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The ORTESOL Journal

ARTICLES

REVIEW ARTICLES

In this Issue

    Articles in this issue of *The ORTESOL Journal* reflect the diversity of interests of our readers.

- **Liz Brunkow teaches ESL to adult immigrants and refugees at Portland Community College. In the rich world of metaphor, she discovered a key these learners could use to unlock both the mysteries of the English language and the voice to express their own depth of maturity and experience. She shares teaching suggestions, sources, and moving testimonials.**

- **Nancy Bell examines the fit among current research into error correction, theories of second language acquisition, and current pedagogical theories. Drawing on this base, she recommends guidelines for classroom application in correction of spoken errors of English learners.**

- **Noriko Iwasaki has used her own experience as both an English learner and teacher to provide insight into Japanese English-learners' frequent reluctance to speak. Determining that the reasons are cultural as well as linguistic, she suggests practical classroom procedures which can provide them with the tools they need to overcome their hesitation.**

- **Susan Hemstreet discovered that the diary she kept during her two and a half years in Japan provided a wealth of material for her thesis on sojourner adjustment and coping strategies. She found, however, that the methods recommended by researchers for conducting diary studies in ESL had to be adapted to the particularities of her own entries.**

- **Cybele Higgins' comparison of the first and second editions of Marianne Celce-Murcia's seminal *Teaching English as a Second or Foreign Language* gives us an overview of the major developments in English language teaching over the past 13 years.**

- **Dee Anne Bess describes and evaluates Beatrice Mikulecky's A *Short Course in Teaching Reading Skills,* finding it informative but in need of supplementation in certain key areas.**

- **Steve Roberts reviews Sandra McKay's *Teaching English Overseas,* which he applauds for the insights it provides into the diversity of philosophical, economic, and educational contexts that the expatriate teacher may have to adjust to. The book falls short, however, of exploring the imperatives of cultural adjustment.**

    --The Editors

I HAVE A MOUTH, BUT CANNOT SPEAK THE PLACE OF METAPHOR IN ADULT ESL

Liz Brunkow
Portland Community College

Abstract

Adult immigrants and refugees in ESL classes want to be able to express themselves with a depth that reflects their maturity and experience. Metaphor, in its many forms and from many sources, is one tool of expression in a language. This paper describes the backgrounds and situations of students in adult ESL classes. It discusses sources of metaphor including songs, poetry, speeches, student writing and first language poetry, and the uses of these forms of metaphor appropriate to the students. The paper demonstrates how presentations and lessons using metaphoric or poetic language can be integrated into the linguistic, metalinguistic and psycholinguistic requirements of an adult ESL survival curriculum and how these become a means of self-expression. Throughout the paper, there are anecdotes demonstrating the students' need to express themselves.

Introduction

I was so lonely
When I left my motherland.
The wind shook the trees in a goodbye on the sad day,
The leaves of the trees cried fully on the street.
My dreary boat wandered slowly on the high ocean,
The engine sound yelled so loudly for help.

Loc Tran

Loc Tran comes home from his warehouse job after midnight. He works on outdoor loading docks, so he is often cold and wet. It is late when he goes to bed because he first eats dinner and then watches late-night television to unwind from his job. A few hours later, his wife leaves for her job and the children go to school. Three mornings a week Lac goes to ESL class, not

taking time to eat until he goes home at noon. If a child is sick or there is some other emergency or he is just too tired, he misses class. He has been in the United States for five years and has been working steadily, but he wants to improve his English so that he can get a better job. In Vietnam, Loc was a ship's captain. His skills enabled him to build a small boat and escape with dozens of other refugees, but now he must learn new skills.   His time in English class is precious. Should poetry be a part of that class?

ESL students have revealed to me that they need or want to be able to express themselves in an adult way in English, the language in which they must function. These adults who have come from their own countries with a position and a lifetime of experience may find themselves feeling like small children, because their language appears to be childish. Being able to convey adult experiences and feelings to others in the new environment in which they, as immigrants and refugees, are now living seems to be essential for survival. Even though at this time all of Loc Tran's energy goes to survival, he feels it is worth the effort to use metaphoric language to tell of his experiences and feelings in leaving Vietnam. The use of poetic language is one tool of expression that can be offered in the ESL classroom as students discover the elements of English that suit their needs.

Duc Nguyen demonstrated his need to express himself when he described his arrival into the U.S. He had been released from "re-education camp" just weeks before, after spending 15 years in that prison. During these years, Duc's family lived in America as refugees and Duc's son grew up learning to read and speak very little Vietnamese. Duc described his arrival in the U.S.: "When I got off the airplane, I wondered if my wife and son would meet me. How could I express all my happiness when I saw them? It was not easy for me to say something to her and to my son."

While he was in prison, Duc had written a diary every day addressed to the son that he had never seen, but when Duc was released, he was not allowed to bring the diary out with him. Now he wants to be able to re-write the diary in English to describe to his son the experiences and feelings of those 15 years.

In addition to the need for survival, adult students have many other reasons to express themselves. Those with families know that their children and grandchildren may grow up without knowing the family

experiences unless they are transmitted to them in English. Those who are beginning new relationships need ways to communicate the depth and complexity of their feelings. A young Japanese man who was marrying an American woman in a few weeks wanted to be sure that she knew that he loved her. A woman from El Salvador and a man from Iraq are establishing a relationship that is complicated by social, religious and family considerations. The depth of their communication is dependent on their ability to express themselves in English.

Besides these personal reasons for having a depth of expression, Widdowson (1982) believes that allowing and encouraging creativity is crucial in learning the skills of a new language, since acquiring language is a creative process.

> I mean the human capacity for making sense, for negotiating meaning, for finding expression in metaphor, for refashioning reality in the image of new ideas and new ideals....Creativity is not the sole prerogative of the native speaker. (p. 212)

This paper describes the backgrounds and situations of adult ESL students that make them unique from those in traditional academic programs. It explores sources of metaphoric language and the uses of that language that are appropriate for these students in the creative, expressive process that is part of learning a language. Throughout the paper, in italics, are descriptions of the author's experiences with individual students who have shown their need to express themselves at a depth beyond a simple communicative level.

The Students

It is break time in an ESL class and two young women walk arm in arm to buy coffee. One is Chinese and the other Japanese. A retired engineer from Shanghai talks to a Vietnamese teenager about the priority of school over jobs. A Korean man, who goes to ESL class on his way home from work after cleaning buildings all night, puts his head on the desk to catch a few minutes' sleep during the break

Adults with limited English are provided English as a Second Language classes through the community colleges under the federal Adult Basic Education act. The students come from all over the world and

reflect specific and world-wide political, economic and social conditions, as well as U.S. immigration policy. There are the immigrants who, for many different reasons, have chosen to live in the United States. Seasonal jobs in Oregon attract migrant workers who move from state to state and in and out of their own countries. Refugees from Southeast Asia make up a large percentage of the students along with Eastern European, Hispanic and Middle Eastern refugees. A limited number of short-term residents, who may be businessmen or researchers and their spouses, or relatives visiting their families, have been allowed to attend the classes.

A class of 30 students can represent a dozen or more language and cultural backgrounds. In addition to this diversity, the instructor has the challenge of teaching a group ranging in age from teenagers to those in their seventies. The educational background in their first language can include pre-literates, those with basic schooling or those who are highly educated. Even though students may be placed in one of several levels, their skills in English within that level vary from one student who may write well but has not had an opportunity to speak English, to the student who has lived in the U.S. for a long time and speaks fluently but writes with great difficulty.

In planning lessons and materials, the greatest challenge for the teacher is meeting the individual needs of this diverse group: a student takes a class to improve her English in order to get a promotion or perhaps even to keep her job; a longtime resident studies to take the citizenship test or just to learn conversational English; a welfare client attends class because welfare requires her to; a grandmother realizes she has to talk to her grandchildren in English; a refugee with severe emotional problems needs skills in English to restore his self-confidence; a college-bound student must improve his English before beginning an academic program. Problems in the family, lack of transportation, working overtime or just fatigue can interfere with their good intentions of attending class regularly.

With this range of skills, ages, needs and attendance patterns, a teacher has to have an equally diverse source of materials, techniques, and inner resources. With its array of forms and multiplicity of uses, metaphor is one such diverse resource.

Sources of Metaphor

    Songs. The poetry of American songs is sung and listened to around the world, usually without translation, and the lyrics have often provided a first exposure to the sounds and rhythm of English. Many adult students have enjoyed American country music, for example, in their own countries, so they often know the melodies and are enthusiastic about learning the lyrics. They respond to the rhythms and the universal themes of love and disappointment in love, and of nature, loneliness and friendships in traditional, as well as more current, music that conveys the metaphoric language of English.

    During a party on the last evening of class, a young man from Vietnam began playing and singing Elvis Presley songs on his guitar. There was a lot of good natured laughing and teasing about his earnest efforts to look and sound like Elvis. Then he began playing more quietly and finally was singing Vietnamese songs. Some of the other Vietnamese began to join in, but stopped as their tears came. The other teacher and I and the students from the Middle East and Europe and Asia were all close to tears. I didn't know what to do to relieve the sadness. Then a Vietnamese woman began to laugh: "Why are you all crying? Do you understand Vietnamese?' We all laughed at ourselves and the party went on happily. In the context of the songs the student had been able to build up his confidence to express his deep feelings and even though his words shifted from English to Vietnamese, all of us recognized and understood the universal emotions of home.

    American Poetry.   Since poetry reflects the culture in which it is written and it provides a bridge into the culture of the new language being learned, I have focused on American poetry, although not exclusively. I have selected poems that are meaningful, but are not based on tragic themes and emotions. In every class made up of immigrant and refugee adults, there are many who are experiencing the tragedies of war, loss or deep depression and are at various stages of adjusting to that experience. In discussions of their own writing, students will often reveal their sadness, but when there is a choice of text, the teacher should not initiate themes that might obviously evoke further depression for an individual student. Since life is serious at best for most recent immigrants and refugees, poems that convey the lightness of humor and irony can balance more somber themes.

