realized, possibly, that learning a second language is not so easy, so they have no 'false confidence.' *They realize there's a lot left to learn,* so they tend to show their uncertainty.

This is, of course, rather speculative, based on such a small number of subjects and such a small set of data. It may, however, prove to be an idea worthy of further consideration and more thorough investigation.

Discussion

We believe that our exploratory study in this area has revealed that the assumption of a straightforward relationship

between accuracy and confidence in answering a test item may be misguided. Our subjects did not always have confidence in their correct answers, which may actually be some indication that they were 'guessing.' On the other hand, some subjects showed 'false' confidence in their wrong answers. We also found that, as far as wrong answers are concerned, intermediate scorers were better able to assess their limitations than the other two groups, though they did, in fact, show a lack of confidence when they were correct.

Some implications for second language teaching are worth noting. We suspect that some aspect of self-confidence will have to be taken into account in interpreting the results of multiple-choice tests. If a learner answers a question wrongly. but with complete ('false') confidence, then he or she may be unwilling or not ready to learn the point tested. If the teacher has some clue to that learner's perception of his or her knowledge on that point, then the teacher may be able to find out what caused the 'false' confidence and be in a position to deal with it more effectively. On the other hand, if low confidence on correct answers may be taken as a clue to 'guessing,' then the learner may have to review the point again, rather than be assumed to know it. With this in mind, it may be worthwhile to ask learners to express their doubts, after a test is returned, on those items they weren't sure about, even when they were correct. All too often, we only review wrong answers.

Our study was exploratory in nature and limited to one small group of Japanese students learning English. We hope it has provided second language teachers with some valuable insights into the effect of confidence. Further studies, with different second language learners, different languages being learned, and with a larger sample, may reveal greater insights into the influence of this one affective factor in the learning process. Such studies, following our initial small-scale explora-

tion, may help us realize that affective factors such as self-confidence are crucial elements in the second language learning process and deserve greater attention.

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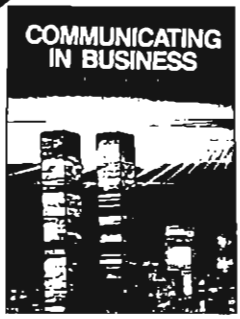

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ERRATUM

Due to a printing error, one paragraph of Teruyuki Kume's article, "A Comparative Analysis of the Invitational Speeches at Baden-Baden by Nagoya and Seoul for the 1988 International Olympics: A Case Study in International Persuasion" (Vol. 6, No. 1), was inadvertently deleted from page 61. The paragraph is printed in context below.

B. Seoul

1. Three Proofs (Positive-Neutral)

The Seoul's speeches worked well in logical proof. As was discussed earlier, the speakers employed rhetorical strategies designed to convert the listeners' conventional idea through logical progression. As one of these schemes, itemization was so logically arranged that each unit consituted an essential part of the whole. Combination of abstraction and specification in refutation perhaps worked well in terms of acceptance. As for emotional proof, one can find ample cases that showed direct and candid appeals, expression of sincere appreciation, and also creation of the imaginary excitement about the Seoul Olympic Games in 1988.

What about ethical proof? Seoul's quest for peace, a new ideal, and clarification of the IOC members' role in realizing these ideals are all morally acceptable, and discourse on these points served in Seoul's favor. One thing, however, is to be noted in this connection. The statement that the Olympics had never been held in a developing country is not totally true, because the Olympics were held in Mexico City in 1968.

2. Identification and Internalization (Positive)

As was discussed already in previous sections, Seoul's speeches employed various devices in their discourse to draw attention, and increase comprehension. These devices were also helpful in inducing identification and internalization. Above all, the manner in which Seoul's "Achilles' heel," political tension in the Korean peninsula, was refuted, was a good example. Important to note in this regard is that the audience's ego needs were fully satisfied. The *Japan Times* reported:

> They [the IOC mememberS] have no reason to be displeased by the prospect of being instrumental in promoting the spirit of reconciliation and peace between the two Koreas.[60]

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THE LANGUAGE TEACHER 第9巻 8号 特別増刊号
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昭和60年 7月25日 印刷
昭和60年 7月31日 発行

発行人 全国語学教師協会（JALT）事務局長
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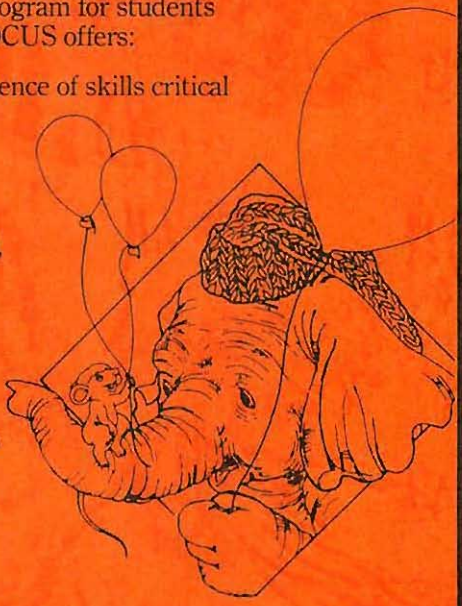

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