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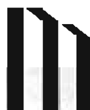

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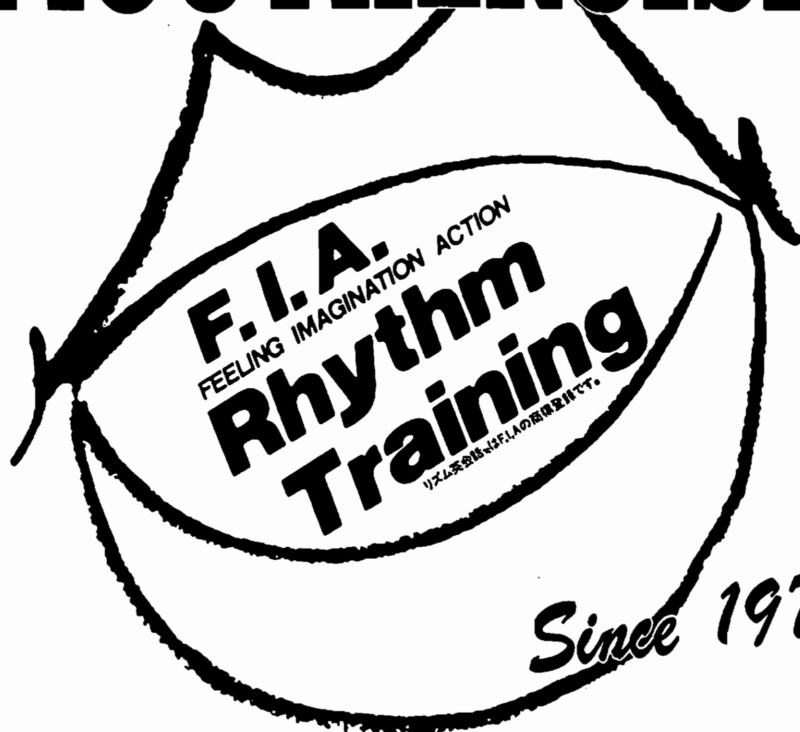

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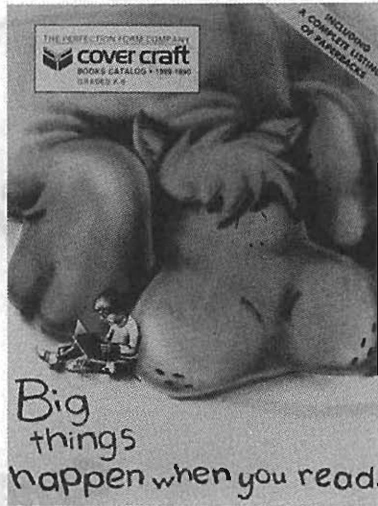

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Editorial

This issue is the first to be produced by the editorial team of Charles Wordell and Daniel Horowitz. Danny succeeds Richard Cauldwell, who resigned after work on the May issue of the *JALT Journal* was completed and is now beginning doctoral studies in applied linguistics at the University of Birmingham, U.K. The present editors thank him sincerely for serving as co-editor for the past two years.

Richard Cauldwell came to Asia to work with the British Council, first in Hong Kong and then in Japan. From 1986 until this fall he was foreign lecturer of English at Kobe University. He became co-editor in June 1987, and has given a distinctive character to the past four issues of the Journal. He encouraged articles in areas of special interest to JALT members: testing, high school English education, literature in language teaching, classroom centered research, cross-cultural studies, and the question of what variety of English should be taught in Japan.

He also oversaw the design of a new cover and a change to a larger format, introduced the Point to Point section for sustained comments on *JALT Journal* articles, and singlehandedly prepared the Cumulative Index to Volumes 1-10, which appeared in Volume 11, No. 1. You've done a great job, Richard, and you deserve the appreciation of all JALT members.

IN THIS ISSUE

To find a common theme in the articles in this issue, one need look no further than the titles, for each one contains the word "Japanese." Yet these articles are not just for readers in Japan. Indeed, they reflect the maturing of Japanese English language teaching and research, the ability to look deeply into our experience here and to find what is significant, what is universal—what can and must be shared with each other and with our colleagues around the world.

Walter Edward's paper, first presented as part of the colloquium on "Internationalization, Language, and Cultural Identity" at last year's JALT Conference, challenges us to think

more critically about the social forces which exert so much influence on our teaching. Edwards, an anthropologist, finds some disturbing overtones in the rhetoric of internationalization, and his paper gives us a deeper understanding of the complex issues that have arisen as Japan reaches out to the rest of the world.

Kazuko Matsumoto gives us a theoretically sound and eminently practical analysis of the diary entries of a Japanese learner of English. Her discussion highlights the importance of affective factors in motivating language learners, as well as the benefits to learners of playing an active role in assessing their own learning environments.

Richard Berwick and **Steven Ross** take up the theme of motivation, answering the question posed in their title with a qualified "yes." They also discuss a paradox that surrounds all of us, but that few of us have consciously considered: How is it that the same people who were so poorly motivated in their university years become the highly motivated adult learners found in Japan's language schools?

Lynne Hansen-Strain and **Jeris E. Strain** give us a "state-of-the-art" second language acquisition (SLA) paper. This cross-cultural study finds significant differences between the ability of Japanese learners of English and learners from four other cultures to deal with relative clauses. These findings are adduced as evidence for the "multiple competence" model of SLA.

Also in this issue:

In **POINT TO POINT**, **Lynn Stein** responds to Peter Sturman's article on team teaching in Japan (*JALT Journal*, Vol. 11, No. 1) with some of her own experiences in Japan as a team teacher in a somewhat different situation.

David Wardell, Scott Petersen, Hugh Rutledge, and **Brad Visgatis** review recent books in English language teaching and testing.

The editors would like to thank Peter McCagg, John Maher, and Randolph Thrasher for their help in the preparation of this issue.

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JALT Journal, Vol. 11, No. 2 (Nov. 1989)

Internationalization, *Nihonjinron*, and the Question of Japanese Identity

Walter Edwards
Matsumoto Dental College

The recent discourse on internationalizing Japanese education calls for measures to bridge the differences that separate Japan from other nations: improving foreign language skills, promoting greater exchange of personnel, and developing a sense of world citizenship and global community. Closer examination reveals, however, a paradoxical similarity between this literature and that known as *nihonjinron*, which stresses rather the uniqueness, and hence separateness, of Japanese culture. In both discourses, for example, the primary concern is for Japan's relationship with the West; there is also a tendency in both to treat Japan and the West as monolithic entities. Moreover, both discourses seem animated by the same sense of ambivalence about Japanese cultural identity, an ambivalence that generates anxiety about being judged inferior internationally on the one hand, while supporting feelings of cultural, and ultimately racial, superiority on the other. The different emphases of the two discourses may thus be understood as alternate solutions to the same underlying problem: the question of what it means to be Japanese in the modern world. Persisting ambivalence about this question may continue to confound Japanese attempts to achieve a well-balanced sense of internationalization for a considerable time.

国際化と日本人論－日本人のアイデンティティに関する問題

最近の日本における教育の国際化論には、外国語の上達、人事面での広い交流、地球人としてグローバルに世界を見る意識の発達など、日本と諸外国との隔たりを縮める対応が要求されている。しかし、よく見るとこの国際化論は、日本の独自性を強調する「日本人論」と称されるもう一つの論議と、逆説的に似ているところがある。二つの議論で焦点があてられているのは、日本の西洋との関係であり、又、「日本」も「西洋」も単一モデルとして扱われていることである。さらに両論は日本人のアイデンティティに関し、一方では文化的・人種的優越感を抱きながら、他方では国際的に劣っていると評価される事への恐怖心が、相反する感

情として、二つの論議を活発にするようだ。従って両論の異なる主張は、現代に生きる日本人であることがどのような意味を持つかと言う共通の問題に対する２つの可能な見解があると言えよう。この問題についての両面価値がある限り、バランスの取れた国際感覚は、当分の間、容易に達成できないであろう。

In the context of Japanese education, the current discourse on internationalization is hardly a new development. The call recently issued by the Council on Educational Reform—for "education compatible with the new internationalization" (Rinji kyoiku shingikai, 1987)—was preceded by similar statements made by the Council's forerunners in 1965, and again in 1974. In a recent historical overview of this discourse, Kobayashi (1988) interprets these earlier pronouncements as partly the product of the political atmosphere of the time. By the 1960s human rights had become a salient issue worldwide, one actively promoted by the United Nations through declarations of the universal rights of children, and of the rights of all to equal educational opportunities. Such developments, Kobayashi argues, helped arouse in the Japanese a growing awareness of their membership in a "pan-human society" (p. 5). But the deeper causes of the emerging concern for internationalization lay in the economic sphere. Kobayashi relates that the term "internationalization" (*kokusaika*) first appeared in the mid-1950s, in reference to problems faced by domestic industry in upgrading for competition overseas, and to difficulties that Japanese firms with foreign ventures experienced in adjusting to external conditions. From the mid-1960s the referents of the term came to include the educational needs of overseas company personnel—both the needs of employees suddenly forced to communicate in a foreign language, and those of their children while living abroad. More recently, resentment against Japanese economic practices overseas, and the post-oil shock awareness of Japan's dependence on the international community, have further fueled the concern for producing more internationally minded Japanese.

In thus pointing largely to economic causes for the concern to internationalize Japanese education, Kobayashi implicitly endorses the logic visible in the recent Council report. "Along with the

development of transportation and telecommunication media," declares the latter, "and the expansion of the economic and cultural exchange among nations, the world has rapidly become smaller, and all countries in the world are increasingly interdependent" (Rinji kyoiku shingikai, 1987, p. 12). Japan, it argues, having caught up technologically with the other advanced industrialized countries, cannot survive in isolation but must interact in cultural and educational spheres as well. To this end the educational system must be changed to promote greater exchange of personnel with other nations. Among the report's concrete proposals are calls for more participation by foreigners, for greater acceptance of Japanese students returning from abroad, and for more emphasis on mastering English as a tool for communication.

Specialists in education complement these suggestions with proposals of their own. Beyond mere exchanges of personnel and the acquistion of foreign language skills, they assert a need for a fundamental change in values. Thus Ebuchi (1987) envisions the emergence of a "consciousness of world citizenship overarching national differences" and "a ready interchange of information and values" (p. 21). Kawabata (1987) makes a similar call for an international awareness in which "true understanding of a universal human culture, bridging particular cultural differences, will promote . . . a sense of global community" (p. 17).

The image thus offered—of a Japan emerging from its cultural isolation, fostering greater understanding of other nations while assimilating a set of universal human values—has paradoxically gained strength in parallel with another postwar discourse, one that also takes as focus the question of Japanese cultural identity. Known by the generic label of *nihonjinron*, it is defined in a recent critical review as "the commercialized expression of modern Japanese nationalism," which subsumes "under one genre any work of scholarship, occasional essay or newspaper article which attempts to define the unique specificity of things Japanese" (Dale, 1986, p. 14). Like the call for internationalization, *nihonjinron* became visible in the 1950s, and gained in vigor throughout the 1960s and 1970s. Its emergence has also been attributed to the same causes: the postwar recovery of the Japanese economy, and the attending increase in Japanese experience overseas (Ishida, 1967, p. 2; Kumon, 1982, p. 5; Pyle, 1982, p. 223). But rather than leading to

an awareness of the need for social and cultural change, as seen in discussions of internationalizing Japanese education, these factors have produced in *nihonjinron* declarations of Japan's cultural superiority. Rather than calls for the assimilation of external values as a means to internationalization, we hear assertions of the need to promote foreign understanding of Japanese culture for assuring the country's international success. And rather than a search for ways to bridge cultural differences, there is bold celebration of the pre-eminent uniqueness of Japanese culture—a claim, in effect, that the differences separating Japan from other nations can never be overcome. How, we may ask, could such diametrically opposed discourses coexist in the same society? How could such diverging views be held without generating open conflict?

My intent here is to argue that the paradox just sketched is more apparent than real, that whereas the two arguments about the national identity may seem opposed on the surface, they are structured at a more fundamental level by a common set of elements—and thus share a common problem inherent in those elements.

Let me do so by now returning to the question of the internationalization of Japanese education, in order to note a confusion in the discourse at first not readily apparent. In its recent report, the Council on Educational Reform holds up an ideal of a "peaceful and prosperous international community based on coexistence and cooperation among diverse cultures," in which Japan must strive to participate fully (Rinji kyoiku shingikai, 1987, p. 13). Yet how "diverse" is the community that forms the Council's main object of concern? Recall that internationalization itself is defined in the report as being spurred by technological and economic advances. The report's historical perspective on Japanese internationalization echoes this view: in its period of "catching-up modernization," Japanese efforts were "focused on importing and transplanting science and technology from advanced industrialized countries in Europe and North America" (p. 12). Now having caught up technologically, Japan must "shift [its] emphasis to well-balanced international exchanges in which mutual exchange will be promoted between Japan and other countries in the fields of education, research," and so on (p. 12). But where does this leave less advanced nations, those which have yet to catch up with the

West and are thus unable to participate in such exchanges on a mutual basis? The effect of the Council's report, despite its avowed intent, is to exclude those nations from consideration, thereby robbing its own proposal for a diverse international community of real meaning.

If one suspects that behind this de facto slighting of the Third World lie prejudicial attitudes on the part of the Japanese, one need look no farther than accounts of Japanese educational experiences abroad for supporting evidence. Horoiwa (1987) reports, for example, that Japanese children living overseas soon learn to dichotomize their world into the two classes of "things properly Japanese" versus "things un-Japanese"; the former accorded high value and the latter felt somehow deficient. Thus a "Japanese person" may be counted in the former group but not a "Nikkeijin" or a "local person"—the same applies for a "Japanese [day] school" versus "Japanese language school," or for a teacher sent directly from Japan versus one hired locally (p. 71). Nakanishi (1988) points out that attitudes of superiority are especially pronounced among Japanese children living in Third World countries. He cites as an example one teacher's surprise, during his assignment in Brazil, at how many children looked only at negative aspects of the country, complaining that "It's full of beggars," "There's too much garbage," "You can't drink the water here," "They don't do things on time," and so forth as the reasons "why we hate Brazil" (p. 19). Teachers returning from Central America and Southeast Asia also tell of children's prejudices taking the form of expressions like "dirty," "poor," "backward," or of complaints that the local people are "dishonest" or that "they don't keep their word" (p. 20). Nakanishi concludes that children living in developing nations no doubt learn such attitudes both at home and in the local Japanese community. Schools maintained by the Ministry of Education can be a contributing factor: often they exclude non-Japanese, or they concentrate solely on education needed when the children return to Japan.

It is a sad irony that Japanese children overseas should exhibit such prejudicial attitudes towards outsiders, for it is these same children who often suffer, on their return to Japan, the stigma of having become something less than "properly Japanese" by their foreign experience. Even educational programs designed specifically for returnees convey a negative message, stressing that they

have lost considerable ground in their studies of the Japanese language and of mathematics, and that students already in junior high school must now work doubly hard if they wish to enter a top-ranking university. If such institutional policies give little hint of support for the rich experiences that returnees bring with them, the reception afforded by their peers is likely to do the same. Parents of returnees frequently lament the pressures their children feel to assimilate with peer groups (Nakanishi, 1988, p. 21). Labels such as "foreign upbringing" and "un-Japanese" used in applying such pressure are no more than covers for a more general prejudice against the socially different, notes Horoiwa (1987, p. 70), a prejudice whose effect is to press the returnees to rid themselves of their foreignness.

If the treatment of the returnees can be taken as a "barometer for the openness of Japanese education per se," as suggested by Ebuchi (1987, p. 20) during a recent symposium on intercultural education, then it is a very telling one indeed. For at one level we find general agreement that awareness of the returnees' problems has increased and that their treatment has improved; the Council's recommendation for greater acceptance of returnees may be seen as a continuation of this trend. But beneath these signs of change at the surface of the discourse lies a deeper ambivalence about Japanese cultural identity that undercuts such movement. At the symposium just mentioned, one panelist (Saito Takeshi) touched off sharp reaction with his comment that in order to avoid a "rootless kind of internationalization" it is necessary to provide children with a firm sense of pride in their own national culture, therefore "pressing children into the mold of Japanese culture is more important than considerations of their autonomy" (Ebuchi, 1987, pp. 23-24).

In his summary statement as the symposium's moderator, Ebuchi (1987, pp. 25-26) noted a general consensus among the participants that as a precursor to internationalization, Japanese children should indeed be firmly grounded in a sense of their identity as Japanese, and that accordingly educational programs designed to (re)make Japanese out of returnees are reasonable to an extent. But he also remarked that despite variation between speakers in the specific content of what they took to be Japanese,

underlying all such claims was a common assumption of a single, homogeneous Japanese identity—that which must be instilled in children before international exposure, or reinstilled in them on return from abroad. It is the same assumption, Ebuchi remarked, that lies behind the fallacious equating of race, language, and culture so frequent in Japanese discourse on national identity; the same assumption that underwrites the unreasonable demand that all Japanese-looking people speak Japanese fluently, and so forth. But when Ebuchi therefore called for a pluralistic definition of Japanese identity, as a necessary measure for alleviating the problems experienced by returnees, his suggestion was denounced from the floor as "too radical."

More recent criticisms of the discourse on internationalizing Japanese education echo this suggestion, however. For it is precisely the lack of such a pluralistic definition of the Japanese nation, agrees Nakanishi (1988), that supports continuing peer pressure against returnees despite improvements in the reception afforded them by the formal educational system. A Japan that takes "as its central axis a unidimensional culture," one that "maintains the character of a unitary ethnic nation," he warns, will be "intolerant of alien elements, constitutionally unable to accept the existence of different kinds of Japanese" (p. 21). The same lack of a pluralistic definition explains the conceptual link that Nakajima (1988) sees between the problems faced in Japanese society by returnees, and the experience of resident foreign populations, most notably persons of Korean descent. Nakajima notes the criticism leveled at precisely this lack of concern for such groups in the Council's report, and in official educational policy in general. Thus while government discussion of returnees now calls for greater efforts to help them preserve their acquired differences, critics note that similar calls for Japanese repatriates from China or for refugees from Southeast Asia are lacking. Moreover, official concern for providing education in the Japanese language for Japanese living overseas is not mirrored by a similar call for resident foreigners to have instruction in their own languages. The omission of these groups from the discourse, claim the critics, shows that the real question at hand is one of Japan's status and relation with the West—not internationalization, but Westernization.

I would like now to take a step back from this material, in order to sum up the essential elements as I see them in the discourse on internationalizing Japanese education. First, the overriding concern is for Japan's relationship with the West—as witnessed by the focus in the Council's report, for example, on technologically advanced nations to the effective exclusion of all others. The second element in the discourse is the tendency to regard both terms of the relationship—Japan and the West—as monolithic entities. The notion of a pluralistic definition of Japanese identity is still unwelcome, and care to discern differences between the "advanced industrialized countries of Europe and North America" is equally lacking in the Council's report. The final element is an underlying sense of ambivalence about Japanese identity. This finds expression in the uneasiness generated by the suggestion that there might be different kinds of Japanese; it is also manifest in the longstanding anxiety over Japan's position vis-á-vis the West—the feeling of inferiority that formerly propelled efforts to catch up technologically, and that is now transformed into the fear of being judged inferior in areas of culture, research, and education. But together with this anxiety are feelings of cultural, and ultimately racial, superiority. While these are most striking in Japanese views of Third World nations, they are also evident in the more general attitude that returnees have become something less than "properly Japanese," and must therefore rid themselves of their foreignness to regain acceptance.