ESL students are intrigued by Native American culture and many relate personally to the descriptions of nature and the ideal of beauty and harmony in all things reflected in the translations of Native American songs or poems (see for example Roberts & Amidon, 1991). Students who are going through the transition, often an agonizing one, from the stability and status that they knew in their own countries to feeling alien and lonely in the new country identify with the experience of alienation expressed by Langston Hughes (1967). New personal relationships involving cross-cultural understanding and friendships can be explored in "Changing" by Mary Ann Haberman (cited in Prelutsky, 1983) and 'Don't Be Afraid" by Alicia Ostriker (1982). With the ongoing stresses of the students' lives and the practical functions that must be taught, the classroom community needs daily sources of humor, irony or just fun for relief. The humor and irony of Barbara Drake's (1978) "Imperfect Prisms" and Jenny Joseph's (cited in Martz, 1991) "Warning" offer themes that can be taken lightly or used to delve more deeply into cultural values. Shel Silversteins' (1974) volumes, *Where the Sidewalk Ends* and *A Light in the Attic,* have simple poems that can be used for many objectives in the classroom.

Speeches. LeGuin (1989) writes that sound is one value of the word. Just as with songs, speeches can be important in conveying the melody of a language. She asks why we have given up the things that happen "when the word behaves like music and the author is not just 'writer' but the player of the instrument of language" (p. 184). An example of a speech that carries the instrument's music is Martin Luther King's "I Have a Dream."

On the morning of Martin Luther King's birthday last year, the world was waiting for war to begin in the Persian Gulf One teacher was personally feeling almost overwhelmed by the pending tragedy and she was aware of the tension it was creating among the students who had recently gone through turmoil and tragedy in their own countries. The subject of war could not be ignored.

After reading and discussing King's speech and his dreams, the teacher used the theme of dreams as a safe way for the students to be able to express their feelings about whatever was important to them at the moment. She asked each student to write a conclusion to the phrase, "I have a dream..." She arranged the individual sentences into a collaborative poem and the next day each student read his or her own line.

Reading and talking about the metaphoric, emotional language of Martin Luther King encouraged the students to express in English the strong feelings that they had that day, which were not exclusively about the war. With everyone contributing to a class poem that even included some humor, tensions were relaxed and the students were able to begin to understand each other's concerns about war, families, jobs or returning home. And the teacher felt that something positive had come from a nearly unbearable situation.

Student Writing. Of all the sources of the poetic use of language, student writing as a vehicle of self-expression seems to be the most powerful and meaningful, as students add their own unique materials to the class. Several kinds of exercises can be used to accommodate the many levels of writing ability within a class and to generate poetry that is shared by fellow students and future classes. Koch (1977), who taught poetry-writing in a New York nursing home, describes the effect of involving adults in writing collaborative poems there. I have used pre-writing activities, such as reading the Navaho song "In beauty may I walk," to develop the theme "beautiful" that Koch used, to reach the "inward ear" (Maley & Duff, 1989) of my students. Koch's description of his adult students' experience fits that of my classes, when each student contributes one line to a class poem.

Class collaborations are a good beginning. They take pressure off individuals and encourage brief and spontaneous contributions. Collaborating also creates a slightly festive atmosphere, being in some respects like a party game—everyone contributing his sentences, then hearing the surprising results. One can laugh at them or feel unexpected admiration. (p. 21)

Several kinds of exercises are effective in small groups to develop oral and written metaphoric language. A small group can collectively produce a poetic statement that expresses reactions or feelings without being inhibited by having to construct careful sentences and paragraphs. There can also be an element of collaboration through pre writing activities such as brainstorming ideas or listening to music or readings around a theme, and the post-writing activity of publishing.

In addition to the power of collaborative poetry, individual writing is meaningful to each student and the class. One student wrote for Valentine's Day, "You say, 'I love you!' / Sweet like candy / Sunlight mixed

with purple / Rejoice forever." Another student whose husband, in the confusion of fleeing Vietnam, was sent to Germany while she came to the U.S. wrote, 'True love doesn't vanish / His picture in my heart I Worried, sad, tired / He is solar power for me."

The idea of writing lines of a poem appeals to some students, but can be intimidating to others if they think they are expected to write in traditional poetic form. Students often write sentences or paragraphs that can be reorganized into verse form or provide sources of poetic language. These sentences are from two different students' writing after reading parts of Chief Seattle's speech and discussing city or country living: 'The cars' horns and bikes' bells make a city symphony." "I remember the clear nights, the open fires, the sounds of grasshoppers and birds, and the smells of trees and grass." The students are often delighted with the result and feel encouraged to try writing more poetry.

Each student and each class responds to writing activities differently, but these exercises offer a variety of ways to help generate poetic language from the students that is a strong addition to the body of published literature and song. Together they form a wealth of language-learning resources.

First-Language Poetry. Another rich source of published poetry is from the students' own countries. If the teacher uses a variety of poetic forms in English in creative, non-threatening ways that emphasize the music of the language, many students will want to contribute such pieces as childhood rhymes, proverbs or more traditional poetry from their own cultures. When the students themselves are encouraged to become sources of metaphor in languages that the teacher and many other students are not fluent in, they are invested in their own personal contribution to the class.

Ngoc Phuong gave me a contemporary Vietnamese poem but told me she was unable to translate it. Her skills were at an advanced level, but in the few weeks she had been in the U.S., she had lost all confidence in her ability to communicate. When I asked her for the general ideas of the poem, she gave me a translation, but said that it did not carry the true thoughts of the poet. During several sessions together, we worked on the whole poem, but especially on the depth of meaning of particular lines, trying to bridge back and forth between her language and culture and mine. Eventually, Ngoc

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changed "At sunset" to "As evening slowly meets the daylight," and the two lines, "I can't think in the wind 1 I feel very, very sad" finally became, "The wind makes my spirit numb I My spirit has a melancholy of a thousand years." It was hard work for both of us, but Ngoc was later able to explain to me what a relief it was to her when she discovered that she could convey ideas, such as the metaphor "a thousand years," in English, that she had thought could be expressed only in Vietnamese.

Uses of Metaphor

Metaphoric language is an integral part of all language, even language that is developed for special purposes. Poetry can be used as an integral part of each language goal as it taps into the metaphors from such sources as the native culture, language, religion, storytelling and proverbs that the students bring with them as well as the metaphors of the target language. In addition to its place as art, poetry can be used to bring an awareness and knowledge of the properties of language, it can help develop skills by adding dimension to lesson presentations and language practice, and it can encourage attitudes of understanding and acceptance of the interaction of the first and second cultures.

Reading.   Literature, including poetry, has a unique place in the language classroom. S. Slater (personal communication, March 1991) stated that literature speaks to the heart, its richness exceeds other authentic material; literature allows one to have a gut response. Poems should be read for their artful use of language and the pleasure that this art brings. Collie and Slater (1987) write:

> Reading poetry enables the learner to experience the power of language outside the strait-jacket of more standard written sentence structure and lexis....Providing that learners can be given the help with the personal and linguistic resources they will need, they will be able to attain the fuller enjoyment of a poem that comes from a sense of sharing the poet's created world and becoming, as reader, a new creator of meaning. (p. 226)

In addition to offering pleasure and creativity, poetry can be used to give students the awareness and practice of skills needed in the reading process, such as predicting, recognizing the topic, skimming, scanning, drawing inferences, visualizing and guessing meaning of words from

context. Use of a short text such as a poem, which is written to be enjoyed, can build confidence in the students as they develop and practice these reading skills. Poetry can be used as a pre-reading exercise to a principal reading to evoke and build content schema, a framework of knowledge and experience about the topic, which allows the students to begin the main reading with some shared background. An example of this would be to use Langston Hughes' (1967) "The Dream Keeper" before beginning a textbook chapter on the American Dream. A discussion of the author's background and student sharing of the hopes that they themselves brought to the U.S. would bring the class to a common starting point to begin examining American attitudes toward dreams and ambitions. The lesson could be reversed to use the same poem as a post-reading exercise to confirm or synthesize the textbook reading selection.

Writing. While students in survival-based adult ESL classes have to be able to decipher at least some of the metaphoric language that they hear and read, it is difficult to imagine a situation outside the classroom in which they would be required to write metaphorically. However, McKay (1981) gives reasons for encouraging students to try poetic writing, writing in which language is used for the expression of an idea as an end in itself in contrast to transactional writing in which language is used to "get things done." She writes that poetry-writing gives students more chance to express their own reactions to a subject and that the freedom of poetic form may become a vehicle for encouraging fluency.

For some students, writing poetry may be a skill that they develop to name their fears, hopes and joys as well as to recount their daily experiences in their new culture. I believe that when we cross cultures, we do not really move into the new culture until we can express our feelings in the new language. In one class, after reading poems on the theme of rain, an element often depressing to new arrivals to Portland, one student expressed herself with a fluency that she had not approached in other writing or speaking. Her lines, "It sounds like the music from a piano....It feels like my mother's hand when she touched my face," did not conform to conventional rhetorical and syntactic patterns, but her exploration of her reaction to rain was positive as she concluded, 'This is the first time I enjoy the Portland rain."

In addition to encouraging self-expression and fluency, poetry-writing can be used as a pre-writing or post-writing exercise for more transactional

writing requirements. As an example, the goal of a function-based lesson may be that students will learn to write a letter of complaint. Rather than beginning the lesson with a model letter, the teacher could use Ogden Nash's 'The People Upstairs'' to generate discussion of the students' housing, their relationship to their neighbors and the landlord, appropriate and inappropriate behavior in an apartment building and ways to complain. 'They celebrate weekends all the week. / When they take a shower, your ceilings leak.'' Against the background of Nash's humor and exaggeration, the students would be following McKay's (1981) pre-writing steps: students recognize the need to write, they focus on a topic, through discussion they can experiment with ways of organizing their complaints, and they can decide who is the audience for the complaint and what rhetorical arrangement is most effective. In the course of these pre-writing and post-writing activities inspired by the poem, the students will gain awareness and form attitudes about the cultural aspects of making complaints, in addition to the writing skills required by the function. Either before or after the main task of writing letters of complaint, the students, either as a class or in small groups, might compose a poem in the style of Nash to use along with Nash's poem to emphasize, by contrast, the appropriate language and tone of a serious letter.

Listening and Speaking. "I have a mouth, but cannot speak." A student, An Lu, quoted that Chinese saying to describe the frustration of not being able to use her educated, articulate, mature "mouth" to express herself in English. She has a job, takes care of her family, and manages her life well in an alien culture, but she still feels that she is speaking on a baby-talk level, which is painful for her. With the introduction of poetry and the discussions that it generated in class, An Lu began to see that she could speak in English with a depth reflecting the tradition of proverbs, sayings and poetry that she carries within her.

In a group of Lao men, Sommay Bounkhomg was younger, less educated and the only one from the countryside. He seemed to have the skills for his class level, but he was reluctant to participate in class and his attendance was erratic. **One day the teacher introduced poems on the theme of** *understanding and empathy. Sommay became more and more involved with the discussion until finally he was able to express with humor his strong feelings about the theme. Throughout the rest of the term and into the next he attended every class, he continued expressing his ideas which were often*

surprising but always significant, and his writing became much clearer and more expressive.

In addition to the possibilities of inspiring and developing speaking fluency in students, poetic writing can be used in listening comprehension and pronunciation practice. We are all surrounded by the metaphoric language of advertising, song lyrics and ordinary speech. Students, especially recently arrived ones, are often so overwhelmed by the idiomatic language they hear that they may tune out English entirely. Many kinds of oral language such as advertising slogans, song lyrics, Graham's (1988) *Small Talk,* and traditional poetic forms can be brought into the classroom so that students can begin to unravel the figures of speech and rhythms that carry so much meaning. Rhythm is an essential part of a guide to the information of a spoken message. Maley and Duff (1989) write that through exposure to poetry, students will retain the stress and rhythm of the language. So often, especially in advanced classes, there are students whose reading and writing skills are adequate for their basic needs, but their pronunciation prevents them from communicating the English that they know. In choral practice a teacher can observe problems and work to correct them without making an individual student the focus of attention. Maley and Duff suggest that some of the essential features of fluent speech, such as clarity of diction, phrasing, stress and rhythm, control and variation of pace, flow naturally from the oral reading of poetry.

Structure. Since learning styles and needs are so diverse in an adult class, the teacher must constantly make decisions whether to present language structures inductively or deductively. Poetry, either published or student-generated, gives the teacher a short piece of authentic language in which the grammar in context can be addressed in the way most appropriate for a group of students. In "Don't Be Afraid" the overall effect of the author's choice of structure can be considered implicitly by discussing the time frame, the degree of urgency and the sense of rhythm in the poem, or explicitly by identifying, analyzing and practicing specific forms such as 'This is where I want to open you like a sweater," "that you have kept closed," "as if it were," "I could hike," "to walk" and "looking at."

When poetry is first introduced into the classroom, many students appreciate having a formula to follow to manipulate and experiment with words in a way which they would not do in other circumstances. The

low-intermediate student who wrote the following cinquain reveals a knowledge of nouns, adjectives and verb forms as well as an ability to experiment with vocabulary within those forms to express feelings about the subject of eyes.

Eyes
Mind windows
Seeing, looking, talking
Reveal happy and sad
Displays

It had been difficult for this particular student to organize the English that he knew, but after the success that he felt with this poem, he went on to write and respond in class. It was the teacher's first experience with using student-generated poetry and she was surprised with the strong ideas that the students expressed and was delighted at their ability to "push" words around to match their ideas with the pattern.

Even with attention directed at placing specific parts of speech into a set form, students can create a personal, melodic response to a topic, as in this example of the "Feelings-on-Four" pattern:

Rainbow
Beautiful and colorful
Hanging in the sky
Why can I never touch you?

One inductive way to attack a point of grammar that is a problem for many students in a class is to have each student contribute a line to a collaborative poem, following a specific, grammatical pattern such as "I used to..., but now L.": "I used to chase birds when I was young, but now I run after my children." This is an effective way to build awareness and skills with structural "demons" that can threaten a student's confidence, since collaborative poetry-writing is a low-risk way for each student to become involved in the lesson.

American Culture. In addition to language skills, adult immigrants in ESL classes need and want to learn the culture of the country. Often the programs that fund ESL classes require a citizenship component that includes some knowledge of U.S. history and political and social systems.

Students who want to feel a personal connection with a second language and use it with depth and confidence need to have an awareness of the culture-bound aspects of that language. Poetry, as one reflection of a culture, is an effective vehicle for cultural awareness.

Many examples of metaphor have their roots in American culture. Native American songs can be used as an introduction to early U.S. history and also as background to discussing current issues concerning ecology and the use of the land. Other poems encourage cross-cultural observations about such issues as old age in "Warning," the work ethic in "I Meant to Do My Work Today," or consumerism in "Imperfect Prisms." Patterns of Americans' reaction to war could be traced through wartime poetry and songs. Since there is a great variety of sub-cultures in the United States, presenting the strong regional and ethnic differences within the country as reflected in regional and ethnic poetry and music helps students recognize the diversity of American culture.

When Paz (1990) was interviewed after receiving the 1990 Nobel Prize for literature he said, "Poetry is not a very popular art form these days, but it's an essential part of human life. Poetry is the memory of a country, of language" (p. 7).

The Melody of the Language. Of all the uses of poetry, perhaps the most valuable one is raising students' awareness that they possess the melody of their first language and that they must discover and acquire the melody of the target language to be truly expressive. In addition to the necessity of learning words and their sequence, the proper use of the melody of the language allows one to be expressive in that language. Gattegno (personal communication, July 1992) wrote that all people own the melody of their mother tongue, which is an integral part of their language. Melody includes pronunciation, intonation, stresses, pauses, and the rising and falling of the voice. When these factors become part of one's voice, they add eloquence to expression and help convey meaning.

Often poetry is written with sounds conveying as much expression as the words themselves. It is very effective to ask students to bring in and read to the class poetry in their own languages without translation. Songs, proverbs, and even brief examples such as greetings, in first languages, can also be used to bring awareness of the melody, first in one's own tongue, and then in other languages. A dramatic demonstration of differences in

melody that surprised and delighted the entire class occurred when three Chinese students read the same short poem in Cantonese, Mandarin and Shanghainese. Once the melodies of many languages are shared, the students have a greater interest in discovering and practicing the melody of English.

Poetic language, whether it is published or student-generated, carries the melody of English, and that melody can be transferred to all other forms of spoken language to make that language expressive. Papp (1988), producer of the New York Shakespeare Festival as well as of successful musicals, describes growing up in a home where English was a second language. At an early age he was intrigued by the musical sounds of different languages and developed an ear for the lilt, cadence and rhythm of the spoken word.

The Classroom Community. The diverse ethnic, social, and educational backgrounds of students in an adult ESL class often make it difficult for them to work together in the classroom community. Caution is needed when trying to mix groups of men and women from certain cultures, or students from cultures that have had centuries-long antagonism between them. While the priority is for students to learn skills in English so that they can function in their community, it is necessary for this diverse group to achieve a sense of community within the classroom as well.

Etsuko Saito, a university graduate, had been an English teacher in Japan. She married an American and was now living in the U.S. near his family. She felt isolated and depressed when she suddenly found her English inadequate as she was addressed as a child and was only able to respond with childish English. By becoming part of the ESL classroom community, she gained the confidence to be able to use the skills and experience in English that she had so that she could feel like an adult with her husband's family and other Americans.

The process of writing a class collaborative poem as described earlier is not only an effective introduction to poetry, but is also a way to develop understanding within the class community through each student's contribution. Each line, which reveals something interesting, humorous, tragic, or surprising, belongs both to the writer and to the class as a whole. It was shown in the previous section that first-language poetry brings awareness and knowledge of the melody of the language to the students,

but in addition to that it also brings pride and acknowledgement of the many cultures represented in the group. Students enjoy listening to the strange sounds and seeing the unfamiliar alphabets and characters of different languages, and out of that enjoyment can grow mutual respect and acceptance of differences.

Many students come from homogeneous cultures where they have not had cross-cultural experiences or they are in a stage of cultural adjustment where they have reduced differences to stereotyping rather than trying to understand them. The metaphoric language of poetry, which frequently uses irony and humor in descriptions of the unfamiliar, is a non-threatening way to look at the often sensitive issue of differences.

Curran (1977) believed that building a community of learners within the classroom is important so that students can interact with each other and with the teacher to learn through trust, rather than competition. Through poetic expression students can be encouraged to discover what they have in common with each other, to develop respect for each other, and to build a strong sense of community.

Publishing. One of the most powerful experiences that I have ever had in teaching occurred when, on the last day of a class, I distributed booklets that contained published poetry, the students' own writing and their first-language poetry and translations. The students had previously seen all of the individual and collaborative poems and had shared informally the first-language poetry. But, when I gave them this same poetry in a booklet and they held the class's poetry in their hands, they showed more interest and respect toward each other's language and more excitement and appreciation for each other's work. When I talked to them about the fact that learning was a shared experience and that the booklet was just a beginning for all of us, they at first looked surprised, but then nodded in agreement. One student spoke for all of us when she described the book as priceless.

That experience emphasized the importance that "publishing," both orally and in print, can have and the part it plays in the use of expressive language. Rather than only the teacher being the audience, the focus of the expression includes fellow students and those beyond the classroom. Publishing student writing, favorite poems and native-language poems can be done throughout the term in many creative ways besides a booklet.

Before and after class and during break time students like to browse through a "gallery" of poems that are posted around the classroom or in the hallways. Guests to the school or class can be invited to read them also. Poems can be written on 3x5 cards and hung as a mobile in the classroom, or a group of six students could use a paper cube or a plastic photo cube to display six pieces of poetic writing. Often public school and church buildings are used for night ESL classes and poetry could be shared with those who use the buildings at other times or could be contributed to the public school or church publications to encourage cross-cultural understanding.

Koch (1977) describes the reactions of his students as he read their work to them:

> People were excited at the unaccustomed pleasure of hearing what they said read aloud, and excited at hearing it admired by me and by other students. (p. 16)

> They heard their poems, composed, sometimes with difficulty, such a short time before, read aloud and admired. That consolidated, validated in a way, like some sort of instant publication, what they had accomplished. (p. 43)

Consolidation and validation of accomplishment is what the students and I felt with the booklet in our hands. Recreating this process with any informal or more formal "publishing" is meaningful and worthwhile.

Conclusion

E. Stevick (personal communication, August 1990) said that inviting people to participate in poetic expression allows them an opportunity for self-expression which they do not usually have as immigrants.

"I felt I was a stranger among strangerslAlways yearning for her homeland" are lines from the poem that Myung Sook Lee wrote in ESL class to describe her first days in the United States. She had arrived from Korea 30 years before as a bride in an arranged marriage. Now she was in class improving her English so that she could write an account of her life in Korea and of her often difficult and lonely early years in the U.S. She also wanted

to describe the joy and contentment that she felt now "Today I feel I am an eagle, flying in the blue sky freely, joyfully and happily."