Note that the same three elements also structure much of the content of *nihonjinron*, as pointed out by recent critics of that discourse (Dale, 1986; Mouer and Sugimoto, 1986). Here too we find highlighted Japan's relationship with the West, for it is primarily through contrasts between the two that questions of Japanese identity are explored. Here too, both terms of that relationship are treated as monolithic entities, through archetypic representations of Japan and the West that preclude recognition of internal variation. And here too we see behind such representations an ambivalence about Japanese identity, an uneasiness that prompts shrill claims for the uniqueness of Japanese culture, and often as not, equally shrill assertions of its superiority. Thus while the dominant tones of the two discourses differ—one being a

celebration of the perceived uniqueness, and hence separateness, of Japan; the other seeming to call for measures to reduce or bridge that separateness—we may view these as nothing other than logically related attempts to work out alternate solutions to the same problem, a problem posed by the same set of underlying elements, and animated by the same sense of ambivalence over what it means to be Japanese in the modern world.

Let me conclude with the assurance that in making this comparison it is not my intent to ignore the substantive differences that indeed separate the two discourses. I am hardly suggesting that participants in the debate on internationalizing Japanese education are the blatant fanatics that proponents of *nihonjinron* are depicted to be in the caricature given by their critics. Neither do I wish to impugn as insincere the concerns of educators who seek internationalization as a way of alleviating Japanese xenophobia, nor to ignore the laudable recommendations of the Council's report for meaningful change in precisely that direction. But I cannot close my eyes to an element of confusion that I find in the writings on internationalization, a confusion traceable to the same basic ambivalence that underwrites a literature of a vastly different sort. Nor can I escape the fear that the persistence of this ambivalence will continue to confound for a considerable time the achievement of a well-balanced sense of internationalization, one in which the Japanese can participate as one country among many in a truly diverse community of nations.

Note

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gikai, 1987). These were taken from an English translation provided by the Ministry of Education; the page numbers cited refer to the corresponding portions of the original Japanese.

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An Analysis of a Japanese ESL Learner's Diary: Factors Involved in the L2 Learning Process

Kazuko Matsumoto

This article presents the findings of an analysis of a daily diary, or language learning journal, kept by a Japanese college-level ESL learner in the target language (TL) environment. The analysis resulted in the identification of 65 factors which were involved in the diarist's second language (L2) learning experience over an 8-week period of intensive study in the ESL classroom. Several of the more prominent personal factors are discussed, separately and in their relation to other factors, and the results are compared with past diary studies. Significant findings include the effects of positive feedback on learner motivation, the importance of affective classroom climate for the learner's L2 development, and the role of self-awareness and self-analysis in the diarist's L2 learning process.

日本人 ESL 学習者のダイアリー分析：第２言語学習過程に関与する要因に関する一考察

本稿は、米国における８週間の英語研修期間に日本人大学生Mが記録したダイアリーの分析結果を提示し、特に、外国語学習に関与する情意的要因(affective factors)について考察を加えたものである。ダイアリー記載事項の分析の結果、認められた会計65の個人的ファクターのうち、Mの第２言語学習経験に最も深く関与したと考えられるのは、上達に対する要望・希望、学習過程における楽しさ・満足を示す２種の感情的ファクター、および、teacher, classmates, materials, Japan, errors/failure の５種の非感情的ファクターであった。他に、外国語学習に強い影響力を持つ要因として、教室内の学習者間の相互関係、teacher praise, instruction の重要性を指摘し、第２言語の学習プロセスに対する自己認識、自己分析、自己評価を促す内省的な(introspective)活動としてのダイアリーの有用性を強調している。

1. Introduction

Recent years have seen increasing interest among second language acquisition (SLA) researchers in qualitative, process-oriented ethnographic methodology[1] and the role of affective variables in the SLA process.[2] This has resulted in the appearance of diary studies in the field of second language (L2) classroom process research, or classroom-centered research. The diary studies of SLA which have been conducted thus far may be divided into two types. One is an introspective, self-observational study in which a diarist-learner analyzes his/her own language learning journal with the aim of discovering factors or variables affecting his/her own language learning process in the classroom (e.g., Bailey, 1980; Bailey, 1983; Jones, 1977; Schmidt & Frota, 1986; Schumann, 1980; Schumann & Schumann, 1977). The other is a non-introspective study in which a researcher investigates another diarist-learner's L2 learning process through careful analysis of diary data, which is usually supplemented with qualitative investigations such as questionnaires, structured interviews, and classroom observation (e.g., Brown, 1983; Brown, 1985).[3] These studies have shown that diary research of SLA is of significance not only in exploring individual learner variables or personal variables involved in the classroom L2 learning experience, but also in casting light on the mental processes of a language learner, or on the unobservable, psychological dimensions of L2 learning in the formal instructional situation.[4]

The present study explores personal variables or factors which were involved in and influenced an individual learner's process of classroom L2 learning in the target language (TL) country. The study is non-introspective, using qualitative, interpretive analysis and description.[5] The study also considers the way diary-keeping facilitated the diarist-learner's L2 learning process in the classroom.

2. Method

2.1 Informant

The informant[6] of the present study, Masayo (to be referred to as M hereafter), was a 19-year-old Japanese female college sophomore, majoring in Japanese literature at a college in Osaka. In the

summer of 1987, M participated in an 8-week intensive ESL program at the center for international programs of a college in the northeastern United States. Throughout the program, M took ESL lessons for 5 hours a day (3 hours in the morning and 2 hours in the afternoon) from Monday through Friday. In the morning M took language training in the beginning level (Level 1) ESL class for the first four weeks, and then in the elementary level (Level 2) class for the second four weeks. The two afternoon classes were electives and included students from different levels of ESL proficiency (Levels 1 to 5). The morning teacher remained the same during the 8-week program, but M had three different afternoon teachers, for a total of four (three female & one male). Students attending the program were from different parts of the world (e.g., South America, Europe, Asia, and the Middle East), and the average number of students per class was 10. While taking ESL lessons at the language center, M stayed at an on-campus dormitory, sharing a room with a Canadian ESL student who belonged to the high-advanced level (Level 5) class. M also participated in a field trip almost every weekend, together with her teachers and other ESL students.

English was the only language M knew besides Japanese. When she began her ESL training in the U.S., she had studied English for 6 years in junior and senior high school, and had finished one freshman-level English course in Japan. She had never been taught by a native speaker of English, nor had she been abroad before. Her personality could generally be described as outgoing and optimistic. Regarding M's ESL proficiency over the period of 8 weeks, her test scores in aural comprehension showed remarkable progress: from 28 (out of 100) on the initial placement test to 76 on the final achievement test. Her test scores in the other sections rose less or even declined: she went from 56 to 71 in structure; from 24 to 32 in reading comprehension; and declined from 25 to 18 in writing.

2.2 Procedure

Before leaving for ESL training in the U.S., the informant was given a notebook with instructions written in Japanese concerning diary-keeping. The English translation is as follows:

Please make daily entries in Japanese describing your classroom learning experiences in the ESL program you are participating in this summer. You are asked to write about the content of your class or learning activities, and what you thought and felt about the class and any other things which are involved in your language learning experience. Please write your comments and feelings in as much detail as possible, honestly and openly, as if you were keeping your own personal, confidential diary. Try to write your entry before you have forgotten about the class content—as soon as possible after the class.

2.3 Data Analysis

M's journal notebook contained entries for a total of 36 days of classroom language learning activities. Two researchers (including the present author) read the journal entries carefully, identifying events and/or factors mentioned in M's diary. Then the number of times each factor was mentioned in the whole diary was computed. In counting the frequency of mention of each factor, whenever a factor was identified once or more than once in a single day's journal entry, its frequency of mention was computed as one. Thus, a frequency of 36 means that the factor appeared in every journal entry (100%). Then the identified factors were listed in order of frequency of mention in the diary. The two researchers did the analysis of the entries separately. When disagreements arose, they discussed their differences until agreement was reached.[7]

The analysis was supplemented by a questionnaire given to the diarist M before she left Japan for ESL training so that she could fill it out while taking language lessons in the U.S., when the details would still be fresh in her mind. The questionnaire was intended to elicit various kinds of information necessary for analysis of the diary data. It asked about M's past foreign language learning experience in Japan and abroad, and required detailed information about the classroom ESL lessons in the U.S. The completed questionnaire was returned to the researchers together with the notebook of journal entries.

Another supplement to the analysis was interviewing. For the purpose of obtaining a clearer picture of M's experience in the ESL classroom, an interview was conducted with M by the researchers, who did not observe her ESL classroom. Through this retrospective interview, a number of questions concerning the journal entries

Table 1
Number and Percentage of Mentions of Factors in M's Language Learning Diary
(36 Diary Entries over an 8-week period)

Entries		A. Learning activities	B. Emotional factors	C. Non-emotional factors
36	(100%)	**Speaking**		
26	(72%)	**Listening**		speaking
25	(69%)		*ambition / hope / expectation*	
24	(67%)			materials
22	(61%)			classmates
21	(58%)		*enjoyment / gladness / happiness*	
17	(47%)	**Vocabulary**		errors/failure; teacher activities
16	(44%)	**Reading**		comprehension
15	(42%)			easiness/difficulty
14	(39%)	**Grammar**		speed; time
13	(36%)	**Games**	*regret / disappointment*	
10	(28%)	**Writing**		progress/improvement; assignments
8	(22%)		*self-encouragement / self-reinforcement; boredom*	Japanese people; vocabulary
7	(19%)			guessing; success
6	(17%)		*competitiveness*	Japanese language; Japan; teacher's words; fluency
5	(14%)	**Picture drawing**	*dissatisfaction / disapproval*	effort; grammar; teaching method
4	(11%)			outgoingness/sociability; gestures; teacher's praise
3	(8%)	**Pronunciation**	*anxiety*	teacher attitudes; culture; cooperation; review
2	(6%)		*frustration / irritation; disturbance / annoyance; tension; confusion*	memorization; pronunciation; repetition; sex differences; goals; age
1	(3%)		*loneliness*	classroom observation; tests; education; environment; study abroad; family/friends; translation; variety

were answered. Moreover, M's thoughts and attitudes toward diary-keeping activities, information concerning her out-of-class contact with speakers of the target language, and her attitudes toward English-speaking people and their culture were obtained.[8] Some of the questionnaire and interview information appears in section 2.1, and the author draws upon it in the comments and discussion which follow.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1 Factors Identified in M's Diary

As a result of the analysis of M's journal entries, a total of 65 factors were identified. Table 1 shows these factors listed in order of frequency of mention in her diary. In diary studies, it is important to note here, researchers generally assume that the more often a factor appears in the journal, the more important or influential it is in the diarist's language learning experience. The factors listed in Table 1 fall into three general groups: (a) learning activities in the ESL classroom; (b) emotional, psychological, or affective factors indicating the mental condition of the learner during or after the classroom language lessons; (c) non-emotional factors related to the program of study.

The list indicates several things concerning the three types of factors mentioned above. First of all, the informant-diarist's learning experience included nine types of learning activities (listed in order of frequency): speaking, listening, vocabulary, reading, grammar, games, writing, picture-drawing, and pronunciation (Table 1, column A, boldface). The notable high-frequency mention of two activities, speaking and listening, reflects the focus of M's ESL program. Second, the list includes 13 emotional or psychological factors involved in M's L2 classroom learning (arranged in order of frequency): from ambition/expectation/hope (the most frequent) to loneliness (the least frequent) (Table 1, column B, italics). These factors indicate the variety of M's emotional reactions toward her learning activities, teachers, classmates, and so on during the 8-week span of her ESL learning experience (cf. Rivers, 1983). Among the 13 factors identified, ambition/expectation/hope (69%) and

enjoyment/gladness/happiness (58%) are interesting to note. The comparatively frequent appearance of these factors in the journal, which might partly be attributable to M's extroverted or positive personality, leads us to speculate that these positive factors played an important role in encouraging the learner toward increased motivation and improvement in the TL.

Third, non-emotional or non-psychological variables make up the remaining 43 factors presented in Table 1 (column C, ordinary type). Nine of these non-emotional factors were quite prominent in the diarist's ESL learning experience: speaking (i.e., comments about her oral expression ability in English); materials (e.g., textbooks, handouts, pictures); classmates (i.e., other learners in the informant's ESL classroom); errors/failure; teacher activities in the classroom; comprehension of spoken messages in English; difficulty of learning activities; speed of speaking, writing, or reading; and time (e.g., length of time spent on a certain activity). The frequent occurrence in the journal of two ability-related factors, speaking (72%) and comprehension (44%), also identified by Rivers (1983), apparently relates to conversation-focused activities in M's classroom. Other important variables to note are those concerned with the classroom teacher (teacher activities, teacher's words, teaching method, teacher praise, and teacher attitudes). The total number (35) and combined percentages of mention (97%) of these factors indicate the influential role of the teacher in M's overall ESL learning experience. The factors related to Japan are also interesting. The total number (20) and percentages of mention (56%) of these variables seem to be explained by the multi-ethnic context of M's L2 learning experience. Learning ESL in a mixed-nationality classroom in the U.S. gave her many opportunities to think about her native language and country in comparison with other countries, languages, and people—opportunities unavailable in Japan's mono-ethnic ESL classrooms.

To sum up, in interpreting the frequency of mention of the three types of personal factors identified in M's diary (Table 1), we draw the following conclusions: (a) the diarist-learner M experienced various kinds of emotions or psychological reactions toward her learning experience in her conversation-centered ESL classroom; (b) the five most prominent non-emotional factors in M's classroom

experience (apart from the context-related factor of speaking) were *teacher*, *materials*, *classmates*, *Japan*, and *errors / failure*.

*3.2 Personal Factors in M's Classr*oom ESL Learning

In the previous section, the three types of personal factors were discussed in quantitative terms (i.e., frequency of mention). The following section, using excerpts from the journal as illustrative data, discusses several of the individual learner variables which were found to be involved, in some important ways, in M's personal learning experience in the ESL classroom. The focus will be on the comparison of variables identified in this study with those discussed in past diary research. Attention will also be given to the interrelationships among the identified factors, especially the relationship between the emotional and non-emotional ones.

3.2.1 Teacher Praise

There are several journal entries which show that positive feedback from the teacher or teacher praise led to M's positive feelings, ambition for improvement, hopes or expectations of future success, and self-encouragement or self-reinforcement:

(1) *Journal entry—Week 4*

In the afternoon class we talked with our teacher about the previous weekend. I told him that I had enjoyed shopping in Montreal, Canada, and so on. We talked in English quite a lot. He praised me, saying, "Now you can speak much better than before. Great improvement!" How glad I was with his words! I would like to speak tomorrow as successfully as I did today.

(2) *Journal entry—Week 4*

In today's morning class the teacher said to us, "Each one of you has improved quite a lot." All of my classmates seemed pleased with his praise. Also in the afternoon class my listening teacher praised me, saying "Now you can catch a lot more words and sentences than before. Very good!" I think I will have to work harder for the remaining weeks; one month has already passed and another month remains.

These excerpts indicate that, consistent with the findings of Bailey's (1980) self-observational diary study in a French class-

room at UCLA, even a short utterance of teacher praise had a notable positive influence on M's L2 learning. This finding points to a positive correlation between teachers' positive feedback and learners' development in L2 proficiency, an aspect of classroom dynamics which merits detailed exploration. Moreover, classroom teachers should recognize the strong positive impact teacher praise makes upon L2 learners, an impact noted in past diary research as well.

3.2.2 Teaching Method

M's journal included several entries indicating her dissatisfaction with the teaching method or style used by the classroom teacher, such as the following, recorded in Week 4:

(3) *Journal entry—Week 4*

> One of the graduate students told me that the teaching method our teacher used when they observed our class the other day was one of the current innovative methods. I have heard that it aims at leading students to learn English in the natural way, without the teaching of grammar at all. But I cannot agree with this method; I think it should include grammar teaching even if just a little bit. What we are learning now are mainly expressions we can readily use in everyday activities. I cannot help feeling this kind of method lacks substantiality or is somehow unreliable.

(4) *Journal entry—Week 4*

> In the afternoon class we did association games. We enjoyed them, but used only simple English words. It was not difficult and nothing but play. After playing a lot today in the class, I wondered if this way of learning English was really effective. We usually play a lot in the classroom. I do not particularly dislike this method since my main purpose is to improve my ESL speaking ability, but I do doubt the effectiveness of continuous use of this type of play-centered learning activity. In Japan we don't usually have this kind of learning activity; I just feel I have learned very little or nothing at all in such a play-centered classroom.

Apparently the learner's unwillingness to accept the teaching method or her doubt about its effectiveness is due to a large gap between unfamiliar, innovative methods used by native teachers in

the target culture environment and the grammar-translation method she had been used to. M was dissatisfied with relatively uncontrolled or relaxation-oriented learning activities. This might be explained in part by the teaching style which has traditionally prevailed in Japan—lecture-type, predominantly teacher-fronted, lock step instruction with fewer opportunities for discussions or debates among learners. Her dissatisfaction might also have sociocultural roots: preference for relatively controlled, teacher-led classroom lessons might be characteristic of Japanese learners or of Asian L2 learners in general. Similarly, in some past diary research, quite strong dissatisfaction with teaching style was reported by SLA researchers-as-diarists learning in TL community environments. For instance, both Schumann & Schumann (1977) and Jones (1977) revealed the learners' strong rejection of strictly controlled, teacher-led, inflexible classroom lessons stressing precise memorization, imitation, and repetition, in a less-relaxed, less-autonomous classroom atmosphere. Given these findings, it seems very likely that it is relatively difficult for L2 learners to adapt themselves to unfamiliar methods of classroom instruction in the TL environment within a relatively short period of time. Further, the results of the diary studies discussed above appear to suggest an interesting contrast between L2 learners of two different nationalities: American learners' preference for less controlled lessons vs. Japanese learners' preference for more controlled, teacher-guided instruction.

3.2.3 Classmates

The *classmates* factor was found to be related to several other variables identified in this study. In some cases, the factor appeared with the emotional factor of *competitiveness*:

(5) *Journal entry—Week 3*

These days each of my classmates has come to speak more and much better than before. I have to make more effort to speak up in class. I don't want to be behind any of them!

(6) *Journal entry—Week 6*

We learned how to use comparative sentences in the morning class. It's vexing that I cannot make oral responses fluently. I can write

fairly easily, but I cannot speak in a fluent manner. After doing about 16 exercises, I thought Japanese students' oral responses are very slow compared to those made by students of other nationalities. For example, my classmates from Colombia answer very fluently, which makes me both extremely competitive and irritated. Tomorrow morning two of my classmates are leaving, so this will give me more chances to be called on by the teacher. I am determined to speak as much as possible in my class for the remaining weeks.

The two entries given above clearly support the view that a moderate competitive feeling on the part of learners will eventually lead them toward higher motivation and improved interlanguage performance. This positive or facilitating role of competitiveness in classroom L2 learning has also been noted by Bailey (1983, p. 97), especially in conjunction with the *anxiety* factor; her model suggests that moderate competitiveness caused by facilitating anxiety motivates the learner to study the TL harder and leads to an improved, successful self-image. In some other cases, M mentioned cooperation when referring to classmates:

(7) *Journal entry—Week 2*

I often cooperate with a 21-year-old girl from Canada to finish classroom exercises; we are becoming good friends. We sometimes ask questions of each other about the content in a low voice and sometimes have fun during the classroom lesson. She also helps me a lot, pointing out my wrong pronunciation, telling me how to shape my lips for correct pronunciation, and so on. I like this kind of cooperative classroom atmosphere, and I feel I will be able to learn more through friendly cooperation with my classmates.