Myung Sook's sense of urgency to be able to express her experiences and feelings to her three children and their children, who do not speak or read Korean, repeats the theme in Tan's (1989) *The Joy Luck Club* when Jing-Mei Woo describes her mother and her mother's friends:

> My mother could sense that the women of these families also had unspeakable tragedies they left behind in China and hopes they couldn't begin to express in their fragile English. (p. b)

> Imagine, a daughter not knowing her own mother! And then it occurs to me. They are frightened. In me, they see their own daughters, just as ignorant, just as unmindful of all the truths and hopes they have brought to America. They see daughters who grow impatient when their mothers talk in Chinese, who think they are stupid when they explain things in fractured English. They see daughters who will bear grandchildren born without any connecting hope passed from generation to generation. (p. 31)

Imagination seems to be a necessary element in learning and communicating what is learned, and therefore as deeper levels of communication are attempted, greater leaps of imagination are required. The experiences of students described in this paper show that adult learners wish to communicate the imagination that they possess as well as the knowledge and broad experience that they bring to class. As part of their survival, students want to go beyond their "fragile" English in order to validate the depth and complexity of their lives. They want to be able to maintain a link with succeeding generations and to cement new relationships. As part of the process of acquiring a new language, metaphor releases the element of imagination which students can use in developing skills in reading, writing, listening, speaking and structure. Metaphor can also help to convey the melody of the language, to teach American culture and to build classroom community.

Using metaphor is one tool to enable students to communicate "their truths and hopes" as adults. Because of the often traumatic transitions that they have gone through, so many adult students have lost confidence in their own abilities. Being able to express themselves in a meaningful

way gives them the self-esteem and confidence that they need to survive. Even though the use of the imagination and creativity of poetic language may have therapeutic benefits, in the classroom it can best be used as an art form that gives the students hope that their new language can be a source of joy and accomplishment for them.

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THE ROLE OF SPOKEN ERROR CORRECTION IN SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION: ISSUES IN CORRECTIVE TECHNIQUE

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Abstract

While error correction is often a common component of second language teaching, a great deal remains to be learned about its potential effects, both harmful and beneficial. This paper examines current research into error correction and how it fits into the second language acquisition theories of variability, restructuring, and Universal Grammar. Theories of teaching are then presented and the advantages and disadvantages of various methods of error correction are discussed. This theoretical framework of second language acquisition research and teaching research is then used to attempt to provide a number of guidelines for teachers to use when correcting spoken errors of their second language students.

Introduction

The correction of errors in second language (L.2) classrooms is an important and controversial issue. A lack of coherence, however, between theory and practice of L2 teaching sometimes makes it difficult for 12 teachers to discern the best methods of error correction. This paper makes an attempt to bridge the gap between theoreticians and teachers by synthesizing current research findings and providing L2 instructors with theoretically sound, but practically oriented methods for the correction of L2 errors.

Second Language Acquisition Research

Attitudes towards error correction have undergone a great deal of change throughout the history of language teaching. The Behaviorist emphasis on habit formation that predominated in language teaching in the 1960s still lurks in some L2 classrooms, despite Chomsky's work on the

creativity of Ll speech and Corder's (1967) revolutionary remarks about the potentially helpful nature of errors and error correction in L2 acquisition. This work, as well as that of Selinker (1972) concerning Interlanguage (IL) theory, contributed to Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) in the mid-1970s. CLT was embraced by many teachers, and as the extreme swing began away from grammar-based instruction, theorists began to question the validity of any error correction in the classroom, proposing that it might actually hinder acquisition. Recently, however, the pendulum has begun to swing back to take another look at the potential benefits of error correction and the theoretical considerations involved in any discussion of error.

Variability. While the idea of IL has had a great influence on SLA research, traditional IL theory fails to deal with the problem of IL variability. Research into the variability exhibited in L2 learner speech shows that all errors are not created equal. Errors may be due to systematic or non-systematic variability. If the latter, they can be further classified as either performance or free variability errors.

Non-systematic variation is, perhaps, the most difficult issue for IL theory. The gradual diffusion model of language learning (Gatbonton, 1978) addresses many of the problems of non-systematic variation in IL theory. This model views error simply as variability that the learner resolves over time. Gatbonton postulates a two-phase learning process beginning with an "acquisition phase," during which the learner first uses one form in every situation and later introduces a second form, which is then used in free variation with the first form. Next is a replacement phase during which the learner slowly restricts each form to its respective environment until both are used (theoretically) in a native-like manner.

The recognition of some U learner errors as being the result of variability has important implications for the 1.2 classroom. The teaching of language function as well as form becomes important. Social as well as psychological factors will play a role in a learner's production of errors. Classroom interaction might help the learner sort out various linguistic rules if it takes place under the guise of a number of different social contexts, varying in their formality. In addition, when teachers recognize errors as variable rules that gradually diffuse, they will understand that the process of language acquisition is one that requires meaningful practice on

the part of the learner, rather than only the constant drill work of Audiolingualism.

Restructuring. Restructuring is one explanation offered by modern cognitive psychology to explain how the learner goes about forming and discarding various hypotheses during the process of language learning. This theory of learning stresses the importance of practice in order to automate certain sub-skills of a new task. Automation allows the controlled processes to be freed for higher-level processing. For example, when first learning to drive a car a person must pay attention to running the car and watching the traffic. With practice, however, the person can drive the car while making conversation with a passenger.

McLaughlin (1990) points out that in language learning practice does not make perfect, as is seen in U-shaped development. U-shaped development poses something of a problem for the cognitive model as, upon acquiring a new form, learners appear to "restructure" the entire system, with each new stage characterized by a new internal representation. The process apparently occurs as some cognitive change allows the learner to change from, to use McLaughlin's terms, exemplar-based to rule-based representations. He provides an example in L1 lexical development in which younger children identify age or appearance as fundamental to the definition of "uncle," whereas older learners focus on the more abstract kinship definition, despite the presence of uncharacteristic features.

From this point of view, error can be attributed to a restructuring of learner IL systems. The concept of restructuring may be of great use in understanding the IL transitions that take place in SLA. It can also be helpful for L2 teachers to be aware of the cognitive processes involved in language learning and, thus, better to understand their learners' problems.

Universal Grammar. Another facet of the SLA debate is the proposed existence of Universal Grammar (UG), which some theorists believe to consist of innate linguistic principles and parameters which enable children to form hypotheses when learning a language. Even assuming that these innate principles do exist in children, it remains relevant to question whether or not they continue to exist in older learners. Furthermore, if the principles are found to exist, can they be accessed? Finally, if the older learner can access UG, researchers must find out how

this can be accomplished. The discovery of whether or not, or perhaps to what extent, adult L2 classroom learners have access to the innate principles of UG will have a great impact on the provision of feedback. If UG is fully available to these learners, it would seem that explicit error correction would be deemed unnecessary. Research concerning the availability of UG to classroom L2 learners will be explored in the next section.

Second Language Teaching Research

Potential Problems with Error Correction. To begin an examination of classroom-oriented teaching research, some problems surrounding error correction must be examined. The problems discussed here do not necessarily constitute arguments against any error correction, but rather are warnings of what teachers should watch for and try to avoid when undertaking any form of corrective activity.

Many studies have revealed that teachers' corrections of student errors are often ambiguous and inconsistent. For example, L2 instructors frequently use repetition as a corrective technique (e.g. Nystrom, 1983; Schachter, 1981), even though it is often a signal in normal conversation of non-comprehension, approval, agreement, disagreement, or that the statement has not been heard. Second-language students may often take the teacher's attempt at providing feedback as a natural conversational move, and rightly so, as it is the teacher who is violating conversational norms. Restricting repetition to its normal NS usage would help to eliminate situations where the teacher actually is repeating the sentence because she is not certain she heard correctly, while the student, assuming that an error was made, alters the utterance.

A second major problem with error correction is that it can be potentially useless if the learner is not tending to the feedback. For example, if a teacher provides feedback about an incorrect language form to a student who is trying to express herself on some important topic at that moment, it is likely that that student will not even take note of the correction, let alone assimilate it.

In addition to the problems already cited, some feedback can prove useless because learners are not able to assimilate it even if they are paying attention. Sharwood Smith (1991) points out that sometimes even

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grammatical items that learners are specifically made conscious of cannot become salient to them if their internal learning mechanisms are not yet to a stage where they can attend to the input. For example, if an instructor substitutes a learner's use of the simple past tense with the present perfect, and the learner has no concept of either the form or function of the present perfect, the learner will mimic the correction, but will not be able to attend to it. Apparently error correction is useless when it involves a linguistic stage of development that is too far beyond the learner's present stage.

Finally, error correction might also discourage a learner, especially at the beginning stages of learning, or if the feedback is provided in an inappropriate manner. Too much feedback all at once, or over the course of time, may make a learner feel that no progress is being made or ever will be made. This may also be the case with more advanced but less confident learners.

Potential Advantages of Error Correction. Despite the potential problems involved in correcting students' errors, negative feedback (error correction) has been shown to be helpful in certain classroom situations. There are two components of the language acquisition process that have the potential, theoretically, to be altered: the rate and the route of acquisition. Long's (1983) review of naturalistic and instructional acquisition studies concluded that instruction, which presumably includes error correction, can have a positive effect on acquisition, although, as Ellis (1984) points out, the review shows evidence of effect on only the rate, not the route, of acquisition. A number of studies (e.g. Dulay & Burt, 1973, 1974) have provided strong evidence that the route of acquisition may be immutable. If teachers are aware that some structures are acquired much later in the learning process than others, they will realize that it is generally useless to concentrate on correction of a late-acquired form with beginning learners and can spend more time focusing on grammatical items that the natural route predicts will be acquired earlier.

One of the dilemmas of the communicative classroom is achieving a balance between fluency and accuracy. Despite the many positive aspects of the communicative classroom, too strong an emphasis on language function may result in L2 speakers who exhibit a great deal of communicative competence, but very little grammatical accuracy. While this may be acceptable for some learners, other learners, for example

those who plan to work or study in the TL country, will need to obtain a greater degree of accuracy in the L2. Error correction may be of vital importance to those students who wish to develop a high level of TL accuracy.

One study that supports the use of negative feedback in the classroom is Lightbown and Spada's (1990) work. They found that the accuracy with which students used certain English structures was positively correlated to differences in teachers' instruction. The teachers all spent less than 30% of class time on form-focused activities and rarely "taught" grammar, their emphasis on language form occurring in response to a learner error or to a direct request for TL help. Lightbown and Spada found that teachers tended to focus on different areas of language as the emphasis of such "lessons," for example, one teacher stressed grammar and another vocabulary. Students from different classes varied in their formal accuracy, presumably as a function of the individual teacher's focus.

Addressing the issue of UG, White (1991) explores the problematic case of learners' formations of incorrect L2 hypotheses that cannot be disproven by positive evidence (normal native speaker speech) alone. Under such circumstances, she asserts, negative feedback must be provided for the learner to sort out the L2 rules, as UG will not be able to. White studied the effects of explicit instruction on adverb placement with two groups of native French speakers learning English. She proposed that structures that are acceptable in French, and would be non-occurring with only positive input in English, could pose a problem for French learners of English, as the francophone learner might assume that the French structure is also a viable option in English. White found that, in accordance with her hypothesis, only the group that received negative as well as positive feedback was aware that an adverb may not be placed between a verb and its object in English, as it can be in French.

Felix and Weigl (1991) also examined UG in the classroom and found no evidence that their subjects had access to UG. The situation was an extreme case of pure instructional acquisition, the learners having no exposure to English beyond what they could watch on television. The teaching method used in the school closely followed the principles of Audiolingualism, with teachers discouraging learners from making any utterances that were not grammatically well-formed. Felix and Weigl found that, on a test of grammaticality judgement, learners used systematic

strategies that were not tied to UG. The two major strategies that the students employed were (a) reference to the corresponding German structure as a basis for judgement and (b) a strict adherence to what had been explicitly taught in class. Although the particular teaching style used in this classroom could have been a factor in limiting access to UG, the findings still have important implications for ESL teachers. Since the students were not able to make generalizations on their own, support for some type of error correction is apparent.

Further study, such as White's (1991) work on adverb placement rules, must still be done in order to document what effects, if any, error correction has on L2 acquisition in the long term.

Corrective Techniques. Error correction, then, appears to be a helpful and potentially necessary part of classroom SLA. In order for error correction to be effective, however, it must be done appropriately. This is difficult, as each time teachers decide to make corrections, they have a large number of choices to make in a very short amount of time.

What to Correct. When deciding what to correct, Celce-Murcia (1991) suggests an updated version of Burt and Kiparsky's (1974) notion of global and local errors. Burt and Kiparsky define local errors as those that usually do not impede understanding and global errors as those errors that can cause an entire utterance to be misunderstood. While Burt and Kiparsky work almost exclusively at the sentence level in their definitions, Celce-Murcia proposes that a more useful interpretation for today's communicative classrooms would be to view local errors as those at the sentence level and global errors as those at the discourse level, for example an organizational problem.

While this reinterpretation can be of help to ESL teachers in deciding which errors should be given priority when correcting, a word of caution may be necessary. In spoken language, discourse errors can be difficult, if not impossible, to correct. In addition, because the distinction between global and local errors used in both of the studies is imprecise, a comparison of the original definition and Celce-Murcia's later interpretation might provide the most useful information for teachers. Perhaps the most important function of the definitions at this point is as a device for raising teachers' awareness of various types of errors and

realizing that errors which cause misunderstandings should command the most attention when correcting.

Another important issue to examine when discussing the quick, often intuitive decisions that ESL teachers must make in order to correct an error is the problems that NNSs can have in making such choices, particularly when discourse is involved. The majority of the world's teachers of English as a Foreign Language are NNSs, and while they may be very fluent, it is often difficult for a NNS to make the kind of intuitive discrimination that is done by NSSs when they come across a discourse error. Often NSSs themselves cannot explain why a certain connection or type of organization is incorrect and can only say that it "feels" wrong. Levels of politeness or various styles of information presentation, for example, can be very difficult for the non-native-speaking teacher of English to grasp.

<u>Who Should Correct.</u> Once teachers have identified an error that should be corrected, they face the choice of who should make the correction. Error correction results in the situation of having one speaker impose judgement on another speaker's utterances, which is at best unusual, at worst extremely rude in natural conversations, as Chaudron (1988) points out. Problems can arise from this, especially in a communicative classroom in which an attempt is made to teach language in real-life contexts. One way to make classroom L2 conversations more natural, and possibly more helpful to the learner, is to encourage self-correction.

A study by Kasper (1985) looked into repair (correction) in the L2 classroom. She defines repair as "modifications of trouble sources which have manifested themselves in the discourse" (p. 200). Kasper analyzed a videotape of an English class at a Danish high school, which included both the language-centered and the communication-centered portions of the lesson. Kasper's data show that overall self-completed repair by the learner is favored by both the teacher and the learner. She points out that self-completed repair is preferable as it gives the learner a chance to restore face and provides the teacher with a glimpse at the learner's proficiency. Perhaps more importantly, self-completed repair requires that the learner access and productively employ an alternative target language rule, thereby testing a hypothesis or reinforcing existing knowledge.

How to Correct. Chaudron's point concerning the conversationally unnatural situation that error correction creates increases the argument for providing a time in an L2 classroom strictly for communication, during which there is no overt correction, and a time for discussion about form during which the teacher can provide correction. In doing this, teachers will be showing their students that, as learners, they do not always need to feel the pressure of forming grammatically correct utterances. The activities discussed below may be helpful as models for showing teachers how to make a correction.

In response to the ambiguity and inconsistency of teacher corrective moves that have been frequently observed, Schachter (1981) proposes a series of hand signals that could be used to alert a student to the presence of an oral error in an unambiguous way. She suggests hand signals that form various letters for certain error types, such as a "P" to indicate an incorrect preposition. This type of signal alerts the student to the fact that an error has occurred and is quite specific as to the category of the error. In addition, the hand signals can give students time to self-correct. While Schachter's signals would not be appropriate to use when communication is the focus, as the teacher will want to emphasize natural communication skills, the signals may be of value when grammatical accuracy is being practiced.

As an elaboration on Kasper's (1985) demonstration of the preference for self-correction by the learner, Celce-Murcia (1991) recommends that teachers work to advance their students' abilities to self-correct. Teaching learners to locate errors, she proposes, will lead to an increase in their abilities to self-correct. One activity she suggests is asking students to point out the incorrect sentence in a group of correct sentences. With lower-level learners, who have a more difficult time making grammaticality judgments, she suggests having them simply state the differences between two sentences, thus making them more aware of form. Although the ideas she proposes relate mainly to written language, it is possible for the teacher to utilize this type of activity during oral work. For example, the teacher can ask for alternative ways to state something, or for students to compare the way they might say something with the way the teacher might say it.

Also, increased wait time by the teacher after an error has occurred may lead to more incidences of student self-correction. Although it is not

exactly clear to what extent increased wait time can result in self-correction, studies have shown that waiting can be a valuable tool for the teacher. Holley and King (1971) instructed a group of teachers to wait five to ten seconds after a student hesitated before offering a correction. They found that when the teachers gave the students this extra time, students self-corrected over 50% of the time. Their study shows that some teacher correction may be unnecessary and that offering a correction too quickly can result in overcorrection on the teacher's part and the elimination of a valuable opportunity for the learner to employ a TL rule.

In summary, it appears that ESL teachers should (a) provide negative feedback, (b) provide it in meaningful contexts, (c) set aside a time for explicit error correction and focus on the target language form, (d) provide feedback in a clear and consistent manner, and (e) emphasize correction of errors that impede understanding.

Conclusion

Even though a great deal of debate still continues among ESL researchers about whether or not error correction is at all valuable to the learner, the research above suggests that error correction may provide a beneficial, and perhaps even necessary contribution to second language acquisition. Until researchers provide more certain guidelines, instructors must take into account their students' expectations of language learning, which probably include error correction. At this point the consensus seems to be that in a communicative classroom negative feedback is helpful and possibly even necessary, but only when the students are focused on form.

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USE OF ROUTINE CONVERSATIONS IN TEACHING COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE TO JAPANESE STUDENTS

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Abstract

Theories in pragmatics provide a possible reason why second language learners cannot communicate effectively even though they know grammar, vocabulary, and pronunciation. In this paper, "principles" in communication or rules of language use in English and Japanese are compared in an attempt to find sources of difficulties that Japanese ESL students have. Theories in speech acts, trice's (1975) Cooperative Principles and Lakoff's (1973) study in rules of politeness provide the theoretical framework for the comparison.

The examination of the theories and the comparison reveal two major sources of difficulty: (a) different priority in Cooperative Principles and in rules of politeness which result in strikingly different application of the rules and (b) lack of knowledge of adjacency pairs and other conventions crucial in realizing speech acts. In order for students to overcome these difficulties, the author suggests memorization of carefully designed routine conversations and effective utilization of the memorized materials in class.

Sample classroom procedures are given for effective use of routine conversations for an ideal communicative approach, integrating grammatical competence, socio-cultural competence and strategic competence as equally important components of communicative competence.

Introduction

Japanese language and culture are markedly different from English. This is one reason why Japanese learners of English have a hard time acquiring proficiency in English, despite the fact that most of them study English as a compulsory subject for at least six years. They seem able to acquire linguistic competence, including grammar, pronunciation and vocabulary to some extent, but they cannot utilize what they know to communicate effectively in English.

As an English teacher at a foreign language school in Japan I was teaching the most advanced courses in grammar, reading, writing and public speech. My credentials in English were strong: a high score on the TOEFL, good knowledge of English grammar, and "fluent spoken" English. Sometimes, as I quietly sat in a corner of the teachers' waiting room, a native speaker of English would come in and say, "How are you doing?" Not being sure of what I was expected to say, I would have to think for a few seconds about how to respond. By the time I decided to at least say "Hi," the person was usually already gone. The impression I gave was one of being either very unfriendly or unable to speak English. The real reason was a lack of instruction or experience in how to respond to the basic greeting "How are you doing?"

Principles in conversation, or what D'Souza (1988) calls the "grammar of culture," have long been neglected or treated inadequately in the instruction of English in Japan. Because of this, Japanese students of English either use English inappropriately or become even more silent than Japanese are known to be.

In this paper, suggestions are made for teaching culturally fluent communication and grammatical accuracy at the same time through effective utilization of routine conversations. A synthesis of important aspects of communication is suggested by having students memorize routine conversations and use what they have memorized in appropriate context. The reproduction of the memorized materials is followed by application of the learned items in controlled, unrehearsed contexts. The conversations are to contain culturally and grammatically important elements, which students can apply in other contexts as well.