There are other cases where the mention of classmates occurred with the emotional factor of disturbance:

(8) *Journal entry—Week 5*

Today's lessons were not very interesting to me. An old man and an old woman from Colombia, who have just enrolled in our class, are really disturbing. They often slow down the speed of our conversation lessons, and they aggressively try to answer questions even when they are not called on by the teacher. Sometimes they even say

things that are incomprehensible or irrelevant to the lesson content. This is extremely annoying to me! I often feel we are disturbed in our learning activities by these new students.

In still other cases, M indicated pleasure at being the only Japanese student in her class and her happiness or satisfaction with a smaller number of classmates:

(9) *Journal entry—Week 1*
My classmates are from different countries — France, Canada, Vietnam, Mexico, Colombia, and the Dominican Republic. This leaves me no opportunities to speak Japanese in the classroom; I am forced to speak English when I communicate with them. I am so glad that I am the only Japanese student in my class.

(10) *Journal entry —Week 8*
I am pleased with this kind of small class because it gives me more opportunities to be called on by the teacher to speak in the classroom and to talk with him individually. Because of the small class, it seems, we have come to be able to learn more satisfactorily, but I feel a little lonely at the same time.

Bailey (1980) stresses the importance of positive social climate in the classroom as one of the major contributors to her perceived successful L2 learning. She notes that in her classroom language learning experience she became more motivated toward classroom learning with the improvement of her social relations with classmates. Similarly, M's positive attitudes toward learning in a friendly, cooperative atmosphere clearly indicate that M perceived cooperation with her classmates (i.e., positive affective classroom climate) as mutually beneficial.

The research findings indicate that both learners' competitive feelings and positive, cooperative relations with other learners in the classroom contribute to achievements in the TL. However, the degrees of these two factors must not be extreme but moderate. The extremely competitive classroom may hinder learning because it arouses learner anxiety, while an extremely cooperative or supportive classroom climate may discourage learners from wishing to

appear to surpass their peers in TL proficiency. It may be arguable that classroom L2 learners need a balance of competition and cooperation for optimal L2 development.

The *classmates* factor, which was shown to appear frequently in the journal, plays a significant role in the L2 learning process through interacting with a variety of both emotional and non-emotional factors. The importance of this social factor in the SLA process is worth re-emphasizing here.[9]

Evidently, the processes of classroom language learning will be strongly influenced both by the teacher and the other learners. Past SLA research has tended to focus on the relationship or interaction between the teacher and learners rather than on the relationship among learners. The findings of this study suggest that more careful attention must be directed toward investigations into the learner-learner relationship.

3.2.4 Anxiety

M's journal entries mention overt anxiety only three times, in Weeks 1, 4, and 5:

(11) *Journal entry — Week 1*

I think I will have difficulty understanding English sentences for the time being, at least until I get used to hearing actual spoken English. Now I am a little anxious, but I hope things will get better in about a week.

(12) *Journal entry — Week 4*

It is almost one month since I began to study English here. I am anxious, wondering if my English has improved or not during the past month. I will surely feel sad if I go back to Japan with little or no improvement or progress after finishing my ESL training here in the U.S.

(13) *Journal entry — Week 5*

For the past few days I guess I have been experiencing a kind of slump. I am so anxious about my speaking ability and I don't know what to do. I have tried to encourage myself to work harder, but things do not work out to my satisfaction; I am so frustrated and irritated!

The journal entries presented above indicate that M's anxiety was concerned with awareness of her low proficiency in ESL listening comprehension (Week 1) or oral production (Week 5), and her reflection on the degree of past improvement or her anticipation of eventual attainment in her ESL proficiency (Week 4). Unlike Bailey's (1983) self-observational diary research, wherein the learner's greatest anxiety occurred at the very beginning of the program and showed a gradual decrease as the learner's proficiency became higher than her language learning peers', the level of M's classroom anxiety was rather low at the beginning, perhaps because of her optimistic personality, and gradually became higher as time progressed. It reached a peak right after the middle of the 8-week program when she suffered from rather severe frustration because of an unexpected slump she encountered in the learning process.

Furthermore, also different from Bailey's (1983) findings, comments about anxiety in M's journal did not coincide with references to competitiveness, although the *frustration / irritation* factor, which might covertly have involved the feeling of anxiety, appeared with manifestations of competitiveness, as shown in journal entry (6) in the previous section. With regard to the manifestation patterns of anxiety in the SLA process, the findings of Bailey's (1983) research and those of this study lend support to the idea of learner variability, as has been commonly postulated in past diary research studies (e.g., Bailey, 1983; Brown, 1983; Schumann & Schumann, 1977).

3.2.5 Success vs. Failure

M's journal contained a total of 17 references to her failure or errors in the classroom. Mention of failure was concerned with her listening and speaking ability in ESL: failure to comprehend or understand the class content or the teacher's quickly spoken messages; failure to make quick oral responses to the teacher's questions; failure to speak smoothly or fluently; and failure to express her intended messages in the TL. On the other hand, there were seven references to classroom success in M's diary. All of these were also related to her comprehension and production of oral messages in ESL: success in comprehending the lesson content or the teacher's or classmates' spoken messages; success during in-class conversational work; and success in making herself under-

stood in English.

In most cases, the two factors of *success* and *enjoyment/ gladness/happiness* appeared together, as did the *failure* and *regret/ disappointment* factors, as the following journal excerpt illustrates:

(14) *Journal entry—Week 3*

In the morning class we did exercises in pairs. One of the students read the questions in the text (e.g., Do you have a boyfriend?) and the other answered them, followed by a change of their roles. Although some of my sentences were not grammatical, I could make myself understood, and I could also understand what my partner told me; I was very, very glad about this. In the afternoon class we played a bingo game. This was our second time to play this game, so it was a bit boring. It was a great pity to me that my teacher could not understand what I said to him during the lesson. I will feel sad if I cannot make myself understood next time.

In some cases, M's apparent failure in ESL listening comprehension and oral production led her to realize her low-level conversational ability, which in turn increased her motivation to take part in L2 use both in and out of the class:

(15) *Journal entry—Week 4*

The afternoon class has been increasingly difficult since last week. Today I could understand almost nothing of the content, and could answer almost none of the teacher's questions, either. This made me realize strongly that I still have only an elementary-level listening ability. I borrowed some books from my teacher so that I could do additional study with them outside the classroom.

There are other cases in the journal in which M's success made her think of possible reasons for her achievement and the possible failure which could have resulted instead:

(16) *Journal entry—Week 6*

In the afternoon class we watched a video showing several different ways of walking. I could understand most of the content since we were provided with handouts explaining important words and phrases before watching the video. But without the help of those

handouts, I could have understood almost none of the content, I'm sure! I felt really sad thinking about how poor my listening comprehension ability is, even after staying here for more than one month.

Bailey (1980) found that her own journal included repeated mention of her pleasure at success in her French classroom, which increased her motivation and enthusiasm for learning the TL. It is usually the case that the learner's apparent classroom failures or errors evoke the feeling of regret or disappointment while successful classroom performance is related to happy feelings, greater motivation, and enthusiasm for the language. However, as the two journal excerpts shown above indicate, these learner variables are interrelated in a more complicated manner than is usually assumed. That is, the entries suggest that there can be cases in the learning process where the learner's perception of failure will have a positive influence on learning while classroom success will ultimately affect the learner negatively. If so, classroom failure need not be regarded as an absolutely negative factor and success as a completely positive one. Both success and failure have the possibility of exerting a positive or a negative influence, depending on the situation in the learning process as well as on the learner's personality.

3.2.6 Progress / Improvement

A total of 10 references to *progress / improvement* were identified. They were concerned with several aspects of the learner's L2 achievements: the amount of comprehension and production of spoken English; the speed with which M finished in-class exercises, spoke, or understood the teacher's spoken messages; the fluency and flexibility of her oral production in the class; and the general quality of her language performance.

In some cases, M's awareness of her own improvement in English led not only to her expectation or hope for further success and improvement but also to self-encouragement as well as determination to work harder in order to achieve further progress. The following journal entry shows this:

(17) *Journal entry—Week 3*

I spoke a lot today in the class. It seems I have become used to

> hearing spoken English. Also, I have been more able to speak in the classroom than before. I am beginning to feel that my English will have improved a lot by the time I finish my study here and go back to Japan. Whenever my classmates and teacher understand my English, I feel very happy and satisfied, which leads me to expect I will be able to speak better and more tomorrow than today in the classroom. I am determined to do my best so that I will be able to do much better tomorrow.

Several journal entries indicate that classroom instruction had positive effects on M's process of L2 learning, particularly in her oral communicative competence. In the following excerpt she attributes progress in this area mostly to formal classroom instruction during the 8-week intensive ESL program:

(18) *Journal entry—Week 8*

> At the beginning of the course I could hardly speak or listen, but I feel I have gradually become used to real spoken English. Now I can say with confidence that my oral English has greatly improved during the past two months! I'm satisfied not only with the class but also with the teachers I had at this center. My teachers always showed warm attitudes toward me, trying to listen to me and understand my broken English. Also they have been helpful, kind, and patient enough to try to figure out what I was getting at every time I talked with them in English.

In discussing the effects of instruction on learning, one of the major controversial issues in classroom-centered research (cf. Long, 1983), we must take into account that M had formal L2 training in an acquisition-rich environment. That is, M combined intensive classroom ESL instruction with out-of-class interaction with native speakers (usually her teachers, dormitory students, and shop clerks). Thus we cannot state the precise weight the variables instruction and exposure had upon M's L2 development. However, given the limited amount of interactive exposure to the TL (reported in the retrospective questionnaire and interview), and the journal excerpts quoted immediately above, it appears reasonable to assume that classroom instruction played a major role in the advancement of M's general conversational abilities in the TL (as evidenced by the improvement in her aural comprehen-

sion noted in section 2.1). If so, the findings are in accord with Schmidt and Frota's (1986) case study of the development of conversational ability in Portuguese.

3.3 Language Learning Diary: A Means of Self-Reflection

Both in personal interviews and in her responses to questionnaire items, the informant-diarist M showed an extremely positive attitude toward the diary-keeping she did during the 8-week intensive ESL training program. M reported that the diary helped her reflect upon her past classroom L2 learning experience and achievement. M's diary contained a number of entries showing that the act of diary-keeping functioned as an instrument for self-awareness, self-analysis, self-evaluation, or self-reflection—characteristics which have been indicated in several past studies (e.g. Bailey, 1983; Foss & Beitzel, 1988; Grandcolas & Soule-Susbielles, 1986; Lowe, 1987; Matsumoto, 1987; Sternglass & Pugh, 1986).

For example, the following Week 2 journal entry shows that M is, in retrospect, analyzing the steps involved in listening, and considering reasons for her own frequent failures in comprehending fast-spoken sentences in the TL:

(19) *Journal entry—Week 2*

In the afternoon listening class we were taught how to pronounce English sentences (e.g., What did you say?) at the speed which is usually used by native English speakers in everyday activities. I really cannot understand them if spoken fast. Two or three words come together and are pronounced just like one word! It's almost totally impossible to comprehend such sentences! Though important words are pronounced rather strongly, I cannot catch them if spoken fast. When I cannot understand a word in a sentence, I often take time to think about its meaning, and finally the whole sentence becomes totally incomprehensible to me. I often experience failure to understand English sentences in this way.

Another excerpt from M's Week 2 journal indicates that the learner is evaluating her own conversational ability in ESL, especially in comparison with her classmates' class performance. M is aware of her own low-level proficiency, and considers how to make faster progress in oral communicative competence:

(20) *Journal entry—Week 2*

> I am sorry to say that I am now the worst speaker of English in the entire class. I can answer the teacher's questions fairly quickly in my mind, but I cannot make quick oral responses to them. I can't understand what the teacher says if he speaks quickly, either. I want to be able to speak and express myself better as soon as possible. How will I learn to make oral responses quickly? Only by accustoming myself to such exercises? If so, I am eager to get used to them! And I want to talk to as many Americans as possible in English! But the fact that I can only use a limited number of sentences of the same pattern in conversation makes me frustrated!

One more entry, recorded in Week 4, illustrates M's use of journal-keeping for self-analysis and self-evaluation. She considers her past classroom achievements and improvements in L2 conversational proficiency in terms of the speed, fluency, quantity, and flexibility of her classroom interlanguage talk:

(21) *Journal entry—Week 4*

> We did conversational exercises today. I think I have come to speak faster than before. So far I could speak only intermittently, but today I felt I could speak more continuously or fluently. These days, I think, the amount of my talk in the classroom has gradually been increasing. I feel very happy about this. I have just begun to talk with my classmates in English more freely, although the topics of our talk are still limited to simple or trifling things.

Thus, through the act of writing down classroom events, personal comments, and feelings in the journal, the diarist-learner M was led to analyze her own achievements and problems in the learning process, organize thoughts which might otherwise have remained largely obscure or unconscious, and discover ways for progress and success in subsequent L2 performance. The present author believes that the journal-keeping period for L2 learners is a generative, heuristic stage, and a time of free and spontaneous self-exploration. Furthermore, diary-keeping enables learners to be more conscious of classroom L2 learning and teaching.[10] It also stimulates more concentrated contemplation than other means, such as simply thinking or talking.

Such a diary, however, must be assigned to students. Learners (with the exception of classroom researchers) probably would not voluntarily spend time on such deliberate introspection of their own learning experience. Moreover, as the journal excerpts above indicate, the act of diary-keeping makes diarist-learners alert to learning strategies, both their own and ones which may enable them to meet personal educational goals—cognitive or metacognitive operations which are likely to assist them in the development of TL competence (cf. Rubin & Henze, 1981).

In sum, the discussion presented above seems to support the claim that diary-keeping is positively associated with success in classroom language learning. Classroom teachers are encouraged to introduce diary-keeping to their students as a useful self-teaching device, an out-of-class activity which has considerable potential for promoting the development of L2 skills.

4. Summary and Conclusion

This descriptive, analytical diary study of the L2 learning process of the Japanese college-level ESL learner M during an 8-week intensive classroom training program in the TL culture addressed two research questions: (a) What factors were most significant in M's classroom L2 learning process? and (b) How did diary-keeping influence M's L2 learning? The exploration of personal variables revealed that a total of 65 personal factors—13 emotional and 43 non-emotional—were involved in M's L2 learning process. Most outstanding is the importance M attached to speaking and listening (see Table 1). While the communicative focus of the course certainly affected their prominence, this aspect of her diary merits further exploration. Discounting mention of classroom activities, the factors most influential in M's L2 learning process were the highly positive emotional ones of *ambition/expectation/hope* and *enjoyment/gladness/happiness*, the non-emotional instructional factors of *teacher* and *materials*, the social variable of *classmates*, and factors related to the informant's native country and native language.

The qualitative analysis revealed both similarities with and differences from past diary studies. Similarities were the positive effects of teacher praise on learner motivation; dissatisfaction with teaching methods used in the target culture environment; the learner's perception of affective classroom climate as a significantly influential variable in the learning process; and the role of competitiveness in the classroom L2 learning process. A major difference was found in the manifestation patterns of the two affective factors of *competitiveness* and *anxiety*.

The analysis also contributed insights into the roles of several learner variables in the SLA process such as the performance-related factors of *success* and *failure* in the classroom, the learner's progress in TL proficiency, and, most importantly, the influence of the other learners upon classroom L2 learning. Furthermore, mention has been made of the possible positive relationship between teacher praise and learning outcomes; the possible relationship between learner background (or ethnicity) and preference for teaching style; the need for a balance of competition and cooperation among classroom learners; the influence of the learner's perceptions of personal classroom success or failure on L2 learning; and the major role of classroom instruction in promoting L2 development. Moreover, this diary study, in exploring personal variables, especially affective factors involved in M's L2 learning, provided further insights into psychological conditions which stimulate learner motivation: (a) happy, glad, satisfied feelings arising from positive feedback from the teacher, or from perceived success; and (b) competitive feelings resulting from perceived classroom failure or classmates' progress or success in the classroom. It has also become clear that positive attitudes toward teachers, peers, native speakers of English, and the target culture played a significant role in increasing the learner's self-perceived motivation toward classroom ESL learning.

As for the second research question, diary-keeping was found to promote self-awareness, self-evaluation, and self-analysis during M's learning process. It appears that, by and large, most of the benefits of journal-keeping rest on those of the act of writing itself. The activity is strongly recommended as a useful way of raising the diarist-learner's consciousness of language learning and stimulat-

ing deliberate introspection of past classroom learning experiences.

However, we must question whether findings that relate to a single informant may be generalized. Some of the findings may be idiosyncratic to this learner; others may be generalizable only to other adult Japanese ESL learners. Another conceivable drawback of this study is the fact that M's diary tended to focus on classroom learning activities, which made up the majority of references in the journal. Moreover, M's journal notes were neither long enough nor detailed enough to establish precise hypotheses about adult L2 learning, in contrast to Schmidt & Frota's (1986) research. In order to identify regularities of events and consistent patterns in learner diaries, a longitudinal study of more than two months is needed.

An important advantage of this diary study, on the other hand, is that the diarist-learner was not an SLA researcher, as in many past studies (e.g., Bailey, 1980; Jones, 1977; Schmidt & Frota, 1986; and Schumann & Schumann, 1977). It seems, in this respect, that M's journal entries reflect relatively naive perceptions and observations of her classroom learning experience.[11] Thus, M's journal appears to provide findings much more generalizable to other ordinary adult ESL learners.

The findings of the present study show that language learning is a complex activity involving a wide variety of both emotional and non-emotional variables, even within a single learner. These are closely and complexly intertwined with one another. They sometimes facilitate and sometimes hinder the learning process. The diversity of variables involved and the complicated relationship among the factors seen here show that the L2 classroom is extremely complex—an amalgam of diverse subjective views, ideas, emotions, preferences, and perceptions of learners who make up the social gathering of the language classroom (cf. Breen, 1985). So far relatively few SLA researchers have investigated the classroom learning process in detail. The literature provides few descriptive, analytical accounts of individual learners' classroom experiences on the lines of the present study. Future classroom-based research on L2 learning and teaching should direct much more attention to detailed descriptions of classroom proceedings, which, ideally,

should focus not only on overt, observable, physical dimensions, but also on covert, unobservable, psychological dimensions of the learning process.

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Notes

1. Chaudron (1988, pp. 13-49) discusses four major methodological approaches to L2 classroom research: psychometric evaluation, interaction analysis, discourse analysis, and ethnography. Allwright (1988, pp. 242-258) provides a useful historical review of methodologies employed in classroom research over the past two decades, which includes discussion of the recent shift of interest toward "subjective," "unobservable," "unscientific," "qualitative" SLA data. Also see van Lier (1988) and Watson-Gegeo (1988) for detailed discussion of classroom ethnography.

2. The importance of affective factors in the SLA process has been stressed especially by Schumann (1975), who argues that difficulties in adult SLA can largely be accounted for by social and psychological constraints placed on the language learning process. He claims that affective variables such as attitudes, motivation, and the personality trait of empathy are the initiating, controlling factors which will cause the cognitive processes either to function, producing language acquisition, or to fail.