Effectiveness of the above method is rationalized by comparing how principles in conversations would be realized differently in English and in Japanese. These differences may confuse Japanese students and make it impossible for them to deduce how to respond appropriately in context from what they know about the language and culture. At the same time, unlimited possibilities of utterances make an inductive approach the least feasible. The difficulty in producing an appropriate response may discourage Japanese students from actually using English to communicate, which should be the most effective way for them to improve. Memorization of essential routine conversations would enable those students to use the language and function appropriately in contexts without feeling threatened or embarrassed. This would eventually help the students communicate more actively and more fluently.

Communicative Competence

One source of frustration for ESL students who have studied English for a long period (and have acquired satisfactory control of grammar, pronunciation, and vocabulary) is not knowing how to use the language appropriately in a given context. Another source of frustration is the inability to interpret verbal and nonverbal behavior appropriately. There is clearly a need for students to learn a set of social rules in order to communicate effectively. The ability to produce and interpret verbal and nonverbal behavior is what Hymes (1972) calls "communicative competence," which is minimally composed of "grammatical competence," "sociolinguistic competence," and "strategic competence," as pointed out by Canale and Swain (1980). Sociolinguistic competence is assumed to include pragmatics (including principles in conversations) since sociolinguistics includes non-linguistic elements like non-verbal communication, whereas pragmatics deals mainly with language use in contexts.

Differences and Similarities. Communicative styles differ from culture to culture, but are not totally different. Keenan (1976), having studied conversational postulates in Malagasy society, found that the maxim "Be informative" often does not seem to hold in Malagasy society since Malagasy people are generally very reluctant to give precise information. Keenan, however, points out that the maxim might be observed or violated in accordance with the situation, i.e., how significant the information is, and the relationships between the interlocutors, just as in English-speaking

cultures. But the scope of significance in Malagasy society differs a great deal from Western societies. Malagasy people mostly live in small communities and have a very good idea about what is going on in the community. Because they value information that other people may not know, they are reluctant to give away information which would seem trivial to Westerners.

Nelson (1984) examined the linguistic features used to express politeness in Japanese and found that the rules of politeness suggested by Lakoff (1973) to be universal also worked in Japanese, but "with some modification." Schmidt and Richards (1980) agree that many speech act strategies are universal "only if they are phrased in extremely general terms" (p. 140). They reviewed studies showing differences in communication between cultures. One by Searle (1975) shows that certain idiomatic forms are conventionally established devices for indirect speech acts, so similar expressions would never work in another culture. Schmidt and Richards conclude, therefore, that language learners need to learn particular conventionalized forms. The learners also need to know particular speech acts appropriate to specific contexts.

Richards (1980) points out the difficulty in interpreting speech acts, i.e., acts that speakers intend to carry out by speech. Communication breakdowns easily occur when non-native speakers of English fail to interpret speech acts correctly. Many of the ideas behind principles in speech acts are universal, but when they are applied, the outcome differs a great deal from language to language. Thus, language forms used for speech acts are specific to each language. What is important, then, is to determine to what extent the learners can apply the principles in conversation in their first language to the second language and to learn to discern the differences between the two.

Japanese and English. In order to predict the difficulties that Japanese students may encounter, some principles in Japanese conversation and some in English conversation will be examined and compared here.

Cooperative Principles. Grice (1975) described four maxims, or Principles of Cooperative Behaviors, which operate in conversation.

1. **Maxim of Quantity: Make your contribution just as informative as required.**

2. **Maxim of Quality: Make your contribution one that is true.**

3. **Maxim of Relation: Make your contribution relevant.**

4. **Maxim of Manner: Avoid obscurity and ambiguity.**

These maxims are observed in English, and utterances can have a wide range of meaning by the manipulation of these maxims. However, Nelson (1984) points out that the Maxims of Quantity and Manner are sometimes violated in Japanese for the sake of politeness.

Shi□□ totte moraemasen ka?
Salt get can-receive-Neg
"Couldn't I have you pass the salt?"

According to Nelson, because the speaker intends to be polite, s/he violates the two maxims, Maxim of quantity and Maxime of Manner. In other words, "have you pass the salt" has more than enough information, which makes the meaning of the expression ambiguous.

One would not even need to use the above example to know that the Cooperative Principle "Maxim of Manner: Avoid obscurity and ambiguity," is not always observed in Japanese language since Japanese communicative style is known to be indirect and ambiguous. According to Condon (1984) one of the "Japanese habits" often noted by Americans is that "the Japanese use vague words and ambiguous expressions so that it is hard to know where they stand" (p. 38).

It should be noted, however, that indirectness is also used as a way to be polite in English-speaking cultures and in other cultures. If that is the case, why do so many Westerners think the Japanese are indirect and ambiguous? There must be something different in the way Japanese people are indirect.

Lakoff (1973) argues that there are two basic "rules of pragmatic competence" (p. 296).

1. **Be clear.**

2. **Be polite.**

She points out that clarity and politeness sometimes are in conflict, and when they are, politeness supersedes. This may be natural since establishing a good relationship is often more important than relaying the content. Though these basic ideas are very similar in both languages, the outcome seems to be rather different.

Politeness. Lakoff illustrates rules of politeness as follows:

1. **Don't impose.**

2. **Give options.**

3. **Make A feel good—be friendly.**

Rule 2 operates very similarly in both languages. In English, hedges or euphemisms are used in order to be polite. One may say "He is *sort of* conservative" (hedge), or "He is *doing number 2"* (euphemism). Or one might say *"I guess it's time* to leave" even though the speaker is certain about what he is saying. The speaker gives options to the addressee about the truth of the content in these utterances in order not to sound so assertive as to offend the addressee.

Lakoff claims that "to be clear" is a subcase of Rule 1 of politeness (i.e., "Don't impose"). The purpose of being clear is to avoid wasting the addressee's time and to get the message communicated in the shortest time. While this may be a major way of being polite in English, in Japanese conversation ellipses or unfinished sentences are often used "to avoid the imposition of the speaker's intention or decision on the addressee" (Nelson, 1984, p. 6). This is certainly the case in Japanese. The assumption which underlies the ellipses or unfinished sentences is something like, "If I say this much, this person must be able to understand what I want, and saying more would only sound pushy and rude." This does not mean that Japanese speakers usually say less when they are polite than when they are casual and direct. Japanese speakers tend to have a long introduction to make a point, and the point is often not addressed.

Nelson (1984) points out that Rule 3 works differently in English and Japanese as well. She claims that being friendly and treating people equally might be a way of making somebody feel good in English, but that being formal is the Japanese way of making someone feel good.

Lakoff (1973) states that what is polite for one person might be rude for another person. She concludes that the three rules are universal, but different orders of precedence might be observed in different languages. She has shown how the rules can be manipulated in order to be polite in English. Though further analysis of the differences between the two languages is needed, Lakoff has as least shown that there is a great deal of similarity between the two. Some Japanese ESL learners tend to think that they do not have to be as polite in English as they usually are in Japanese, overgeneralizing the fact that English has relatively few devices for politeness whereas Japanese language has a great many. That is why some Japanese students sound a little too direct, while others who apply Japanese politeness directly into English, sound too polite. Sometimes those who have experienced failure in communication, especially in making requests, become direct or even rude. They first use ellipsis to be polite, which may be very difficult for Americans to figure out, and fail to have their requests recognized and accepted. Then, their realization that they have to be direct and clear may make their later requests sound so direct as to sound pushy or desperate.

<u>Topics.</u> Topic nomination is another potential source of difficulty for non-native speakers although it may not be as serious as the difficulties discussed previously. According to Richards (1980), to select, introduce, develop and change topics is important in conversation. Learners have to know about specific restrictions of topics in the target language, i.e., what to talk about, what not to talk about, and with whom to talk about certain topics in the target culture. Barnlund (1975) carried out a survey about verbal self-disclosure and found that topics Japanese and Americans chose to talk about with certain targets (close friends, acquaintances, parents) were very similar. The most frequently discussed topics among Japanese were matters of interest and taste, followed by opinions about public issues, and attitudes toward work or studies. Financial matters, personality and feelings about one's body ranked lower. Among Americans, the ranking of topics was very similar except that attitudes towards work and studies were the second most commonly discussed topics.

Thus, Japanese learners of English may not have to be very careful in choosing topics for conversations when talking with Americans. However, Barnlund found that the extent of self-disclosure was scored much higher for Americans. What Japanese ESL learners might have to know is how far in depth Americans would be able to go without being offensive when discussing certain topics.

Conventionalized Forms.

1. Speech Acts

Speech acts are things we actually do when we speak: e.g., asserting, reporting, requesting, giving suggestions. According to Richards (1980), "linguistic conventions associated with the realization of speech acts may vary considerably across languages" (p. 419). Thus, it can be very hard for ESL learners to understand the intended meaning. The most common confusing expressions I have heard Japanese students complain about are in fact very simple greetings such as "What's up?" "How is it going?" and "See you later." Many of them try to interpret the expressions literally. They try to explain what is happening in their lives whenever some people greet them saying "What's up?" try to figure out what "it" is when greeted "How is it going?" or why the person says "See you later" when s/he will be most unlikely to see them again. If they only knew that these expressions are conventionalized forms of greetings which do not require "answers" except conventionalized responses, their lives on arrival in the United States would be easier.

2. Adjacency pairs

Very often the second utterances in conversations are identified as being related to the first ones. These pairs are called "adjacency pairs." In other words, the second utterances are predictable from the first utterances. Speech acts are often realized in communication as adjacency pairs. When the partner knows what is expected by the first utterance, the speech act intended by the speaker can be realized. Examples of adjacency pairs are as follows:

a) Greeting-Greeting   A. How's it going?
                            B. Good.

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b) Request-Grant   A. Can I smoke?
                                     B. Sure. Go ahead.

c) Request for information-Grant   A. Do you have the time?
                                     B. It's one o'clock.

Native speakers may take it for granted that Speaker A is just greeting in (a), is asking for permission in (b), and asking for information in (c). However, greeting by inquiring about the partner's condition is an American custom (and it may not really be "inquiring" anything). The use of "can" in asking for permission is an English convention. Native speakers know that in (c) A wants to know the time only because 'Do you have the time?" is commonly used for this purpose. In fact, ESL learners have difficulty understanding the intended speech acts of the first utterances. The students either have to be exposed to the culture for a long time or have to be taught explicitly about these conventionalized expressions.