3. The terms *introspective* and *non-introspective*, distinguished here as well as in Matsumoto (1987, pp. 30-31), are given to analyses, not to data (cf. Fry's comment, 1988, p. 159). In both types of diary studies, the data themselves are not only introspective but retrospective in the sense that they are the self-observational reports of the diarist's own past learning experience. To date,

there is little consensus among researchers as to the usage of these terms. The term *introspection*, however, has generally been used in the literature as a cover term referring collectively to different types of verbal reporting, including thinking-aloud and retrospection (cf. Faerch & Kasper, 1987).

4. For a detailed review of past diary studies, see Matsumoto (1987).

5. According to Grotjahn's (1987, pp. 59-60) methodological paradigms, the present study does not follow a pure exploratory-interpretative research paradigm because it involves both qualitative and quantitative data.

6. The term *informant* is used in this paper in contrast to the subject of a controlled experiment.

7. In the great majority of cases, the informant mentions particular factors only once in a single day's entry. Also, the two researchers achieved a high degree of agreement in their interpretations of the diary entries.

8. As has been emphasized by Matsumoto (1987, p. 31), supplementary questionnaires and interviews are important in non-introspective diary studies like the present one, where the analysis of the journal is based on inferences by the researchers, not on direct introspection by the diarist himself/herself. To obtain more accurate, detailed information of the diarist's process of classroom L2 learning, and, therefore, to make the journal data and analysis more precise, these additional qualitative techniques were employed in this study.

9. Breen (1985) claims that it is incumbent upon classroom-based L2 research to adequately account for the underlying social psychological forces which generate classroom discourse and also for their possible socio-cognitive effects, which have largely been neglected in our current investigations into classroom language learning. Breen, perceiving the language classroom as "a particular social context for the intensification of the cultural experience of learning" (p. 154), proposes "the interplay between the individual, the individual as group member, and the group which represents and generates the social and psychological nexus" (p. 149) as the culture of the language classroom. According to him, the culture of the language classroom has eight essential features: it is interactive; individually differentiated; collective; highly normative; asymmetrical; inherently conservative; jointly constructed; and immediately significant. Speaking for a long-neglected social view of classroom language learning, Breen emphasizes overall that the study of the process of language learning that occurs within a social context of classroom interaction necessitates the adoption of a holistic, anthropological approach to research which particularly regards psychological and social dimensions of learning not as distinctive but as irrevocably interrelated.

10. One study which demonstrated a close relationship between learner awareness and success in classroom L2 learning is Gillette's (1987). This introspective analysis of classroom behaviors of two successful learners of French revealed that they were both aware of and in full control of their own L2 learning process. Also Wenden (1987) stresses the important role of learner awareness in promoting self-directed autonomous learning, which has been an ultimate educational goal of learner strategy research.

11. Schmidt & Frota (1986) refer to possible experimenter biases when a diary is kept by a professional applied linguist interested in SLA theory.

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Motivation After Matriculation: Are Japanese Learners of English Still Alive After Exam Hell?

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Most university language teachers in Japan lament the apparent lack of motivation and positive attitudes toward learning their students show shortly after matriculation to university. Research on motivation to learn a foreign language in Japan, moreover, has failed to demonstrate clearly links among motivation to learn the language, instructional or other experiences presumably related to learning and proficiency. This study suggests that the ambivalence of the findings in Japan may be due in part to a methodological problem, namely, the preference for cross-sectional over longitudinal studies on the relationship between motivation and proficiency. The present study assessed attitudes and motives for learning English at the beginning and end of the freshman year at a public university in Japan. Proficiency in English was assessed concurrently with an attitude survey in a pre-test, post-test format. Changes in learner attitudes and motivations were correlated with gain scores observed after 150 hours of instruction in the program. Regression analyses indicated limited development of an orientation towards personal growth and prospective experiences using English overseas. These were linked with increased proficiency as measured on one of the post-tests.

大学入学後の英語学習態度について

日本における大学語学教師のほとんどが直面している問題点は、学生が入学後、学習に対する姿勢が乏しく、また学習意欲もなくなっていることである。

日本においては外国語学習の動機づけに関してこれまで研究されているが、言語学習の目的、学習に関係あると考えられる教授経験等と習得の間の関係を明らかにしていない。 また、こうした研究の結果が不安定になりがちな原因は、方法論的にいえば、動機と習得との間の長期的研究よりも、日本ではむしろ断片的な研究を優先してきたからだと言ってよいだろう。

本研究は、日本における公立大学一回生の学年のはじめと終わりの授業における英語学習に対する意欲と動機を調べたものである。英語習得は、事前テスト、事後テスト形式の学習意欲調査により評価した。学習者の意欲および動機は、150時間にわたる授業の後の得点と相関があった。

回帰分析の結果では、個人的な伸びと海外で将来英語を使う経験があるかどうかの見込みについては限界がみられた。これらは事後テストに見られるように達成度と関連があった。

1. Introduction

Attitudes and motivation have remained a focus of attention for applied linguists for three decades, beginning with Gardner and Lambert's (1959) seminal study on the relationship between motivation and second language acquisition (SLA). The wide variety of cultural contexts and instructional settings in which motivation-and-acquisition studies have been conducted suggests the importance applied linguists attribute to affective variables in helping to explain SLA.

Studies on the relationship of motivation to achievement conducted in fields other than SLA have shown motivation to be a culturally universal predictor of achievement and "effective behavior" (Peck, 1981). The universal impact of motivation on learning has also been shown to be influenced by specific, individual experiences. Chanddavarkar (1988), for instance, argues that prior knowledge and experience are better predictors of achievement in physical science than attitudes towards physical science education.

Motivation for learning a foreign language would thus seem to be a function not only of affective or instrumental factors (which have been examined in the SLA literature) but also of the effects of culture and experience, factors which have been brought to light by studies in other disciplines. However important the link between motivation and learning may appear to be in the acquisition of a second language, contradictory and inconclusive results have been reported over the years, particularly when different national and

ethnic groups have been compared. It is the purpose of this paper to re-examine the link within a relatively novel (for applied linguistics) explanatory framework based on learners' experience and cultural background.

2. Motivation and Language Learning

2.1 Motivation and ESL

Integrative motivation has been proposed as the major affective factor in SLA in both classroom and non-classroom settings (Gardner, 1985). Longitudinal studies in the North American context (see, for example, Gardner and Lambert, 1972) have argued that the most successful learners aspire to become functioning members of the society in which they are learning their second language. Integrative motivation, however, is attenuated by psycho-social factors (Schumann, 1978) so that circumstances beyond the learner's control, including social distance between the learner's and the target culture, will influence the rate, quality, and level of language acquisition.

Diverse and occasionally contradictory results have been obtained for motivation-proficiency studies conducted in North America or employing subjects who were attempting to learn English in North America. Cowan's (1967) study showed that integratively motivated Japanese students tend to become better speakers than non-integratively motivated Japanese students regardless of the length of residence in the U.S. Okamura-Bichard (1985) partially supported Cowan's conclusions, but also contended that experience in using a target language, as well as attitudes towards the language, contributed to sixth-grade Japanese learners' acquisition of the second language and maintenance of the first language. In contrast, Oller et al. (1977) found that instrumental motivation was a far more powerful predictor of second language achievement by Mexican-American women than was integrative motivation. So, for example, women in this study were more interested in learning English to get and keep a job than to associate socially with Anglos.

Finally, in a study which bridges the distinction between second and foreign language learning, Prapphal et al. (1982) argued that

motivation, per se, was of secondary importance in the attainment of proficiency among Japanese college students, some of whom were returnees from English-speaking countries or had native English teachers in high school. In their cross-cultural study comparing Japanese, Thai, and Taiwanese learners, Prapphal et al. concluded that different factors impel learning in different cultural contexts. For the Japanese students, natural exposure to English was a more powerful predictor of proficiency than was motivation to learn an additional language.

2.2 Motivation and EFL in Japan

The relationship between foreign language learning and motivation and attitudes is an even more complex issue in an EFL context than in an ESL context. Edamatsu (1978) and Miller (1986) argued that Japanese learners' attitudes towards learning English are influenced by psycho-social barriers which eventually limit the effectiveness of their acquisition of the target language. Nakayama (1982) has underscored this point, contending that the use of Anglo-American models of English fosters the development of psycho-social barriers to learning in that learners are presented with culturally invalid models.

The learner's affective response to social experience thus seems to be an important factor in the attainment of English language proficiency. Whether motivation to learn a language is significantly related to proficiency seems to depend in part on circumstances associated with the learning environment. Ratzlaff (1980) and Kamada (1987), for instance, concluded that the university entrance examination system distorts and channels Japanese learners' motivation into a narrow instrumental focus. Dillon and Dillon (1979), moreover, pointed out that, in spite of technological advantages and initially high motivation, Japanese students do not develop proficiency because of examination-oriented teaching methodology—an environmental factor which intensifies in relation to the approach of university entrance examinations. Chihara and Oller (1978) found that attitudes of Japanese students show, at best, weak correlations with attained proficiency. Keitges (1986) corroborated this finding, but also noted that although specific personality traits are related to motivation to learn, they are not consistently related to proficiency in English.

The few empirical studies concerning the attitudes and motivation of Japanese language learners have relied principally on cross-sectional analyses of the effect of affective variables on proficiency. What the Japan-based research has not shown, however, are the ways in which changes in attitudes and motivation are related to changes in learning from a longitudinal perspective. In other words, research on Japanese learners has generally taken a snapshot approach to problems which would be better studied over a longer period of time. Thus the present study examines, first, how changes in motivation are reflected in learning *over time* and, second, what *environmental factors* are likely to influence the Japanese learner's proficiency in English during the first year of university attendance.

3. Focus of the Study

The present study emphasizes the effect of motivational change over time on proficiency among Japanese university freshmen. The goal of the study is to examine how attitude and motivation changes develop concurrently with changes in proficiency during an instructional program at the college level.

4. Method

4.1 Research Design

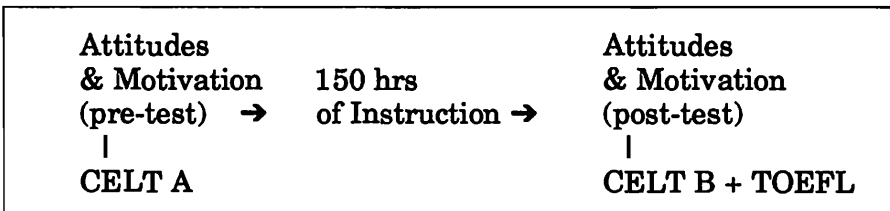
Ninety first-year Japanese university students majoring in international commerce were given CELT Form A Listening and Structure subtests (Harris & Palmer, 1986), normed measures of English language proficiency, as well as a 50–item survey in Japanese of attitudes and motivation, before instruction commenced.

The survey was designed to provide a cross-sectional view of the learners' current attitudes towards learning English, their assessment of previous learning experiences in school, and the intensity of their motivation to use English in their future careers. Items on the survey were worded both positively and negatively so as to avoid a response set and provide a basis for checking the reliability of the items.

The international commerce majors who were the subjects of the study were enrolled in five courses concurrently: reading, composition, English conversation, language seminar, and language laboratory. Total class time resulted in approximately 150 hours of contact with English (see Hansen, 1985, for a description of this language curriculum). The contact hours were primarily focused on the formal aspects of language, including grammar analysis, translation, and reading comprehension. The conversation class, however, was mainly task-based, requiring students to use their own knowledge of English to communicate in pairs. Figure 1 depicts the longitudinal character of the design. Since one object of the study was to assess changes in proficiency vis-á-vis changes in attitudes and motivation, an alternative form of the pre-test (CELT B) was administered at the end of the academic year (running from April to February). The same form of the attitude and motivation survey was used at the end of the academic year. An additional assessment of extracurricular activity was included with the post-test in order to check the possibility that language learning outside of the college courses (e.g., at conversation schools or during overseas travel) had influenced changes in proficiency recorded between administration of the pre- and post-tests.

The institutional TOEFL (Educational Testing Service, 1988) was administered in order to provide a secondary measure of

Figure 1
Design of the Study



proficiency on the post-test. This procedure allowed examination of the relative magnitude of correlations with the pre- and post-test measures of proficiency and permitted making inferences about the validity of gain scores (Gupta et al., 1988).

4.2 Analysis

The first phase of the analysis involved stepwise regression of the 50 attitude and motivation survey items on CELT A Structure independently to permit examination of those items which were most highly correlated with proficiency prior to instruction (Table 1). The stepwise regression selected survey items that were uniquely correlated with the language test scores. Items were selected in successive steps until no more items contributed a significant increase in the correlation with the language test. The total multiple regression provided a general index of the relation between the subset of survey items and variance, that is, differences among individual scores, on the CELT.

The second phase of the analysis also included stepwise regression of the 50 survey items on gain scores derived from the comparison of CELT A and CELT B structure and listening subtests. The effect of extra-curricular contact was also assessed in the second phase of the analysis.

The validity of the gain scores was examined by using the TOEFL Structure and Listening subsections as external criteria for judging the difference between the correlation coefficients on the pre- and post-tests. This strategy assumes that the correlation between the external criterion and the post-test score will be greater than that between the external criterion and the pre-test scores. The strategy also affords some assurance that the effect of instruction was sufficient to apply to all levels of ability in the sample.

5. Results

5.1 Pre-tests

Stepwise regression of the CELT A Structure subtest (Table 1) showed that three items on the motivation survey accounted for 20 percent of all of the variance (differences) in student performance on the pre-test. In other words, these three items collectively represent the best combination of the original 50 items which relate students' attitudes to their current proficiency as measured by the CELT Structure subtest.

Table 1

Pre-test stepwise regression: CELT A Structure*

Survey Item	Step	R-squared
19 (Learning English is not interesting.)	1	.143
39 (My English teachers explained the cultural differences between English and Japanese.)	2	.177
48 (I would like to study in a foreign country in the future.)	3	.199

*CELT (Structure) pre-test reliability = .78

Results for the Listening Subtest are summarized in Table 2. Two items accounted for about 10 percent of the variance on CELT A Listening.

Table 2

Pre-test stepwise regression: CELT A Listening*

Survey Item	Step	R-squared
48 (I would like to study in a foreign country in the future.)	1	.068
25 (People from English speaking countries want Japanese to better understand their culture.)	2	.093

*CELT (Listening) pre-test reliability = .77

These tables show little relationship between attitudes and motivation and proficiency on the pre-tests. In the case of structure, the strongest predictor was a general interest in English as a

the survey items, the desire to study overseas was the strongest predictor of listening proficiency.

Overall, students' attitudes toward English did not seem to be strongly related to their proficiency prior to instruction in college. It should be noted that students had recently finished the process of preparing for university entrance examinations, which, for most public universities, does not include a focus on comprehension of spoken English. Attitudes were more related to individual differences on the structure pre-tests (20%) than to differences on the listening pre-test (10%).

Table 3

Stepwise regression of CELT Structure gain score*

Survey Item	Step	R-squared
48 (I would like to study in a foreign country in the future.)	1	.187
10 (I think studying English will widen my horizons.)	2	.271
17 (People from English-speaking countries who come to Japan are not interested in Japanese learners of English.)	3	.314
32 (My English teachers were not concerned with pronunciation.)	4	.353
30 (Even if I could use English, I don't think it would get me a good job.)	5	.385
2 (I would like all English films to be dubbed in Japanese.)	6	.432

*CELT (Structure) post-test reliability = .76

5.2 Gain Scores

Stepwise regression of the post-test survey items against the gain scores from CELT A Structure to CELT B Structure showed that six items accounted for 43 percent of the variance (Table 3).

In contrast with the results for the pre-test survey, the post-test survey results suggest broadening of motivation: Items representing different aspects of motivation which did not contribute to proficiency on the pre-test emerged following a year of instruction. Since items reported in the table were worded both positively and

Table 4

Stepwise regression of CELT Listening gain scores*

Survey Item	Step	R-squared
11 (I don't think I want to go to an English-speaking country as an exchange student.)	1	.086
45 (I would like to study a second foreign language because I like studying foreign languages.)	2	.130
29 (Our English teachers gave us a lot of listening practice.)	3	.172
44 (I don't want to have to read anything other than my English textbooks.)	4	.215
5 (My English teachers often corrected my pronunciation.)	5	.252
6 (I am not interested in foreign language study, so I don't want to study a second foreign language)	6	.284

* CELT (Listening) post-test reliability = .75

negatively on the survey, they can be positively or negatively correlated with gain. In general, the negatively worded items (Item 30, for example: "Even if I could use English I don`t think it would get me a good job.") were associated with loses ("negative gains") on the CELT.

A wider variety of survey items on the post-test (six vs. three) predicted more than twice the variance on the gain scores after instruction (43 percent vs. 20 percent). This may be related to the variety of instructional experiences (e.g., classes with English speaking faculty employing a variety of instructional techniques) and the fact the college had recently concluded an agreement to initiate a student exchange program with an American "sister" college, suggesting that students' perceptions of their possible uses for English had expanded.

Stepwise regression of post-test survey items with the listening gain scores indicated that six items accounted for 28 percent of the variance (Table 4).

In general, the larger number and variety of predictors of gain for both the structure and listening subtests emerging after 150 hours of instruction suggests that students' initial levels of motivation and attitudes were transitory. Certain attitudes were intensified while new sources of motivation may have started to emerge. The results must be qualified, however, by the fact that the observed gain scores were small and must be examined for reliability.

5.3 Reliability and Validity of the Gain Sores

Following Williams et al. (1987) and Gupta et al. (1988), the reliability and validity of the gain scores were estimated (see Table 5). The institutional TOEFL structure and listening subtests were used as the external criteria for assessing the validity of the gain scores. The reliability (magnitude) of the structure gain was higher than that of listening. It may useful to note that gain score reliability is an index of the magnitude of the change from pre- to post-test. It is not the same as test reliability which indicates the consistency with which tests measure some ability. Thus, the structure reliability coefficient of .57 should be interpreted as an index of moderate, non-random gain from pre-test to post-test.

Table 5

Gain Score Intercorrelations, Reliability, and Validity

	Structure			Listening		
	TOEFL	CELT A	CELT B	TOEFL	CELT A	CELT B
TOEFL	—	—	—	—	—	—
CELT A	.512	—	—	.567	—	—
CELT B	.667	.466	—	.721	.638	—
	Reliability = .57 Validity = .70			Reliability = .34 Validity = .73		

Table 6 further indicates a very different level of gain between between the structure and listening subtests. The t-tests reported in the table show a significant difference from pre- to post-test on the structure, but not on the listening, subtest. In addition to the significant difference between pre- and post-test scores, the structure test gain moved from more to less variation among scores. As

Table 6

CELT-A and CELT-B Comparisons on the Structure and Listening Subtests

	Listening		Structure	
	CELT-A	CELT-B	CELT-A	CELT-B
Mean	47.7	49.9	24.8	25.2
SD	7.9	6.9	6.4	6.2
paired t-test	2.06		.68	
p	.042		.494	

Table 6 indicates, this was not the case with the listening gain scores, which showed about the same variation and no significant difference in mean scores (hence the reliability, i.e., magnitude, of the gain is too small to be related to attitude changes). Simply put, learners did not improve enough in listening skills to suggest a meaningful relationship with attitude changes.

A possible reason for no appreciable gains in listening may be related to the curriculum. Since few of the English courses taught during the freshman year provided listening input to the students, listening gains in general would not be expected on the post-test, unless an additional factor, such as motivation to attend to the available input were exceptionally strong. The results demonstrate little relationship between motivation and listening gain and lend credence to the observation made earlier that there is a dearth of listening input to the students during the 150-hour program. This being the case, the analysis hereafter will focus exclusively on structure gain scores.