In (a), an ESL learner might reply, "What do you mean by 'it'? Study, work, or what?" In (b), "Yes, you can, but I do not like it," and in (c), "Time? What time? I do not have time now." In fact, these replies were this author's reactions upon first hearing these utterances. ESL learners need to know how speech acts work in English, and need to know many adjacency pairs in order to communicate comfortably.

3. Opening and closing formulae for speech events

An adjacency pair like *greeting-greeting* is the most common way to open a conversation. If second language learners know the pair, they can comfortably open a conversation, as in the example below from Richards, and can continue the conversation by bringing up an appropriate topic.

A. What's up?

B. Not much. What's up with you?

A. Nothing.

ESL learners also may not comprehend signals for closing. Richards gives examples from Schegloff and Sacks (1973). Closings are preceded by preclosings, such as "we-ell," "OIL..." and "so-oo." Without knowing the

signals, ESL learners may try to continue the conversation, or may not know how to express their own intention of closing.

In Japanese, similar expressions are used for pre-closing just as in English. However, other similar expressions could only be transition or opening of conversation. For example, Japanese equivalents for English expressions "we-ell," "OK," and "so-oo" are expressions such as "eeto...," "anoo...," "zya..." and others. Among those, "anoo..." could often be used for opening, and if not, used to express hesitation in deciding how to continue. It seems that "Eeto..." can only be used for hesitation while searching for words. On the other hand, "zya..." could definitely be used as a signal for major transition or pre-closing. These very short expressions usually do not have definite meaning except that they are used as certain signals. It seems that which one to use for opening or which one to use for pre-closing is just a matter of convention.

Misinterpretation of an opening or closing may cause more serious problems than not knowing how to use one. A frequent complaint heard from Japanese ESL learners in the U.S. is: "Americans often say things they do not mean. They are so insincere. They say 'we must get together soon' or something like that, but they never call me again to make an appointment." If the learners knew that "we must get together soon" can be just a convention for closing, they would not anxiously wait for the phone calls, or misunderstand the Americans when they do not receive any.

Interestingly, Japanese people use a similar strategy for closing conversation "nicely." Many people say "sonouchi asobini kite kudasai ne" ("please come visit me sometime") in closing conversation. Very often they do not mean it. Whether they mean it or not depends on how close the addressees are to the speakers. If the addressees are considered close enough to visit the speakers, the speakers probably do mean it. If not, it is just a conventionalized sociable closing. If non-native speakers do not know this, and visit the speakers, they will most likely embarrass themselves.

The above examples illustrate that although similar rules may be observed in the two different cultures, what speakers actually say to realize some acts is often conventionalized. There are both universal principles and language-specific application of the principles. This is a potentially

serious source of confusion for ESL learners unless differences and commonalities are more precisely studied. To teach ESL learners that Americans are "different" is not useful unless differences are precisely defined. Schmidt and Richards (1980) point out that

> (the Japanese) generally believes and is probably taught (in accordance with the prevailing stereotype) that while Japanese is a very "polite" language, English is "logical," "direct" and not very polite...[therefore] (the Japanese may) be insensitive to the nuances of English politeness. (p. 150)

It is not that the Japanese are indirect and Americans are not. How, when, to whom and to what extent they are supposed to be indirect or polite are different between the two cultures.

For the reasons above, I propose use of authentic routine conversations for teaching communicative competence to Japanese students. Use of such conversations involves (a) presentation of authentic conversations to show how language is actually used to realize certain speech acts, and to show how socio-cultural rules affect the use of language, (b) memorization of conversations and (c) application of the embedded rules in other contexts.

Strategic Competence

Before discussing my proposal for teaching communicative competence further, another important component, "strategic competence," should be discussed. As mentioned earlier in this paper, Canale and Swain (1980) point out communicative competence is composed at least of grammatical competence, sociolinguistic competence, and strategic competence.

Japanese students usually have less difficulty in grammatical competence, but sociolinguistic competence (including rules in language use) poses great difficulty. Although lack of strategic competence would not be as serious a source of difficulty as lack of the other competencies would, strategic competence would be extremely useful to save students whenever their grammatical or sociolinguistic competence is not sufficient.

Canale and Swain (1980) define strategic competence as "verbal and nonverbal communication strategies that may be called into action to compensate for breakdown in communication due to performance variables or to insufficient competence" (p. 30). Other researchers have also examined and discussed similar skills effective for intercultural or interpersonal communication.

Strategic competence is especially important for ESL students or non-native speakers living in the target culture. In Japan, English learners would not have a very hard time in communicating in English because participants in intercultural settings (e.g., workplace, conferences) have good reasons to interact with each other and may have had some training in intercultural communication. In the target culture, non-native speakers have to interact with native speakers who do not have any particular reason to listen to them. ESL students in the U.S. need to talk to strangers, classmates, professors, or government officers whom they meet for the first time. These people may not have to listen to them patiently.

If the routine conversations for teaching are carefully designed so that they contain basic linguistic units or clauses commonly used for successful communicative strategies, the conversations can help students learn strategic competence as well. In fact, many effective skills for intercultural communication will be mainly carried out verbally.

Ruben (1987) identified the following seven skills for intercultural competence (p. 40):

1. The capacity to be flexible.

2. The capacity to be nonjudgmental.

3. Tolerance for ambiguity.

4. The capacity to communicate respect.

5. The capacity to personalize one's knowledge and perceptions.

6. The capacity to display empathy.

7. The capacity for turn taking.

I want to add two more skills for ESL students.

8. The capacity to be a good listener.

9. The capacity to make oneself understood.

Some people have the above capacities, but may not be able to express them effectively, verbally and nonverbally, in a different culture.

Students would find themselves more successful in communication when they take time to use seemingly trivial additional phrases such as "to me, ..." or "as far as I know." These phrases would help them to personalize their knowledge and perception. The following are examples of phrases and linguistic skills to help students acquire the strategic intercultural competence described above.

a. The capacity for turn-taking.

   Phrases: "I think that..." "In my opinion..." "To me..."

   Other related skills: Topic nomination. The ability to bring up another topic to keep the conversation going.

   Nonverbal aspects: Timing to take turns. Eye contact.

b. The capacity to personalize one's knowledge and perception.
   Phrases: "As far as I know..." "To me..." "Up to now..." Use of "some" instead of "all" (Keyes, 1982).

c. The capacity to be a good listener.

   i) Skill for comprehension:

      Understanding various functions of "OK" "Now..." "So..."

   ii) Skill for clarification

      Asking for focused repetition (Baxter, 1983)

   E.g., A: I went   . B: You went where?

Asking for meaning/spelling.

Phrases: "What does that mean?" "How do you spell it?"

Asking for repetition

Phrases: "Could you say that again?" "What did you say?" "Huh?" "What?"

Paraphrasing

Phrases: "You mean   ?" "You are saying   ?i,

d. The capacity to make oneself understood.

    i) Skill for providing feedback

        Expressing difficulty in understanding.

        Phrases: "Sorry, but I did not understand." "I don't understand you."

        Expressing difficulty in answering.

        **Phrases: "Let me see..." "I am not sure, but   ."
"Well..." 'That's a difficult question." "It depends."**

    ii) Skill to check the listener's understanding.

        Phrases: "Have I made myself understood?" "Is it clear?"

    iii) Skill for clarification

        Paraphrasing

        **Phrases: "Or..." "In other words..." "What I am saying is..."
"Let me put it this way..."**

The above examples are important for Japanese ESL students in particular. Skills (c) and (d) are especially useful for Japanese students,

who tend to take too much time before answering questions due to insufficient linguistic ability and different communication styles. Native speakers might misinterpret this as the Japanese habit of "silence." Many ESL students cannot answer a question immediately because they think they need to provide a definite answer and so take time to think. Phrases like "It depends," or "I'm not sure, but I guess..." or use of hesitation noise in English ("ummm...," "weeell...") will help these students a great deal.

The above phrases and skills, useful to achieve better strategic competence, can easily be included in sets of routine conversations. This enables students to learn the phrases and associated skills in appropriate contexts. The phrases can be memorized and can later be applied in real-life situations if students are given enough activities for application. Therefore, teaching all the components in communicative competence can be accomplished through use of well-designed routine conversations.

Teaching Communicative Competence

Explanation of rules associated with communicative competence, such as discussed above, can be complex and endless. Non-native speakers can never master all the principles in conversation and put them into practice. Even if they learn some principles, it is not possible to predict what verbal expressions could be generated from the principles. The deductive approach would not work here.

Memorization of Routine Conversations. Perhaps the most effective *start is* to memorize routine formulae and use them in appropriate situations. As previously discussed, many culture-specific rules seem to be embedded in established convention. Although memorization may discourage creativity of students, it would play an important role in the acquisition of culturally appropriate communicative skills.

Many researchers support the effectiveness of routine formulae (Jorden & Walton, 1987; Nattinger, 1988; Wong-Fillmore, cited in Huebner, 1983). Such formulae are adjacency pairs, clauses, or chunks. Nattinger calls these chunks "lexical phrases" and emphasizes their effectiveness in learning vocabulary rather than memorizing separate words. Lexical phrases can lead to fluency in speaking and writing, and allow the learners to pay attention to discourse, not sentences. He also believes that learners eventually analyze the phrases and find regular rules

of syntax. Wong-Filimore argues that the use of formulaic speech can gradually evolve into creative language when motivated by the learner's needs for communication.

Jorden and Walton (1987) point out that there is no way for the learners to predict formulaic speech, especially when the target language and the native language (learners' native language) are markedly different. They also argue that basic dialogues containing formulaic speech should be the introductory pedagogical unit for further analysis and practice. In other words, learners first acquire routine conversations and then analyze the syntax and the principles of conversation (or culture) underlying the conversations. This may be far more effective than the other way around.

In addition to the above reasons for learning routine formulae, learners can use the formulae immediately. Familiarity with routine conversations for the situations that the ESL learners frequently experience can immediately reduce their anxiety in the target culture. This advantage may be particularly true with Japanese ESL students. As Condon (1984) points out, Japanese prefer conformity with the group to which they belong. They do not want to be different. Conformity to the native speakers' model is not necessary, but knowing how native speakers would behave will certainly help them to know how to behave without being misunderstood. Moreover, this approach may suit the Japanese learning style, which is characterized by a tendency to accept what is presented to them rather than create something new.