Table 7

Blockwise Regression of Support and Interest

	R-squared
Support Variables	.099
Interest Variables	.155

The predictors of structure gain scores identified in the regression analyses can be further reduced to two latent motivational components. Blockwise regression analysis showed that the survey items "native speaker support," "a lack of job prospects related to use of English," and "no correction of pronunciation by teachers" indicate a latent motivational variable which can be labeled *Support* (see Genesee et al., 1983). An additional motivational component related to "overseas exchange," "widening horizons," and "interest in English language films" indicated orientation to an

additional motivational component labeled *Interest.* A comparison of *Support* and *Interest* as predictors of gain scores (Table 7) showed that *Interest* was a significantly better predictor than *Support*.

6. Discussion

The results obtained here concur with prior research in that the overall intensity of motivation of the college students was low, as indicated by the modest power of the survey items to explain change scores. Beyond these unexceptional results, however, lies a paradox of the Japanese educational system which is of potential explanatory value and which may point the way for teachers who wish to suggest motivating goals for learners during their university experience.

The intensity of motivation to "learn English" hits a peak in the last year of high school. Students are obliged to compete fiercely for a limited number of openings at universities. At the same time, the content focus of the English examination is on grammar and translation, that is, relatively narrow, easily testable aspects of English proficiency. Motivation to learn English is thus channeled into the sort of proficiency with the least communicative value. Once the university examinations are over, there is very little to sustain this kind of motivation, so the student appears in freshmen classrooms as a kind of timid, exam-worn survivor with no apparent academic purpose at university. With some justification, therefore, others (see Ratzlaff, 1980, for example) have noted the difficulty teachers have in bringing these examination veterans back from their boredom or breaking their extreme dependence on authority figures to tell them what to do. The immediate context of formal language learning, the curriculum (or what is cobbled together by academic individualists in the name of a curriculum), is not perceived by university entrants as supportive of their own needs and motives for language study, so it may not have been surprising to discover in the present study little relationship between motivation to learn English and performance on the proficiency measure.

The entrance examination system also forces applicants to sit for as many examinations as they can afford with the hope of gaining entrance to the most prestigious school on their list. Unfortunately, because most students do not matriculate to their first choice, they are typically deposited at an institution and in a departmental major for which they have no special interest. This contributes to their lack of motivation to learn virtually any new subject, including English, which is presented to them in college classrooms. The implication of this method of matriculation is that Japanese university students are left with a motivational vacuum that they are unable to fill.

The vacuum at the university entrance level, however, is belied by the extraordinary interest in voluntary English language education at the adult level. The motivational paradox lies in the ability of adults to find reasons for use of English which go far beyond the narrow focus of the university-bound learners. There are more private language schools in Japan, for example, than in any other country. Adult learners flock to foreign language classes for an extraordinary variety of reasons, including making and maintaining friendships, acquiring essential job skills, preparing for overseas travel, gearing up for qualifying examinations, and so on.

Adult motivation to learn a foreign language can be seen, then, as broadly based and representative of numerous personal goals, including development of communicative ability, as well as taking and passing examinations. It forms a clear contrast with the motivational wasteland among university entrants, but it also suggests the developmental character of motivation to learn. Time and experience apparently do affect learners' feelings and beliefs about the uses of a foreign language and, ultimately, have their effects on the proficiency of the language learner as an adult.

What remains for university entrants in Japan? With specific reference to the relationship of the survey employed in this study to the gain scores on the CELT Structure test, it appears that there is an experiential dimension to learners' motivation which develops during the year and begins to replace the entirely instrumental motivation which preceded it (see Table 7). The most powerful predictors of the structure gain scores included, for example, the

desire to study overseas and the belief that English will widen one's horizons. These predictors can be cast in terms of prospective, desired experiences outside of the immediate classroom environment which have nothing at all to do with taking and passing examinations. This is an interesting (if minor) result because it describes a kind of motivation that first year students would not be expected to have, based on an early-term assessment of their motivational intensity—or the lack of it. The few significant changes in motivation and learning reported here may comprise the beginnings of the developmental period noted above which leads eventually to the experiential focus of adult motivation to learn a foreign language.

Between high school graduation and the development of adult learning needs there is much that universities can do to channel the attention of their students in directions which motivate language learning. Although teachers were not important sources of motivation in the data reviewed here, they are clearly important in their roles as counselors and administrators of programs that can offer attainable short term goals. These might include, for example, exchange programs with foreign colleges, short-term "homestay" programs overseas, programs with foreign students in Japan, career counseling—in general, the kinds of experiences which did seem to motivate the learners in this study to improve their proficiency.

"May disease" (*go-gatsu byo*) is a popular Japanese description for the onset of a debilitating boredom among students who have just started their terms at university. This study suggests that motivation to learn a foreign language can expand over a relatively short time and that such development is related to learners' perceptions of their prospective uses for the language. Whether curricular reform or institutional support for access to experiences which can feed this developing motivation are remedies for the disease are questions very much open to further research.

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Variation in the Relative Clause of Japanese Learners

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The research reported in this paper examines interlanguage variability in the comprehension and production of English relative clauses by Japanese second language learners.[1] Seven different instruments were used to elicit data from 75 students in a university English Language Institute in Hawaii, 15 from each of five L1 backgrounds: Japanese, Chinese, Korean, Samoan, and Tongan. Significant contextual variability was found in the relative clause performance of the Japanese students. While their performance was lower than other L1 groups on an aural comprehension test and an oral picture test, they performed more accurately than others on a written sentence combining task. The findings are interpreted as being supportive of a multiple competence model of SLA, and the implications of such a model for second language teaching and testing are discussed.

英語を学習する日本人の関係節修得の多様性について

この研究報告は、外国語として英語を学習する日本人の関係節の理解および使用についての多様性をのべたものである。この研究対象となったのは、ハワイにある英語教育研究所在籍の日本人・中国人・韓国人・サモア人・トンガ人の5か国語を母国語とする15人ずつ、合計75人であり、データの収集には7種類のテスト様式が用いられた。

日本人学習者の関係節使用能力については、そのコンテクストによる有意義な違いが見られた。聴解力テストおよび絵画口頭説明(oral picture)テストにおいては、他の母語者よりも低い成績を示したが、読解文結合(written sentence combining)テストでは、より正確な結果を示した。

この調査結果は第2言語修得の多様能力性の理論に合致するものであり、それに準拠した第2言語教育および testing の模範例の示すところを論じた報告書である。

1. Introduction

Grammatical accuracy in learner language has been found to vary according to the context of language use. That is, at any given stage of development a learner's interlanguage system appears to contain a number of competing rules, with one rule guiding performance on one occasion and another rule on a different occasion. Such contextual variability has been reported in L2 acquisition studies of phonology (Beebe, 1980; Dickerson, 1975; Sato, 1983) as well as of morphological and syntactic structures (Ellis, 1987a; Hansen-Strain, in press-a, in press-b; Larsen-Freeman, 1976; Tarone, 1985). This inherent variability of language learner behavior lies at the heart of basic assumptions in the second language acquisition field and is a fact of enormous importance for language teaching and testing. The theoretical position one chooses for explaining the nature and causes of variation has important consequences, not only for one's explanation of second language development, but for the practical concerns of syllabus design and the selection of teaching materials and language tests (Ellis, 1987b; Skehan, 1987).

The present paper examines the task-induced variability of one type of grammatical structure, the relative clause, in the interlanguage of one group of learners, adult Japanese ESL students. An analysis of the Japanese learner data is followed by statistical comparisons of these with data collected from learners from other first language backgrounds. Such cross-cultural research serves as a testing ground for the universal application of explanations of L2 variability, and offers insights into characteristics of the interlanguages of particular groups of learners.

2. Models of Interlanguage Variability

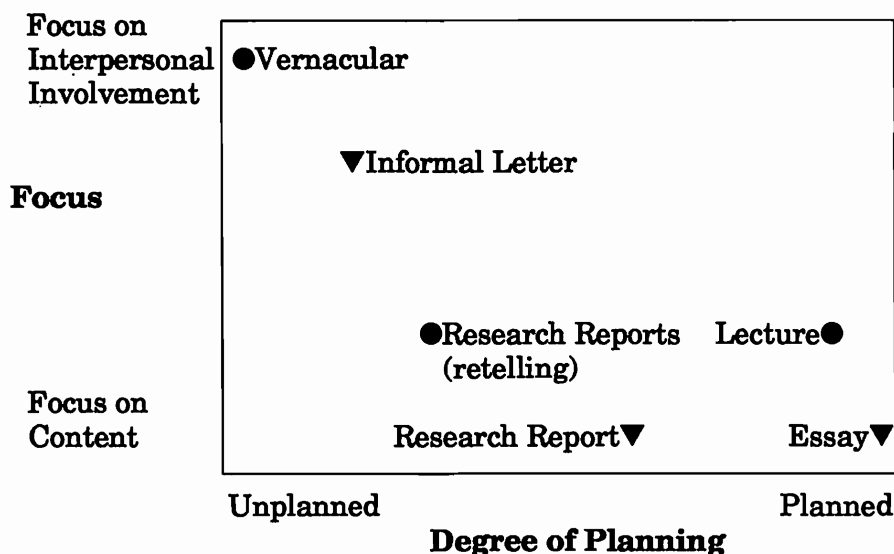
A number of different paradigms for viewing variation in interlanguage have been discussed in the SLA literature: homogeneous competence, dual competence, a capability continuum (Tarone, 1988), and multiple competence (Ellis, 1985). The homogeneous competence paradigm argues for a single dimension of language use, a unitary competence which guides language behaviour gen-

erally. The dual-competence paradigm of Krashen (1981) holds that performance based on acquisition and on learning will produce two different orders of accuracy for L2 structures deriving from an acquired competence which then may be augmented by conscious learning when conditions permit. The capability continuum paradigm of Tarone (1983) proposes that the capability underlying performance constitutes a range of styles along a continuum, and that this continuum is mainly affected by the amount of attention that is paid to speech. A multiple competence paradigm proposed by Ellis (1985) holds that interlanguage is composed of a series of variable systems which are domain specific. These are said to comprise a continuum of discourse types ranging from entirely unplanned to entirely planned.

The theoretical framework used in the present study is a multiple competence model of discourse variability which takes into account not only degree of planning but also language modality and level of interpersonal involvement (Hansen-Strain, in press-a). These parameters from orality/literacy studies (Chafe, 1982; Gee, 1986; Tannen, 1982) provide a framework for charting discourse types used within particular speech communities. In Figure 1, for example, we see several styles of English discourse represented. Within a given community, the available discourse types comprise the potential multiple competence of a language user in that community. Learning a second language involves the construction of these multiple competencies, the development of several interlanguages which are separate but overlapping in terms of role systems. The domain-specific interlanguages relate to the discourse types used by target language speakers. Through the use of this model, the types of discourse to be learned in a particular second language can be brought into focus, and compared with those in the learner's mother tongue. Such comparisons may well yield valuable insights leading to explanations for significantly different patterning of interlanguage variability between groups of L2 learners whose L1 discourse patterns differ significantly.

Evidence of the effects of first language background on task-induced variation is still quite limited. In some studies where variation is reported, the data from different L1 groups are not reported separately; in others, the subjects are drawn from a single L1 group. Tarone's 1985 study, however, provides information on

Figure 1



group differences in the use of four morphological and syntactic structures in English across three tasks. Although L1 differences in interlanguage were not a primary focus of her study, a research design providing for the separate reporting of data from the Asian and the Arabic subjects resulted in interesting evidence on group differences in variability. The elicitation tasks included a written grammar test, an oral interview, and an oral narrative. The most striking group difference in accuracy patterns was found in the production of the 3rd person singular *-s*. For the Japanese, there was no difference in accuracy for this morpheme over the three tasks, while the data from the Arabic students supported Tarone's hypothesis of decreasing accuracy as attention to form decreases (67% correct for the grammar test; 51% correct for the interview, and 39% for the narrative).

Table 1
Relative Clause Patterns in Six Languages

	English	Samoan	Tongan	Japanese	Chinese	Korean
Position with respect to head noun	Follow	Follow	Follow	Precede	Precede	Precede
Relative marker						
Obligatory	X*	—	—	—	X	X
Optional	—	X	X	—	—	—
Not used	—	—	—	X	—	—
Relative marker morphology	Variant	Variant	Invariant	—	Invariant	Invariant
Positions relativizable						
Subject	X	X	X	X	X	X
Direct Object	X	X	X	X	X	X
Indirect Object	X	X	X	X	X	X
Object of Preposition	X	X	X	X	X	X
Genitive	X	X	X	X	X	X
Object of Comparative	X	X	X	—	—	—
Pronoun Retention						
Subject	—	—	—	—	—	—
Direct Object	—	X	X	—	—	—
Indirect Object	—	X	X	—	—	—
Object of Preposition	—	X	X	—	X	—
Genitive	—	X	X	X**	X	X**
Object of Comparative	—	X	X	—	—	—

•Marker is optional when it is not a subject and not initial in its clause.
**Retention is optional in this position.

3. Relative Clause Acquisition

The relative clause, widely investigated in SLA research, is a structure which varies in a number of respects among the languages of the world. Some of the parameters of this variation are illustrated in Table 1, a summary of characteristics of relativization in the six languages included in the present study. Here we see

Table 2

Pronominal Copy Retention

Subject:	the boy that *he* came
Direct Object:	the boy that John hit *him*
Indirect Object:	the boy that I sent a letter to *him*
Object of Preposition:	the boy that I sat near *him*
Genitive:	the boy that *his** father died
Object of Comparative:	the boy that John is taller than *him*

*Note retention of genitive copy *his* precludes "whose."
Examples from Schachter (1974).

that relative clauses may precede the head noun (as in Japanese, Chinese and Korean) or may follow the head noun (as in English, Samoan, and Tongan). The relative marker may not be present at all (as in Japanese), may be obligatory (as in English, Chinese, and Korean), or may be optional (as in Samoan and Tongan). In languages where a relative marker is used, its morphology may be variant (as in English, and Samoan) or invariant as in (Tongan, Chinese, and Korean).

Languages also differ with regard to the positions which can be relativized. Little variation is seen along this parameter among the six languages included in Table 1 since they are relativizable in all six positions (Subject, Direct Object, etc.), with the exception of Object of Comparative for the three Asian languages. The languages exhibit great differences, however, in the relative clause positions which require pronoun retention, that is, retention of pronominal copies. These, as illustrated in Table 2, are inappropriate in all positions in English. In contrast, some languages of the world, such as the Polynesian languages in the present study, require pronoun retention in most positions.

The patterning of occurrence of positions that can be relativized and of positions requiring pronominal copies in the languages of the world is accounted for by a universal hierarchy of grammatical relations hypothesized by Keenan and Comrie (1977). Based on an investigation of relative clause formation strategies in a broad range of languages, this Accessibility Hierarchy (AH) suggests that there is a universal order of grammatical relations out of which

relativization can take place:

SU > DO > IO > PREP > GEN > COMP

For example:

SU (Subject)	the boy that came
DO (Direct Obj)	the boy that John hit
IO (Indirect Obj)	the boy that he spoke to
PREP (Obj of Prep)	the boy that he sat near
GEN (Genitive)	the boy whose father died
COMP (Obj of Comp)	the boy that he is taller than

This hierarchy can be interpreted as an implicational scale of markedness with the *subject* and the *object of the comparative* being respectively the least and most marked positions on the scale. If, in a given language, a relative clause can be formed with the relativizable noun phrase in a certain position, then it will also be the case that in that language one can form relative clauses with the coreferential noun phrase bearing any grammatical relation listed to the left of that particular position on the hierarchy.

In the application of AH to second language acquisition, as the basis for the prediction of accuracy and acquisition orders, relative clauses formed on the subject are predicted to be easiest to learn, those on the object of a comparative most difficult. These predictions based on AH have been confirmed in large measure by studies examining the L2 acquisition of relative clauses in English, but not for every detail in every case. For example, studies done by Pavesi (1986) and Gass (1979) found opposite patterns of acquisition with regard to the genitive position on AH. The L2 English data that were collected from Pavesi's (1986) two groups of L1 Italian subjects (EFL high school students in Italy and ESL migrant workers in Great Britain) followed the AH. (These data were elicited orally using the Hyltenstam (1984) picture test, an instrument also used in the present study). Gass (1979), on the other hand, using data collected from foreign students of various L1 backgrounds who were enrolled in a university ESL program in the United States, found more correct responses for the genitive position than would have been predicted by AH. On both sentence combining and grammatical judgment tasks (instruments also used in this study), Gass found an exception to AH predictions:

rather than maintaining its low position on the hierarchy, the genitive was second only to the subject in number of correct responses of the learners.

Keenan and Comrie's Accessibility Hierarchy has also been used as a hypothesis in accounting for the occurrence of pronominal copy retention (see Table 2) in learner language. Pronominal copies have been found in the interlanguages of second language learners from a number of language backgrounds, whether or not their L1s allowed it. Ioup and Kruse (1977) and Gass (1979) found this to be the case for L2 English, as did Hyltenstam (1984) for L2 Swedish. Further, the frequency of the copies almost always followed Keenan and Comrie's hierarchy. A comparison of copy frequencies for the Swedish learners across L1 groups, however, did indicate apparent first language influence in the *strength* and *duration* of the learners' pronominal retention strategy.

First language influence in the L2 English relative clause was also reported by Schachter (1974), who found L1 transfer to manifest itself in terms of the number of relative clauses used in the written themes of her adult ESL students, though not in terms of the number of errors that were made. The Japanese and Chinese subjects, for whom English relative constructions were predicted to be most difficult (on the basis of contrastive analyses of these languages with English), used relativized constructions far less frequently than the Arabic and Persian students in the study. Kleinmann (1978) also found that students from different first language backgrounds (Arabic, Spanish/Portuguese) showed differences in the frequency of relative clause usage.

A number of investigations of L2 relative clause acquisition, however, have found no evidence of L1 differences. Cook (1973), for example, tested comprehension by means of imitation tasks given to children acquiring English as a first language and to adult second language learners. Since the error types for both groups are similar, Cook concluded that native language transfer does not play a significant role in learning. The same conclusion was reached by Ioup and Kruse (1977) who elicited grammaticality judgments from university ESL learners and found nonsignificant differences between groups based on language background.

In the L2 research literature reviewed here, we see quite divergent views as to the influence of first language background on

relative clause acquisition. The contradictory findings may not seem so surprising, though, considering the broad array of different data collection procedures that were used in these studies: grammatical judgments, picture elicitation, essays, imitation tasks, and sentence combining. From the perspective of a multicompetence model of interlanguage, these different methods of data collection could be seen as accessing separate interlanguage competencies, each by itself providing an incomplete picture of the language that had been learned. The present investigation differs from previous ones in that a more complete picture is elicited through the use of seven different instruments administered to the same subjects. These include production as well as comprehension tasks, both oral and written. The research questions posed are the following:

1. What is the patterning of the Japanese performance profile for the relative clause eliciation tasks?
2. Does the relative clause performance of the Japanese learners differ significantly from that of other L1 groups in:
   a) performance profiles over the various elicitation tasks?
   b) the extent to which L2 relative clause comprehension and production follow Accessibility Hierarchy predictions?
   c) pronominal copy errors in L2 relative clause production?

4. Method

4.1 Subjects.

Fifteen Japanese ESL learners participated in the study, together with 15 learners from each of four other L1 backgrounds: Chinese, Korean, Samoan, and Tongan. The subjects were randomly selected from ESL reading classes in the English Language Institute at Brigham Young University–Hawaii. The 38 male and 37 female students were from the four proficiency levels at the institute, with scores ranging between 46 and 84 on the Michigan Test of English Language Proficiency (MTELP), the external criterion used for this study. They ranged in age from 17 to 29. Table 3 is a breakdown by culture of means for MTELP scores. A one-way ANOVA (analysis of variance of means) by culture for the five groups indicates no significant difference between them in

Table 3

MTELP Scores by Culture

Culture	MTELP Mean	S.D.	N
Samoan	69	8.5	15
Tongan	68	10.3	15
Japanese	67	9.1	15
Chinese	72	7.2	15
Korean	68	13.3	15
(*p*	n.s.	n.a.	n.a.)

their English proficiency level as measured by the Michigan Test. In addition to the 75 second language learners, 15 native speakers of standard American English, university students between the ages of 17 and 21, were included in the study as an L1 comparison group for five of the instruments.

4.2 Materials and procedures.

Relative clause data were collected using seven different instruments: 1) aural comprehension; 2) picture test; 3) oral retelling; 4) written retelling; 5) essay; 6) sentence combining; and 7) grammatical judgments. Of these 1, 2, and 3 are oral/aural tasks; 4, 5, 6, and 7 are written.

The *aural comprehension test* consists of two sets of recorded sentences, each set containing two of each of nine relative clause sentence types (SS, SO, SI; OS, OO, OI; IS, IO, II; e.g., SS: *the cow that hit* the dog *(V)* (O); OS: (S) *(V) the horse that hit* the dog; IS: (S) *(V) to the cow that hit* the horse; etc.). Subjects were tested individually and assigned randomly to either set. The tester was a senior TESL major at BYUH, a 23-year-old native speaker of English from Alaska. She required the students to act out the sentences they heard using toy animals, following Sheldon's (1974) procedure. Four different animals were used: "cow," "horse," "dog," and "pig." The verbs used were "bumped," "hit," "killed," and "pushed" (taking direct objects) and "shouted to" and "whispered to" (taking indirect objects). The taped sentences were each presented twice with a subsequent 15-second pause. As the subject

manipulated the animals, the investigator recorded the responses on a coding sheet.

The *picture test* is the instrument developed by Hyltenstam (1984) for his study of the acquisition of Swedish relative clause structures by second language learners. The material consists of six posters, one for each NP position on Keenan and Comrie's (1977) Accessibility Hierarchy (see above). On each poster there are eight pictures: two each of men, women, boys, and girls; two verbs are portrayed on each poster. The eight pictures are numbered 1 to 8, and the subjects' task is to orally identify the person in each numbered picture in answer to the question, "Who is number X?" The subjects were tested individually as follows: first five responses were elicited for each poster, and then one response each for the six posters. The interviews, which lasted from about 10 to 25 minutes, were audio-taped and later coded by the experimenter, the same native-speaking research assistant who administered the aural comprehension test.

The *oral and written retellings* were of a 500-word passage, a summary of Suter's (1976) study of "Factors in Pronunciation Achievement." After subjects had been asked to study the passage for fifteen minutes, the reading and any notes they had made were collected by the examiner, a teacher in the English Language Institute. For the written retelling, the students were then given twenty minutes to write what they had read; and for the oral retelling, twenty minutes to retell it into a cassette recorder.

The *sentence combining* instrument is the one used by Gass (1979). Subjects were presented with twelve pairs of sentences and were instructed to combine each pair to form one English sentence. Each pair of sentences represented one step on the Accessibility Hierarchy, with six items in pre-verb (subject) position and six in post-verb (object) position. The instructions attempted to preclude the writing of sentences other than those containing relative clauses.

The *grammatical judgments* task (Gass 1979) requires judgments of 29 sentences of which 13 are grammatical and 16 ungrammatical. The ungrammatical sentences represent four error types: (a) relative clause marker omission; (b) pronoun retention; (c) relative clause marker morphology; and (d) adjacency. After reading

each of the sentences, the subjects simply indicated whether they considered it to be grammatical or ungrammatical.

All L2 data were collected during the fall 1986 semester in the English Language Institute. The written retellings were collected in September, and the picture elicitation, oral comprehension, grammatical judgments, and sentence combining data during October and November. The oral retellings were collected in December, as were the essays, which were part of a final examination test battery.

5. Results

5.1 Japanese performance profile

In order to facilitate the comparison of relative clause performance across elicitation tasks, the accuracy scores (for aural comprehension (AC), picture test (PT), sentence combining (SC), and grammatical judgments (GJ)) and frequency totals (for oral retelling (OR), written retelling (WR), and essay (R)) were calculated and converted to z-scores (i.e., the percentage means and numerical means of the two types of instruments were converted to their standard deviations above (+) and below (-) their individual means). Table 4 shows the distribution of these z-scores for each of the seven instruments by culture. The three tests on the left of the chart are in the spoken modality; the four on the right the written. The Degree of Planning continuum (see Figure 1) extends, on the left, from least opportunity for planning to most planning opportunity on the right. The continuum for Focus begins at the top with most interpersonal involvement (spontaneous) and extends to complete concern with content at the bottom. Figure 2 represents the L2 data from Table 4 in graph form.

The patterning of variability in the Japanese performance profile shows that accuracy is lowest for the instruments on the left side of the chart, the oral/aural tests which allow least opportunity for planning and most personal involvement. In other words, the competence of the Japanese subjects to comprehend spoken sentences containing relative clauses and to use them in spoken discourse appears low when compared with the abilities they demonstrate in using the same constructions in writing.

Table 4

Z-Scores* for Seven Tasks by Culture

Culture	AC	PT	OR	WR	E	SC	GJ
Samoan	.918	.577	.432	.000	.268	-.125	-.021
Tongan	.737	.122	.199	-.440	.354	-.379	-.008
Japanese	-.492	-.401	-.097	.250	-.073	.557	-.046
Chinese	-.703	-.054	-.052	.059	-.207	-.148	.038
Korean	-.360	-.237	-.554	-.059	-.304	.066	.037
(p <	.001	.05	.05	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.)

*+/- standard deviations for percentage means (AC, PT, SC, GJ) and numerical means (OR, WR, E).

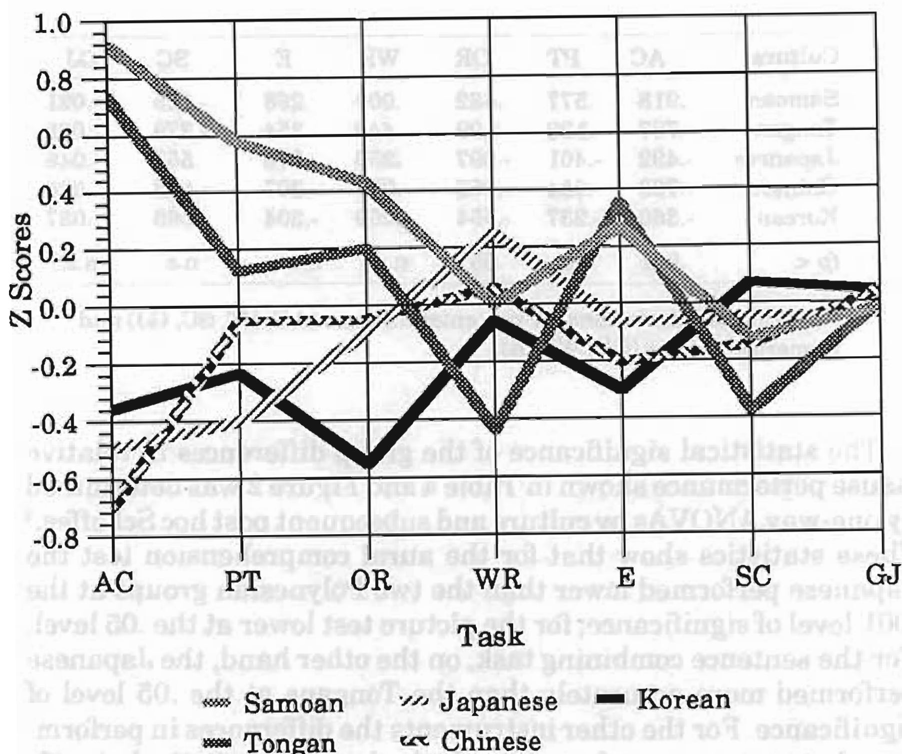
The statistical significance of the group differences in relative clause performance shown in Table 4 and Figure 2 was determined by one-way ANOVAs by culture and subsequent post hoc Scheffes.[2] These statistics show that for the aural comprehension test the Japanese performed lower than the two Polynesian groups at the .001 level of significance; for the picture test lower at the .05 level. For the sentence combining task, on the other hand, the Japanese performed more accurately than the Tongans at the .05 level of significance. For the other instruments the differences in performance between groups do not reach the level of statistical significance.

5.2 Comparison of performance profiles

Turning to the research questions, we find that although the five groups of ESL learners are at the same level of English proficiency (as determined by the ANOVA of MTELP scores by culture), there are highly significant group differences in performance on three of the elicitation tests. On the one hand, the performance of the Japanese students falls below that of the Polynesians on the oral/aural tasks which offer minimal opportunity for planning and a maximum of personal involvement (aural comprehension and picture test); on the other hand, the Japanese students' accuracy exceeds that of the Polynesians on a written task with maximum

Figure 2

Relative Clause Z-Scores for Seven Tasks by Culture



opportunity for planning and a minimum of personal involvement. In general these findings suggest that the Japanese students comprehend relative clause constructions less well than the Polynesians in the spoken modality (aural comprehension test), and that they form sentences containing relative clauses less accurately in spoken English (picture test) than they do in written English (sentence combining).

As shown in Table 5, the aural comprehension instrument elicited the most striking group differences in performance. An item analysis given in Table 6 shows that for eight of the nine sentence types on the test the Tongans' and the Samoans' comprehension far exceeded that of the Japanese and other Asian groups.

Table 5

Aural Comprehension Test Descriptive Statistics by Culture

Culture	Mean	S.D.	N
Samoan	15.3	1.4	14
Tongan	14.3	3.2	15
Japanese	7.7	4.7	15
Chinese	6.6	4.8	14
Korean	8.4	5.1	14
L1 English	17.2	1.6	15

(L2 groups: $p < .001$)

The exception is the SS type, the most accessible of all in terms of the AH hypothesis; it was understood well by all.

It is interesting to compare these results from the aural comprehension test, on one end of the planning and interpersonal involvement continua, to those from the task on the other end, the grammatical judgments test. Table 7 gives the descriptive statistics for this instrument, and Table 8 a breakdown of performance for each sentence type. In sharp contrast with the aural comprehension test, the differences between the L1 groups in performance on the grammatical judgments were not significant for the test as a whole, nor for any of the positions on the hierarchy.

Table 6

Aural Comprehension Mean Test Scores for the Nine Sentence Types by Culture

Culture	SS	SO	SI	OS	OO	OI	IS	IO	II
Samoan	1.5	1.2	1.5	1.7	1.6	1.7	1.6	1.6	1.9
Tongan	1.7	1.3	1.2	1.6	0.2	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.6
Japanese	1.7	0.7	0.6	0.5	0.8	1.1	0.6	0.5	1.0
Chinese	1.6	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.6	1.1	0.4	0.6	0.9
Korean	1.5	0.6	0.8	0.7	0.8	1.2	0.9	0.9	1.1
L1 English	2.0	1.8	1.9	1.9	2.0	1.9	1.9	1.9	1.8

(ANOVAs were not run.)

Table 7

Grammatical Judgments Descriptive Statistics by Culture

Culture	Mean	S.D.	N
Samoan	33.4	2.8	15
Tongan	34.1	3.1	15
Japanese	32.6	4.1	15
Chinese	35.6	3.4	15
Korean	35.6	4.4	15
L1 English	45.1	1.2	15

(L2 groups: $p <$ n.s. for all categories)

Although significant group differences in relative clause performance were not found for the paper-pencil tests (written retelling, essay, sentence combining, and grammatical judgments), the significant differences in performance on the other tasks (aural comprehension, picture test, and oral retelling) do warrant the conclusion that the Japanese performance profile does differ significantly from the other L1 groups, and (as seen in Table 4 and Figure 2) most sharply with the two Polynesian groups. The Japanese subjects appear to know English relative clauses better when they are tested using written tests, which allow more plan-

Table 8

Percentage Correct on Grammatical Judgments Task for AH Positions by Culture

LI Group	SU	DO	IO	GEN	COMP
Samoan	78	82	60	70	43
Tongan	74	80	53	70	43
Japanese	78	72	57	83	53
Chinese	65	68	40	80	36
Korean	67	60	51	70	40
L1 English	88	91	88	98	86

(L2 groups: $p <$ n.s. for all categories)

Table 9

Sentence Combining Test Mean Scores
for Relative Clause Types by Culture

LI Group	SU	DO	IO	Prep	Gen	Comp
Samoan	1.66	1.53	1.00	.40	.80	.73
Tongan	1.43	1.29	.71	.43	.78	.71
Japanese	1.47	1.66	1.73	.73	1.60	1.00
Chinese	1.40	1.20	1.00	.40	1.33	.73
Korean	1.48	1.21	1.14	.71	1.28	.93
(*p* <	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	.05	n.s.)

Picture Test Mean Scores for Relative Clause Types by Culture

LI Group	SU	DO	IO	Prep	Gen	Comp
Samoan	5.0	4.6	5.3	4.7	4.8	5.3
Tongan	5.7	4.9	4.7	4.7	4.6	4.0
Japanese	5.6	4.5	3.5	3.2	4.9	3.7
Chinese	5.7	5.8	4.1	3.3	5.1	3.6
Korean	5.6	4.4	3.6	3.3	5.3	3.6
(*p* < n.s. for all categories)						

ning and less interpersonal involvement. For the Polynesians, on the other hand, the relative clause acquisition level appears to be higher when aural/oral elicitation tasks with minimum planning and maximum personal involvement are used.

5.3 Accessibility Hierarchy

In answering the question concerning group differences in the predictive accuracy of the Accessibility Hierarchy, we turn to analyses of responses given on the four instruments which specifically elicit relative clause performance on the AH positions: the aural comprehension and grammatical judgments task data presented above, together with the picture test and sentence combining task data. Table 9 gives the mean group scores on the latter two tests for the six sentence types on the hierarchy. These figures

indicate that the subjects in our study do follow the predictions of AH, with one notable exception, the genitive position. Like Gass' (1979) subjects (but unlike those of Pavesi, 1986), the ESL learners in the present study find relative clauses formed on genitives to be considerably easier than their low place on the hierarchy would predict.

Group differences on the genitive position are seen in comparing the L1 data, however. Three of the elicitation instruments are relevant for the comparison: picture test, sentence combining, and grammatical judgments (the aural comprehension test cannot provide evidence on the genitive since it elicited only the first three positions on the hierarchy). On the picture elicitation the performance of the Japanese students and that of the other Asian groups follows the predictions of the accessibility hierarchy, with the exception of the genitive. Both of the Polynesian groups, on the other hand, have high scores for all test items, with slight differences in performance between the six sentence types. On the sentence combining test, again we see high scores on the genitive for the Asian groups, with the Japanese differing from the Polynesians on this position statistically, at the .05 level, as indicated by a one-way ANOVA by culture and post hoc Scheffe analysis. Although the South Pacific students also score higher on the genitive than predicted by AH, still their control of relative clauses formed on this position appears to be at a lower level relative to other positions on the hierarchy than their Asian classmates. The performance on the grammatical judgments test (Table 7) shows the most uniformity of the three tests among the L1 groups. In fact, no significant group differences are found for any of the sentence types (although we notice again a trend for higher scores on the genitive for Japanese and Chinese than for Polynesians), and again clear evidence of higher scores overall for clauses formed on genitives than predicted by AH. In comparing group performance across these three tasks then, we see that the facilitation of the genitive position, although present across all five groups of learners, is more pronounced for the Japanese subjects than for the Polynesians.

A further source of evidence on group differences in the applicability of Keenan and Comrie's AH to learner language is the *frequency* of the six relative clause types in L2 spoken and written discourse. Such frequencies are presented in Table 10 for the oral

Table 10

Picture Test Mean Scores for Relative Clause Types by Culture

Oral Retelling

LI Group	SU	DO	IO	Prep	Gen	Comp
Samoan	4.6	2.5	0.2	1.1	0.2	0.0
Tongan	3.4	3.1	0.0	0.5	0.2	0.0
Japanese	3.8	1.1	0.0	0.2	0.2	0.0
Chinese	3.7	1.3	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.0
Korean	2.2	1.1	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0
American	4.4	2.0	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.0

Written Retelling

LI Group	SU	DO	IO	Prep	Gen	Comp
Samoan	1.1	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0
Tongan	0.5	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0
Japanese	1.2	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0
Chinese	1.5	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Korean	1.4	0.10	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
American	1.2	0.5	0.0	0.3	0.1	0.0

Essay

LI Group	SU	DO	IO	Prep	Gen	Comp
Samoan	2.9	2.9	0.0	0.8	0.0	0.0
Tongan	4.0	2.7	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0
Japanese	2.6	1.8	0.1	0.4	0.0	0.0
Chinese	1.6	1.4	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0
Korean	1.2	1.3	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0
American	3.1	2.2	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0

(ANOVAs were not run.)

Table 11

Z-Scores for Copy Retention Errors by Culture

Culture	PT	OR	WR	E	SC	GJ
Samoan	.458	.150	.072	.459	.163	.230
Tongan	.013	.300	.655	.122	.742	.411
Japanese	-.156	-.275	-.250	-.230	-.437	-.600
Chinese	-.035	.075	-.127	-.230	-.228	.041
Korean	-.287	-.275	-.250	-.230	-.197	-.096
(p <	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s	0.1	0.1)

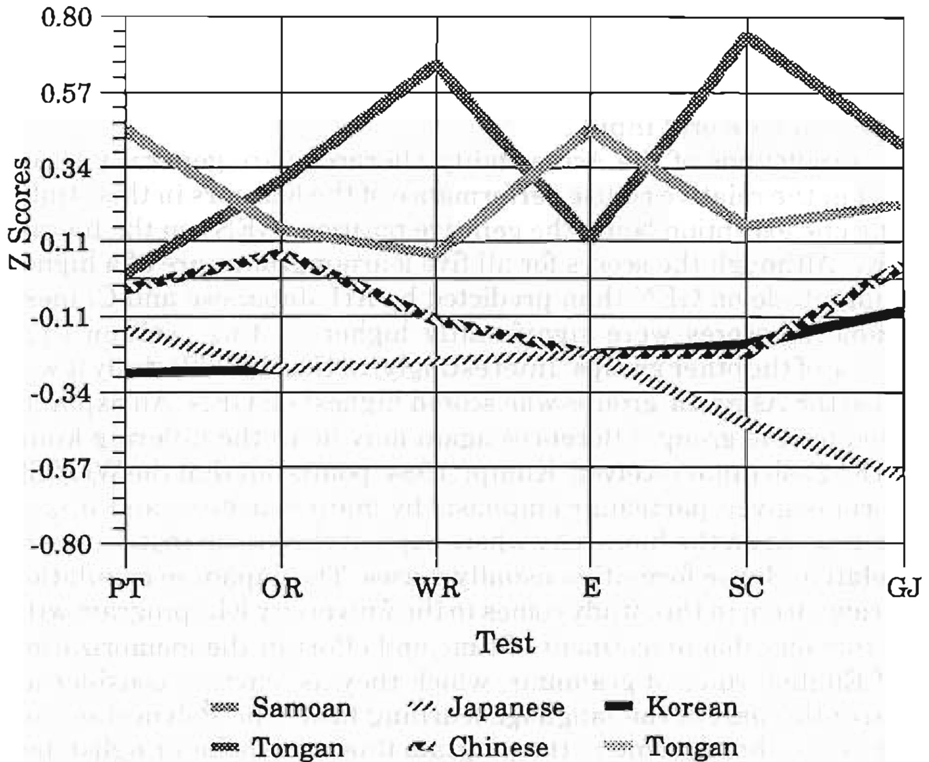
and written retellings and the essay. The means in the table represent the mean number of relative clauses appearing per subject in the data from each L1 group. Notice that for each of the three tasks and for all of the L1 groups the pattern of use of the relative constructions does generally follow predictions of the hierarchy. Relatives formed on subjects are by far the most frequent, with those on direct objects next. Slight deviations from the predicted frequencies appear on the lower positions which are all characterized by low numbers of occurrence. For all three tasks more relatives are formed on objects of prepositions than on indirect objects, counter to AH predictions, and a trend can be noted for the Polynesians to relativize on the Prep position more frequently than the Asians do.

5.4 Copy retention

Finally, turning to our question concerning the incidence of copy retention errors on the elicitation tasks, Table 11 and Figure 3 summarize the z-scores for pronominal copy frequency. The mean z-scores represent the total number of pronominal or nominal copies used by each Ll group, so the larger the number on the table and the higher the line on the chart, the more copies were used in the interlanguage of that group. Notice that in most cases it is the Japanese students who make the fewest copy errors. For all of the tests, it is the South Pacific students who make more copy errors than do the Asian groups, just as contrastive analyses of their

Figure 3

Copy Retention Errors by Culture



respective first languages with English would predict. For the sentence combining and the grammatical judgments the group differences were significant, at the .01 level, as determined by one-way ANOVAs by culture.

6. Discussion

The present study shows contextual variability in the relative clause performance of Japanese learners of English. Their performance profile (Figure 2) for the elicitation tasks shows lower accuracy on listening comprehension and speaking tests than on written ones. A factor in the patterning of this variation may be the

limited exposure to spoken English discourse which Japanese learners experience in the EFL learning context of Japan. These data indicate also that the kind of discourse learners experience *is* what they learn. In terms of a multiple competence model of variation, a competency in an oral style with minimal planning and maximal interpersonal involvement demands for its development the requisite oral input .

Predictions of the Accessibility Hierarchy are generally borne out in the relative clause performance of the learners in this study, the one exception being the genitive position (GEN) on the hierarchy. Although the scores for all five learner groups are of a higher magnitude on GEN than predicted by AH, Japanese and Chinese subjects' scores were significantly higher on this position than those of the other groups. Interestingly, in Gass' (1979) study it was also the Asian L1 groups who scored highest on GEN. An explanation for the group differences again may lie in the differing kinds of English input received. Kumpf (1984) points out that the WHOSE form is given particular emphasis by many teachers, and it is at that point on the hierarchy where explicit classroom instruction in relative clause formation usually ceases. The Japanese population drawn from in this study comes to the university ELI program with a considerable investment of time and effort in the memorization of English rules of grammar, which they as learners consider an essential part of the language learning task. The Polynesians, on the other hand, come to the program fluent in spoken English but with little background or interest in learning explicit grammar rules. It may be the greater emphasis on grammatical form in Asian instructional settings, in this case a greater emphasis on the structure of relative clauses formed on GEN, that contributes to the Japanese students' relatively high performance on them.

The low incidence of pronominal copy errors in the Japanese data in comparison with the Polynesian appears to stem from structural properties of the mother tongues. Contrastive analyses would predict, due to the lower occurrence of copies in Japanese than in Samoan and Tongan, that the Japanese would indeed commit fewer copy retention errors in English than their Polynesian classmates. Furthermore, principles of Universal Grammar absolutely predict that since the presence of pronominal copies in a

language is marked, if found in a learner's L1, copy retention will be carried over into the L2 (White 1987).

Summarizing, then, the answers to the questions posed at the beginning of this paper, we have found that Japanese learners of English form relative clauses more accurately and understand them better in the written modality than the spoken. In comparison with L1 groups of the same English proficiency level from oral cultures in the South Pacific, they (a) performed significantly lower on the aural comprehension test ($p > .0001$) and on the oral picture test ($p > .05$); (b) formed genitive relative clauses with greater accuracy in comparison with their accuracy on other positions on the Accessibility Hierarchy; and (c) made significantly fewer pronominal copy errors.

The findings of the study are compatible with a multiple competence model of SLA. They suggest not only that interlanguage varies systematically across elicitation tasks, but also that the patterning of this variability differs significantly between groups from different first language backgrounds. A homogeneous competence model appears to offer little in the way of explanation for these phenomena. Viewed within the framework of a multiple competence paradigm of variation, however, these data can be seen as deriving from separate interlanguage competences which develop uniquely for each group of learners according to the features of L2 (and possibly L1) discourse experienced in the native culture, both in and out of the classroom.

These findings have important implications for language test selection and interpretation. As Tarone (1985) has pointed out, most teachers assume that learners' speech performance will probably be less accurate than their performance on a paper-and-pencil classroom test. The results presented here, however, support Tarone's observation based on her own data that "it may be that when ESL students argue that classroom tests do not really measure their ability to speak English grammatically, they are right" (p. 386).

Based on the findings of the present study, we could add that learners from some L1 backgrounds are "more right" than others in making this assessment of the testing of their second language proficiency. The discrepancy between accuracy in performance on oral

and written tasks tends to be greater for some groups of learners than for others and, in fact, may be in opposite directions for different groups. For example, the Polynesians' comparatively high level of relative clause mastery as indicated on aural/oral tests is belied by their lower scores on written tasks. Their Asian classmates, on the other hand, generally appear to have lower relative clause competence on the aural/oral tests than they do on the written.

Thus, in addition to the obvious general implications of contextual variability research for language testing, the findings of the present study have particular applications to test selection and interpretation in multicultural contexts. Social and ethical considerations in such settings favor the development of proficiency profiles based on a number of different tests (Evans and Hansen-Strain, 1986; Spolsky, 1987). The use of several proficiency measures in identifying such profiles can help to uncover group biases or performance tendencies which may be inherent in particular testing techniques.

In affirming an SLA model which recognizes language variability, the present research also recommends approaches to language teaching which are based on the acquisition of multiple competences in the target language. In an important paper which examines second language teaching within a framework of interlanguage variability, Ellis (1987b) stresses the dual contribution of formal as well as informal instruction; of accuracy as well as fluency. He suggests that these can be fostered by a parallel syllabus incorporating both product and process elements leading to materials that contain a broad range of discourse types. The assumption is that in classroom language learning the development of multiple competencies rests on the availability of opportunities to take part in different kinds of classroom interaction.

The variability patterns reported in this study suggest that the emphasis in Japanese EFL classrooms is on planned, written styles with little interpersonal involvement. As teachers we need to be aware that learning to perform in such careful styles is quite different from learning how to perform in unplanned spoken ones. As Ellis (1987b) comments, "Because different kinds of knowledge and different processes of language use are involved in different discourse types, it cannot be expected that the acquisition of one

style will facilitate the use of another style" (p. 192). Thus a primary concern of a second language teacher is to insure a match between the interactional opportunities available to the learner and the kind of competence the teaching is designed to produce.

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Notes

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2. The Scheffes procedure is used to identify where differences occur for means shown by the ANOVAs to be significant.

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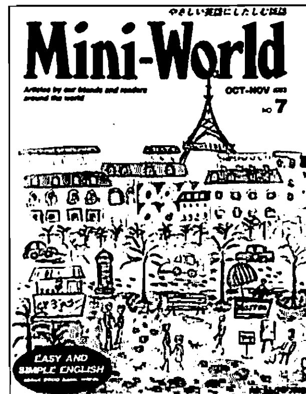

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Point to Point

Some Comments on "Team-Teaching in Japan: The Koto-Ku Project"

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1. Introduction

In his paper, "Team-Teaching In Japan: The Koto-Ku Project," (*JALT Journal* 11[1], pp. 68-77), Peter Sturman has presented a clear picture of both the Koto-ku Project and some of the problems faced by teachers in team teaching situations in Japan. I would agree that the project represents a successful example of a program which is "quite different to most situations in Japan" (p. 69). However, because of its uniqueness, it is important to point out to teachers not familiar with the various "native speaker in the classroom" (NSIC) programs throughout Japan that some elements which have proven successful in the Koto-ku Project may not necessarily be appropriate or transferable to other projects. This paper, based on my two and one-half years experience teaching in a junior high school NSIC program in Tokyo, will point out three areas of difference—organization and aims, teaching, and measurement of "success"—between the Koto-ku Project and the "one-shot," where students and native-speaker teachers (NSTs) see each other only one time. Additionally, it will question some of Sturman's suggestions for the roles of native speaker teachers and Japanese teachers (JTs).

2. Organization and Aims

The principal organizational difference between the Koto-ku Project and the one-shot is the frequency and regularity of class meetings. The Koto-ku Project, in contrast to the one-shot, is

organized around regularly scheduled classes. Its lessons are "conducted in a series of stages" (p. 72), a teaching strategy made possible by that program's built-in continuity. On the other hand, students in a one-shot program undergo what might best be described as a "language experience" rather than a lesson. Thus, each program's organization has a major impact on what is done in the classroom. Although the aims of the two programs do not differ in content, their relative importance is different. The first two aims of the Koto-ku Project are to "improve students' spoken English" and to "instill greater confidence in listening and speaking" (p. 69). However, the principal goal of the one-shot program is to motivate students in their study of English. This is done in two ways.

First, every aspect of a one-shot lesson is focused on students' enjoyment of their language experience because, if classes are enjoyable, "students will use English simply to do the task successfully" (Hoskins, 1986, p. 28).

The second way of generating motivation is by making the experience **unique**. The one-shot accomplishes this by creating an atypical classroom environment, not only through the presence of an NST and the observable interaction between him or her and the JT, but also from the novelty of a lesson focused on communicating in the target language. As Hayashi states, "during classes with a native speaker the 'English for entrance exams' attitude should be cast aside. . ." (1987). Although the JT's willingness to "cast aside" varies from teacher to teacher, for the most part I found them more than eager to create such an experience for their students.

3. Teaching

There are also significant differences in the teaching of the two projects, especially in the areas of lesson content and measurement of success.

3.1 Lesson content

According to Sturman, the teaching in the Koto-ku Project focuses on "practical" lessons which are based on a Monbusho-approved textbook (pp. 70-71). Thus, lessons are based on a "top down" approach and reflect a decision by "higher-ups" as to the

needs of "typical" first-year junior high school students. Although one-shot lessons are practical in the sense that they too reflect a careful selection of familiar vocabulary and grammatical structures, they differ in approach to the lesson, as well as in content. Because one-shot teachers are not restricted to a textbook containing a series of "approved" activities, they have a great deal of flexibility in tailoring lessons to the needs of individual classes. As a result, one-shot lessons reflect a "bottom up" approach, with their content based on carefully selected communicative-based materials.

More specifically, lessons in a one-shot class are generally based on a combination of language games, activities involving NST/individual student interaction, and music. Although language games are sometimes dismissed as simply "entertainment" because they are not integrated into the normal curriculum (Smith, 1988), they provide an excellent medium for achieving the one-shot's goal. Games may be old "standards," such as hangman, or original creations developed by the JTs especially for their students. Language games, both new and old, provide excellent opportunities for communicative language use among students, as well as between teachers and students.

In activities where NST/student interaction is the goal, students may individually ask questions they have prepared concerning the NST's life, or the NST and students may introduce themselves to each other and shake hands. To students who have never even spoken to a non-Japanese—much less touched one!—this opportunity provides a memorable as well as entertaining introduction to western culture.

Music, the third activity, is also an essential part of an entertaining language experience. In planning the lesson, the music that students know and like is discussed and at least one such activity that reflects either their "repertoire" or their interest is selected. Students may perform a song prepared for their annual choral contest, sing a Beatles' song, or learn a new song. Whether the students perform a familiar song or learn a new one, "singing is certainly one of the activities which generates the greatest enthusiasm" (Papa & Iantorno, 1979), and enthusiasm is a basic ingredient of enjoyment.

3.2 Measurement of Success

Finally, the success of both projects can only be evaluated in terms of their stated aims. The first aim of the Koto-ku Project, "to improve students' spoken English" (p. 69), is a measurable one so students in the Koto-ku Project are tested and their test results are examined and compared. On the other hand, the "motivation to further study" goal of the one-shot program is unmeasurable by any standard gauge. It can only be assumed that students' enjoyment of the experience carries over into their language study. However, the following student comment (translated from Japanese) may best reflect the success of the one-shot: "Today's class was the first time for me to speak to a native speaker and I was very anxious. It was interesting. At the beginning I thought one hour was very long but afterwards I thought it was very short. Someday I want to have such a lesson again."

4. The Roles of NST and JT

At one point in his article, Sturman ventures out of his area of expertise and makes several suggestions for classes "where students only see an NST once or twice" (p. 73). In this section he states three reasons why the NST should not dominate these one-shot lessons; however, I will argue that NSTs should dominate them.

Sturman's first point is that "it is important that the students respect their JT, and therefore the relationship between the JT and NST in the classroom must show the students that both teachers are equally responsible and capable" (p. 74). I would agree that respect and the determination of responsibilities are two crucial factors in a team teaching situation. However, my definition of each differs from Sturman's. First, student respect for the JT is the result of an on-going relationship, not a seventy-minute, one-time language experience. And second, although both the JT and the NST are equally responsible for the success of a class, the JT's area of responsibility lies principally outside the one-shot class because the JT alone prepares students for the experience by screening the questions they have prepared for the NST, by giving them opportunities to practice asking those questions, by working with them in practicing activities in which they are directly involved, and by

giving them a "cultural preview" of a lesson with an NST. On the other hand, although both the NST and the JT share the responsibility for determining the content of the language experience, the NST's role **during** the one-shot is in some ways similar to that of an entertainer. As Ferguson states, "a quality class given to a student who comes to enjoy himself is given by a quality teacher-entertainer" (Hoskins, 1986, p. 28). Thus, if students bring with them the expectation of "let's have fun," an idea fostered by the JT, it is then the principal responsibility of the NST to fulfill that expectation.

Sturman's second point is that "it is valuable that the students believe their JT's English is good, so both teachers should be equally responsible for pronunciation drilling" (p. 74). I would argue that, for two reasons, this statement is invalid. First, students who are taught by a JT who uses English as the medium of instruction rather than a basis for translation will respect their JT's English ability, with or without the further corroboration of one-to-one NST/JT interaction. Second, there are some JTs who do not have the linguistic competence to converse with the NST, particularly in front of a class of 40+ students. In those instances, silently handing a piece of paper to the JT about a pronunciation problem, as Sturman suggests (p. 74), is not the solution to the basic problem.

Sturman's third point is that

> it is essential that the JTs be fully aware of the purpose of and procedure for any language exercise so that she or he can be equally responsible for initiation and explanation of listening and speaking exercises, pairwork, groupwork, and open class exercises. (74)

Although I agree with Sturman's point regarding equal responsibility for purpose and procedure, I would point out that pairwork and groupwork are rarely appropriate in a one-shot, unless students are already familiar with this type of configuration.

5. Conclusion

In conclusion, both the Koto-ku Project and the one-shot represent successful examples of native speaker in the classroom pro-

> Among the most common errors that these [deaf] individuals make is the recurrent use of patterns that do not correspond with the inflectional morphology (e.g., in verb tense and agreement), the misuse of function words (e.g., articles and prepositions), and various other errors (e.g., incorrect subcategorizations, inappropriate use of coordinating and subordinating conjunctions, and/or anomalies in constitutent structure). (p. 6)

The fact that similar linguistic deviations commonly occur in these three distinctly different types of learners suggests that genetic coding of the human mind may exert a powerful control over this set of learning behaviors. Some would use this evidence to argue that linguistic universals play an intrinsic role in the development of language acquisition in humans.

The "natural order" of learning as outlined by Krashen (1981) and discussed in depth by Chomsky in his Managua Lectures (1988) is very much to the point here. Krashen, of course, holds that acquisition of language is a manifestation of an internalized syllabus "without substantial interruption or contribution from the conscious grammar" (1981, p. 52). Chomsky also supports this view:

> In the case of language there is a special faculty that is a central element of the human mind. It operates quickly, in a deterministic fashion, unconsciously and beyond the limits of awareness and in a manner that is common to the species, yielding a rich and complex system of knowledge, a particular language. (1988, p. 157)

This discussion seems to have taken us very far from language learning and deafness, yet the theoretical implications noted above are as relevant to those with hearing loss as they are for other populations of language learners—including the mentally handicapped (Berry, 1976), ESL students (Collier, 1987; Kellerman & Smith, 1986; Pica, 1984), and children within pidgin or creole cultures (Lehiste, 1988; Romaine, 1988).

The lesson to be learned here is that in spite of limited input and other types of interference, human beings acquire language simply because language acquisition is an intrinsic feature of our genetic programming.

Even though language acquisition is largely a problem-solving activity using heuristic principles, this process is not an easy one for some humans. The "natural order" relies on comprehensible input (cf. Pica et al. 1987) as well as healthy auditory-vocal equipment, and undamaged brain structures. Therefore, as learners' handicaps increase in severity, the less likely it is that their four language skills will meet the linguistic norms set by the general speech community. The internal syllabus cannot process information it never receives and may process inaccurately information that is only partially received or distorted. These, then, are the hurdles which the prelingually deaf must overcome.

In a study reported by Strong (1988), deaf children with hearing parents are compared with deaf children with deaf parents. Children in the latter group regularly enjoyed a much higher rate of linguistic and academic success than those in the former category. Strong hypothesizes that the nurturing of learning through comprehensible input contributed greatly to their overall linguistic maturation.

Reviewed by David Wardell
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TESTING ENGLISH FOR UNIVERSITY STUDY. Arthur Hughes (Ed.). [Hong Kong]: Modern English Publications and the British Council, 1988. 154 pp.

Testing English for University Study is a collection of papers that presents, in the words of the editors, "something of the current thinking and practice of British language testing." As this quotation suggests, it is not aimed at beginners in the testing field. The authors quite freely use the terms and concepts needed by professional test developers. Readers also need some knowledge of statistics. Furthermore, the tests in question are not for classroom use, but are used to determine whether people can study at university. Nevertheless, provided that one has at least a nodding acquaintance with basic testing terminology (e.g., the various kinds of validity and reliability) and the process of basic test construction, one can gain quite a lot from reading this book.

Overview

The focus of the book is the development of two tests intended to help determine whether the test takers have enough English ability to study in an English-language university. One test was developed for universities in England, and the other for English-medium Bogazici University in Turkey. Test development took as its starting point current thinking about the structure of language ability. Consequently, *communicative competence* and *language testing for specific purposes* serve as the main testing constructs.

The book is divided into two parts. Part one deals with theoretical issues. What is communicative language testing (CLT), that is, what kinds of tests are needed to measure communicative ability? How specific does one need to become in testing for specific purposes? How does one go about establishing the validity of a test? The final issue is closely connected with validity: In communicative language teaching/testing, does one really need to make a distinction between testing for achievement and testing for proficiency?

Part two deals with the actual development of the two tests. The three papers show how one applies the theory of testing to a specific situation and how practical considerations force one to make compromises with theory. For example, before administering any

important test, one usually needs to pre-test it to find any faulty design features. However, in the case of Bogazici University in Turkey, test security considerations made pre-testing impossible.

Both parts illustrate very well that the writing of tests is a balancing act. One has to balance validity against reliability, theory against operationalization of theory, scholarly restraint against need for action, and strict test construction methods against practicality.

Part 1

Alan Davies in the first paper, "Communicative Language Testing," tries to pin down the subject matter. To show the diversity of work done under the rubric of communicative language testing, he delineates what he sees as five approaches to CLT: 1) the integrative approach (e.g., FSI Oral Interviews); 2) the authentic approach (e.g., the Royal Society of Arts communicative Test of English as a Foreign Language); 3) the needs analysis approach (e.g., testing English for specific purposes); 4) the return to system (linguistic) approach (e.g., Council of Europe Unit Credit Scheme); and finally 5) the return to system (pragmatic) approach (e.g., dictation or cloze). After further discussion, he concludes,

> [A]ny test that presents the learner with a problem which is not itself a language problem but which requires language to work out a solution is a communicative language test. (p. 14)

Davies concludes that the first four of the above approaches rightly deserve the label of communicative language testing. However, he does not consider dictation and cloze tests to be communicative, in line with his earlier repudiation of Oller's justification for these two tests types (see Davies, 1984). However, as Klein-Braley (1985) points out, the reduced redundancy justification developed by Spolsky in 1973 works just as well as justification for dictation and cloze (as well as the C-tests she and her colleagues are developing). Furthermore, one could justify dictation or cloze if one wishes to test not the product of commununciation, but rather the process of communication. Spolsky (1989) makes a similar point.

In the second paper, "Testing English for Specific Puproses: How Specific Can We Get?," J. Charles Alderson takes up an issue that Davies touches on. If one is giving a test to see if someone has the English ability to study at university, then the contents of the test should reflect the subject the person will be studying. A test for engineers should include material relevant to them, such as engineering texts for reading. As Alderson and Davies both point out, the argument could be taken a step further. Should a test for civil engineers have the same texts as one for electronic engineers? At what point does further specification become impractical?

The interesting point is that Alderson reports on studies that his group has conducted to test the hypothesis that "students reading texts in familiar areas would find tests based on such texts . . . easier than tests based on texts in unfamiliar areas" (p. 22). Their results generally support the hypothesis. Consequently, Alderson asserts moderate support for general ESP testing.

Alan Davies in the third paper, "Procedures in Language Test Validation," claims that the primary issue in validation is sampling. Does the test give an adequate representation of the language? Does it have the power of generalizability? Answers to these questions are very important, because of the relation they bear on the issue of reliability. It must be recognized that these two issues, validity and reliability, stand oftentimes in opposition to one another. Some tests that are highly valid (e.g., contextualized essays) are difficult to make reliable. On the other hand, a test claiming communicative competence as the rationale for its validity may need to use discrete point items to increase reliability (see Hart, Lapkin, & Swain, 1987, for an example). Achieving an acceptable balance along these lines is essential when writing a test that meets communicative language testing criteria.

The second task in validating a test is to specify the purpose of the test and thus determine the type of validity one needs to show: content, predictive/concurrent, or construct.

In the last paper in this first part, "Achievement and Proficiency: The Missing Link?," Arthur Hughes discusses the approach to content validity. Achievement tests (testing progress in some course of study) take the course textbook as the basis for content validity while proficiency tests (testing overall ability) take a theoretical construct as the basis for the same thing. However,

Hughes argues that the objectives of a course are what should determine content validity.

Part 2

Part 2 takes all of the theory of test making discussed in Part 1 and actually puts it to work. The first two essays deal with the British example and the third with the Turkish. Cyril Weir in the first paper, "The Specifications, Realizations and Validation of an English Language Proficiency Test," details how his group went about developing a new English proficiency test for those wanting to enter British universities. Gregory James in the second, "Development of an Oral Proficiency Component in a Test in English for Academic Purposes," deals with the oral component of the same test.

The interesting point about these two tests is that the development teams relied not so much on "armchair" needs analysis as on empirical needs analysis. They observed classes and conducted surveys first among faculty and then among foreign students. Therefore, they tried to overcome the deficiency of needs analysis that Alderson points out. He claims that a needs analysis is only partly successful if it merely looks at what abilities are needed. The analysis must also look at what students are actually having difficulty doing.

After collecting empirical evidence to guide test specification, the writers piloted the test (not only on non-native speakers, but also on native speakers) and then did traditional item analysis on the results.

Weir sums up his paper by listing the difficulties that CLT has for test making. A greater need exists for explicitly stating what it is that one is trying to test, particularly with more traditional types of tests. Then, having drawn up specifications, it is difficult to realize these specifications in test form and devise suitable assessment procedures. Lastly, CLT tests are "complex to take, difficult to mark and difficult to report results on" (p. 75).

These papers are especially interesting because Weir and James have included the questions and some of the answers to their surveys. For example, James surveyed university tutors as to what skill areas are important. Combining the rankings of the skill areas

yields the following (p. 121):

Skill Area	Rank
Asking questions	1
Answering questions	2
Giving opinions	3
Explaining	4
Giving counter arguments	5
Giving extempore reports	6
Reading aloud	7

This type of information should prove quite useful to teachers in Japan preparing students to study in England.

In the final paper, "English for Study in an English Medium University in Turkey," Hughes reports on the development of the English test at a Turkish university. On the whole, the process parallels that for the test in England. However, he ran into problems due to the situation. For example, he had intended, as in England, to administer a questionnaire to all first year students. However, the university administration felt it inappropriate to have the questionnaire in Turkish. Even though Hughes prepared questions in as simple English as possible, they were still too difficult, and he finally had to drop the project. Also, as mentioned above, he was unable to pilot the test before its administration.

Conclusion

If one is developing one's own tests, it is very instructive to have the examples of others to follow, especially since test theory must often give way to reality. *Testing English for University Study* does quite a good job of presenting examples and illustrating the give and take that testing theorists go through.

Reviewed by Scott Peterson
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REVIEWS OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY TESTS. J. Charles Alderson, Karl J. Krahnke, and Charles W. Stansfield, (Eds). Washington, D.C.: Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages, 1987. 88+iv pp. Paperback. No index.
SECOND LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY ASSESSMENT: CURRENT ISSUES. (Language in Education: Theory and Practice, 70.) Pardee Lowe, Jr., and Charles W. Stansfield, (Eds). Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall Regents, 1988. 201+v pp. Paperback. No index.

1. Introduction

Testing is at the heart of language teaching. The person who controls the tests controls the curriculum, so it is to any teacher's definite advantage to keep current with the latest testing issues. Two quite different recent publications can help meet that need. *Reviews of English Language Proficiency Tests* covers an amazing breadth of paper and oral tests. The other volume, *Second Language Proficiency Assessment*, actually relates wholly to the Interagency Language Roundtable Oral Proficiency Interview and its successors as developed through the Educational Testing Service and the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages. After a short discussion of each of the books, some comparisons can be made.

2. Reviews of English Language Proficiency Tests

The main purpose of *Reviews of English Language Proficiency Tests* is to make scholars and teachers aware of the options available in standardized testing. In all, 46 standardized English language tests are discussed. The editors have gathered test reviews from a large number of different reviewers and have gone to great lengths to insure that the reviews were independently

validated and that the author or publisher had an opportunity to respond to the review. The aim was to present a collection comparable to *Mental Measurement Yearbook*. The user of this volume can feel confident of getting an accurate introduction to the full range of testing options available.

However, this breadth may not be particularly useful for test givers in Japan. Here the most familiar tests (e.g., TOEFL, TOEIC) hold sway. These tests offer the most well-accepted credentials; and because they have been widely distributed, they have the greatest range and depth of related research. The typical Japanese student will be eager to know his rating on the basis of a "famous" standardized test. Therefore, a number of the tests reviewed will prove of little use for teachers in Japan.

A further note should be added. *Reviews of English Language Proficiency Tests* includes a large number of English as a Second Language tests for use in American public education. The "Bilingual Syntax Measure I and II," for example, are designed primarily to establish language preference among bilingual American public school students. The inclusion of these tests as English Language Proficiency Tests seems questionable.

Another frustration for the would-be test giver is that "secure tests" are clearly of higher quality than non-secure tests, yet only non-secure tests will be available for private administration at most schools. However, in every case the book offers contact addresses from which either tests to administer or test preparatory materials are available. This may be the book's most useful feature for the average teacher.

By coincidence, the discussion of the Oral Proficiency Interview in *Reviews of English Language Proficiency Tests* is written by Pardee Lowe, Jr., the co-editor of the other volume under review. This discussion is essential preliminary reading for any newcomer launching into *Second Language Proficiency Assessment.* As Lowe explains in his article, the training before use of the Oral Proficiency Interview runs from three to five days and is, as a result, expensive. His article includes a useful bibliography of earlier introductions to the test.

3. Second Language Proficienty Assessment: Current Issues

Second Language Proficiency Assessment will prove most popular among readers who are convinced that the ILR Oral Proficiency Interview is the best currently used language test. It is not an introductory volume. The book takes advantage of its narrow focus to give a very comprehensive discussion of some crucial issues in proficiency testing. The chief editor, Pardee Lowe, Jr., comes from the Office of Training and Education of the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States. His co-editor, Charles Stansfield, comes from the Educational Resources Information Center (and is an editor of the first volume reviewed). Both men have clearly had unique access to the discussions surrounding the development of the Oral Proficiency Interview. This volume contains forty-two pages detailing the history of the Oral Proficiency Interview, but it deals primarily with issues for the scholar: (a) a research agenda, (b) developments for less commonly taught languages, (c) reading proficiency, and (d) writing proficiency.

The Oral Proficiency Interview was developed as a occupational qualification test, and some of the occupational categories covered demand a high level of bilingualism. The discussion in the volume makes clear that the top half of the scale sets goals beyond what will generally be learned in second language education. Its use is therefore more appropriate in linguistic and evaluative roles than in teaching. Placement of students in levels in second language education programs might be better accomplished through a test designated without the post-language school level evaluations.

Careful readers of *Second Language Proficiency Assessment* will be amply rewarded, however. Although issues in testing are always discussed in reference to the Oral Proficiency Interview, issues that are current in all language testing are given insightful treatment in the volume.

Some of these issues are

1. Should college language education stress introduction of culturally authentic materials at the introductory level?
2. Should testing emphasize the transfer of real world knowl-

edge to a difficult language problem, or should the role of real world knowledge be minimized?
3. In teaching reading of Chinese and related written languages should authentic novice level tests examine the taker's ability to read ideograms, or are simplified phonetic systems a useful preliminary reading step?
4. At the top end of the scale, should language tests expect the taker's written work to exhibit creative and artistic skills?

Second Language Proficiency Assessment addresses all these issues in a thought-provoking and original manner. The book will prove stimulating for the reader who is interested in these questions.

4. Conclusion

Both books claim to be focused on "proficiency assessment." In their four page introduction to *Reviews of English Language Proficiency Tests*, Alderson, Krahnke, and Stansfield define proficiency tests as measures of "the test taker's overall ability in English along a broad scale" (iv). Since this might seem like the purpose for any type of test, they offer by contrast the categories of placement, achievement, and diagnostic tests, which they consider to be limited tests designed for specialized purposes. To them, the most useful and widespread form of testing is "proficiency testing."

There is a real danger if one carries that definition of "proficiency testing" into Lowe and Stansfield's volume, however. Although the same Charles W. Stansfield co-edits both volumes, when he writes in conjunction with Lowe, he understands "proficiency testing" to refer to a specific movement (the oral Proficiency Interview), developed in a non-academic framework and providing a counterpoint and emphasis for current linguistic research. In their introduction they note:

> The history of today's proficiency testing movement can be traced from its foundations in one government agency (FSI) through its development with cooperating agencies (the ILR) to its expansion into academia through the work of ACTFL and ETS. (pp. 2-3)

It is not necessary in the context of a book review to decide which definition is more valid or more useful. However, this distinction must be understood as part of the divergent emphases of the two volumes. For Alderson, Krahnke, and Stansfield, proficiency testing is a very wide and general field. However, Lowe and Stansfield discuss a much narrower movement.

The second-language testing field is still a very small and new field, as can be observed from the overlap in authors and editors in these two books. The field has an excitement and vigor today, however, that it has not had in the past. It is unfortunate that many scholars have overlooked the testing field as too pragmatic for detailed attention. Piaget's amazing contributions to developmental psychology were based on research begun in the process of testing, and future contributions to the understanding of language are likely to develop from the same source.

Reviewed by Hugh Rutledge
Kanda Institute of Foreign Languages

AN INTRODUCTION TO LANGUAGE, FOURTH EDITION. Victoria Fromkin and Robert Rodman. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1988. 474pp.

One element essential to a language teacher is an understanding of the nature of language itself. This text, *An Introduction to Language*, is designed to provide just such an understanding.

Written originally as an introductory linguistics core text, though not solely intended for linguistics majors, this fourth edition has continued to expand the aim of the authors to encompass both a broader range of topics and address an audience drawn from a greater number of disciplines. Those familiar with earlier editions may welcome new units on Hispanic English, neurolinguistic research, and an entire chapter devoted to human and machine language processing.

Given its nature as a core text, virtually every aspect of the study of language receives moderately thorough treatment, from articulatory and auditory phonetics to brain lateralization, the loss of plasticity, and the critical period hypothesis.

In general, the style of presentation is objective, if conservative. In areas where no single theory dominates, several views are presented and their advantages and drawbacks enumerated. Where one theory seems predominant, it receives deeper coverage. Rather than attempting to give the reader an understanding of the precise state of the art, the authors have endeavored to provide only the most basic information on the theories presented. As the authors state, "the primary concern has been with basic ideas rather than a detailed exposition of formal theory or of the grammar of English or any other language" (p. vi).

Citations refer readers to the main proponents of the theory, but not necessarily to the most recent active researcher. One drawback of this approach is that not all of the sources are up-to-date. For example, in the chapter on language acquisition, only two references bear dates after 1982, and one of them is itself a review of the field. Sections not substantially revised for this edition show a similar paucity of current sources. In defense, however, the items in the chapter bibliographies include those often selected to provide background information for survey courses.

Considerable attention has been given to organization. The early chapters are devoted to the introduction of background information, such as basic terminology, and explanation of basic tools used in linguistic study, such as the international phonetic alphabet—tools relevant to understanding the transcripted examples provided later.

The text itself is divided into four parts, each of which focuses upon a different area of investigation: "The Nature of Human Language," "Grammatical Aspects of Language," "Social Aspects of Language," and "Biological Aspects of Language." Each part contains any number of chapters which address more specific topic headings.

Part one consists of a brief chapter introducing the field of linguistics along with a rather philosophical (Chomskian) consideration of the nature of language itself. A number of key terms are defined, and related subheadings are devoted to the question of linguistic knowledge versus performance, explanation of diverse grammars (descriptive, prescriptive, and teaching), discussion of language universals, and a preliminary consideration of animal languages.

Part two contains chapters devoted to phonetics and phonology (both recently expanded), along with morphology, syntax, and semantics. Concepts related to the description of sounds are dealt with in detail. Through examination of numerous transcribed speech samples drawn from a number of languages, the authors then discuss the essentials of phonology and morphology. Emphasis is given to generative grammars and acoustic phonology.

Part three details social aspects of language, containing chapters on language in society, language change, and writing. Topics such as dialects, creoles, slang, jargon, and artificial languages are also discussed. The authors finish with an overview of various writing systems and theories of how languages change. Here examples are drawn from a variety of languages, but considerable attention is given to varieties of English, with British and American regional dialects, Black English, and Hispanic English receiving detailed discussion.

Part four discusses the brain, brain lateralization, and the origin of language, and addresses issues related to language acquisition and the problems of machine language. Those familiar

with earlier editions may appreciate the inclusion of material on recent advances in neurolinguistics (lateralization, aphasia, and the critical period hypothesis), theories on the origin of human language, and a report on the advances in computer language processing and artificial intelligence. This brings the reader full-circle, in a sense, to the introductory discussion of the nature of language given in Chapter One.

The accompanying exercises at the end of each chapter are both well-balanced and engaging, though, without an answer key, not overly useful for self-study.

Although the materials may appear to be extremely dense, the text remains easily accessible to the uninitiated: explanations are thorough, yet concise; examples are vivid; and the judicious use of illustrations from such sources as B.C. and the Far Side provides a welcome breath of humor in a field which too often tends toward the overly dry or tediously pedantic. Nor is the text excessively Anglo-centric. Examples throughout are drawn from diverse languages, from Albanian to Zulu. It is difficult to find fault with the text. My only ground for criticism is the lack of up-to-date sources for certain chapters. For an experienced teacher, this text should serve well as a refresher course, giving a relatively current, though conservative, overview of every aspect of language.

Moreover, a reader would be hard pressed to find a better overall text. Upon completion of the text, the reader should have not only a good grasp of our present understanding of the field, but also the tools necessary to delve further into any of the topics reviewed.

A word of caution to readers not familiar with the formal study of language or language acquisition: pay attention to the sections dealing with the phonetic alphabet in order to assure easy understanding of the later transcribed examples.

Reviewed by Brad Visgatis
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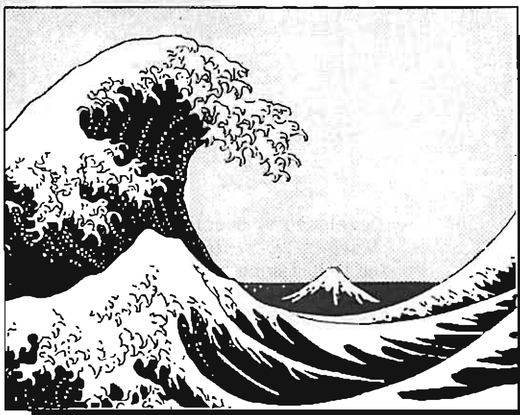

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As I Was Saying
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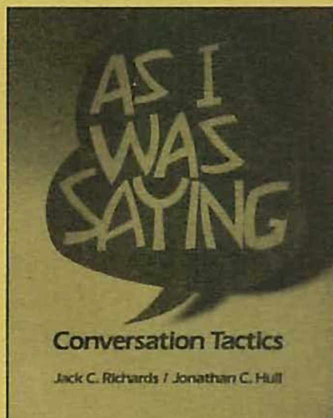

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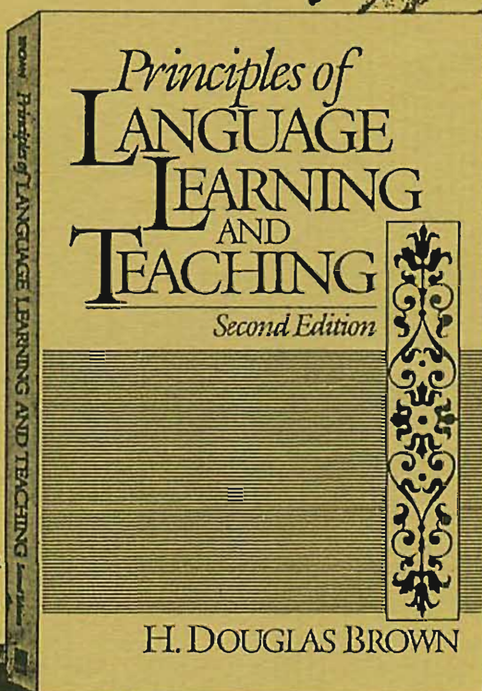

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