For the reasons above, I suggest the use of routine conversations that contain conventional phrases as teaching units: units for teaching usage of grammatical items in contexts, socio-cultural and pragmatic rules and how they are actually applied in the target culture. Conversations to be presented to the students should (a) satisfy the students' needs (i.e., the conversation for the situations students frequently encounter), (b) facilitate understanding of their target culture, and (c) provide a corpus for grammatical analysis. In organizing a syllabus, these conversations can be ordered in consideration of both functions and notions needed by students and the level of grammatical complexity.

Sample Routine Conversations. I have chosen some conversations for Japanese ESL students coming to the U.S. to study. These take place in the situations which they are most likely to encounter as students. Many

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of the students are eager to know the appropriate formulaic speech (if there is any). I asked ten native speakers about their verbal and non-verbal behavior in the following situations. These will not only satisfy the students' needs but also provide them with a corpus for cultural as well as grammatical analysis (modal verbs in Examples 3 and 4).

1. Greeting friends

A: Hi. [smiling]
How are you doing (How ya doin'?) / What's up? / What's happening?

B: Hello. [smiling]
Good. / Fine, thanks.) Not much.
And you?

A: OK.

2. Greeting a professor.

A (student): Good morning, Dr. Brown (or first name if A knows the professor quite well).

B (professor): Hi. [Professor might not answer you in many words but students usually respond in more words.]

3. Asking a professor for a conference.

A (student): Excuse me, Professor Brown, may I make an appointment when we can go over something I'm having a little trouble with?

B (professor): Well, let's see. Tomorrow at three would be okay for me.

4. Asking a friend a favor.

A: John, I wonder if you could do me a favor.

B: Well, I don't know. What's the favor?

A: Can you help me with a paper I am supposed to turn in?

B: Sure.

The dialogues above will be very useful as class material for the following reasons.

1. Students can learn the most common and authentic conventional expressions, and they can first produce the expressions without complex analysis.

2. Through different sets of conversations for different contexts (e.g., different social status of participants), students learn to communicate appropriately in related contexts.

3.   The conversations provide an opportunity to discuss not only cultural behavior, but also other aspects of cultures which immediately affect behavior, such as different levels of human relations: **e.g.,** relationship between a student and a teacher, friendship.

4. The students can practice nonverbal behavior in the class as well as verbal behavior. The dialogues are first to be memorized and to be performed realistically in the class so that students can learn and practice appropriate nonverbal behavior as well: e.g., smiling (Japanese usually do not smile in greeting), waving and hugging (not bowing).

5.   These can also serve as good presentations of modal verbs. Teachers can start discussing other usage as well. Memorization of grammatical items actually used in contexts will enforce accurate production of the grammatical items.

6. By practicing various dialogues, students can learn skills necessary to function in the target society: e.g., how to ask for something, how to accept a request, how not to make a commitment too soon ("what is the favor?") and so on. Very often ESL students may accept somebody's request not only because they do not know that they can say 'no,' but also because they do not know appropriate wording for not making a commitment too soon or for refusing politely.

Sample Classroom Procedure. There may be various ways to utilize routine conversations like the above, but effectiveness of the conversations depends on how they are used in class. For example, just to have students memorize the conversations for reciting does not seem effective since the students probably cannot internalize grammatical and cultural rules embedded in them. The following is an example of effective procedure, an adaptation of methods underlying a Japanese textbook, *Japanese, the Spoken Language* by Jorden and Nada (1987-1990).

(Conversations are to be memorized at home.)

1. Set up the situations in which conversations will take place naturally.

2. "Acting" in the classroom with action, gesture, eye contact.

3. Explain verbal and non-verbal behavior related to the contexts, cultural backgrounds, and useful grammar for the situations.

4. Exercises: acting in slightly different contexts.

Memorizing routine conversations is not a goal for students. It is the way they start learning cultural and linguistic rules. Until students analyze the rules and try to apply the rules in other contexts (Procedure 4), they cannot internalize the rules.

Meaningful contextualized exercises would be essential for application of the rules. It will be very effective to give students slightly different contexts to utilize the rules embedded in the memorized material, instead of substitution of words or phrases. For example, in greeting, give different roles to students. If an acquaintance in the neighborhood greets saying "How are you doing?," you would not even bother to explain your condition even if there is something different on that day. But if a close friend greets in the same way, you might express your feeling explicitly.

The way requests are made may vary depending on contexts: whom to ask, how big a favor it is, and so on. Thus, I suggest that teachers give different roles to students, such as a tenant and an apartment manager, and *give* different requests to make. This is an opportunity for students to utilize their judgement of relationship to decide politeness level, and use

different modal verbs appropriately and effectively. Have the students perform the roles, give comments, show more appropriate and accurate ways, and let them perform again. Trying to figure out what to do in a given context is exactly what students need to do in real life. But, in real life, they do not often have another chance to do better. An appropriate response might *give* a bad impression and affect their relationship. Classrooms are the only places where they can try to improve themselves without affecting their relationship with others.

Conclusion

Universal, yet Language-Specific. It seems that English and Japanese languages have very similar underlying principles in conversations. The similarity is so evident that it seems that they may be universal. Canale and Swain (1980) point out that there must be "rule-governed, universal, and creative aspects of sociolinguistic competence" (p. 16). However, as discussed previously in this paper, the ways those rules are verbally realized are very far from predictable for non-native speakers of the language. Thus, dependence on the students' creativity will not lead to successful communication.

Creativity vs. Control. Various methods of "communicative language teaching" have been recently developed by various researchers in order to teach communicative competence. As Brown (1987) summarizes, one of the characteristics of the approach is that students are to use the language in *unrehearsed* contexts. This characteristic could lead to neglect of grammatical accuracy and to the dependence on creativity. What should be achieved, then, is an optimal balance between control and creativity.

Use of routine conversation as suggested above may help achieve the balance between control and creativity optimal for Japanese students. By providing slightly different and unrehearsed contexts in class, teachers can provide opportunities for students to apply the learned rules and to use some creativity. The contexts presented to students should be controlled and limited so that they only need what they have learned so far. This will allow students creativity within their competence, and will facilitate appropriate and accurate communication. This prevents the danger of "premature creativity" in free communication setting, pointed out by Hammerly (1985) and Quinn (1991).

Memorized materials as a starting point will help students develop a certain level of appropriateness and accuracy. **What's more, the** memorized materials will help Japanese students have confidence in their competence to deal with certain situations. By using the language in meaningful contexts in class, very close to real-life situations, they will eventually become more competent and confident in other contexts as well.

For the successful acquisition of communicative competence, grammatical competence, socio-linguistic competence (including mastery of principles of conversation) and strategic competence are equally important. The suggestion made here is an approach which integrates the three essential components most effectively.

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THE DIARY STUDY IN SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION RESEARCH

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Abstract

This paper provides an overview of the status of diary studies in English as a second language research, a survey of the processes used by the author to conduct her research, and the conclusions she came to regarding the value of the diary study in second language acquisition research. This diary study focuses on sojourner adjustment and coping strategies in a foreign environment.

Introduction

For the purpose of my master's thesis in TESOL, an examination of sojourner adjustment and coping strategies, I analyzed a diary I kept during the two and a half years I lived in Japan as an English teacher.

In opting to do a diary study, I chose to explore a still-developing field of ethnographic research. The centuries-old introspective technique of diary-keeping increasingly has been used over the past ten years to probe various aspects of classroom language learning and teaching for which traditional quantitative or empirical research does not permit accurate investigation (Matsumoto, 1987).

In the last decade, research on diary studies has been gathering momentum, primarily under the impetus of Kathleen Bailey of the Monterey Institute. When she published her diary study of a university French class in 1979, she commented that "the methodology is too new and the literature is too limited" (Bailey, 1980, p. 64) to draw conclusions about the usefulness of diary studies. However, since the publication of the first diary studies in the late seventies, the methods and stylistics of diary studies have been somewhat refined and standardized, although they are

still evolving. Therefore, in choosing to do a diary study, I elected to do a form of participant-observer, qualitative research.

Three major advantages to qualitative second language research, Gaies (1983) suggests, are as follows: first, qualitative research allows for sufficient investigation of the learning processes of second language learners who participate little in verbal classroom interaction. Second, qualitative studies enable classroom researchers to explore and obtain important insights into learners' mental states or the thought processes involved in classroom language learning experience. **Third, the** hypothesis-generating characteristic of qualitative approaches perfectly fills the current needs of second language classroom-centered research, in which many significant variables remain to be discovered.

Van Lier (1988) predicts that observation will form the single most important component of classroom research in the future. He does not assume that observation is necessarily less objective than empirical studies, the notion of objectivity being complex and relative.

Long (1983) agrees with Van Lier (1988), saying:

Most researchers are generally unimpressed by the aura of objectivity that surrounds experimental research, and especially so when it is applied to the study of human beings. Ethnographers recognize the bias inherent in one person reporting events, but some feel it is as safe or safer to trust one's own insights as another's alleged objectivity. (p. 23)

Schumann (1978), who published the results of her study of Farsi as chronicled in a diary, recommends using the diary study to orient other learners. As a language learner in Iran, she felt she had particular difficulties finding language practice opportunities because of the restrictions put on women in Iranian society. Schumann believes that published journals of women who successfully learn second languages in similar circumstances would provide orientation and useful techniques for gaining access to native speakers and for assuring sufficient linguistic input to acquire the target language.

A significant by-product of the diary study is self-reflection and an increased consciousness of their experience on the part of the learner. Butler-Wall (cited in Bailey, 1990) remarked that a diary helped her

> to sort out recurring issues, important questions...It seems that a diary is more than the sum of its parts; although I was the one who recorded every individual item, I did not realize what I had recorded until I had recorded many items. (pp. 224-225)

This synergistic property of the diary study is what attracted me most to diary study research.

Qualities of a Diary Study

A definition of the diary study is given in Bailey and Ochsner (1983):

> A diary in second language learning, acquisition or teaching is an account of a second language experience as recorded in a first person journal...The central characteristic of the diary studies is that they are introspective: the diarist studies his [sic] own teaching or learning.... (p. 2)

The steps Bailey and Ochsner (1983) recommend toward conducting diary research are as follows:

1. The diarist provides an account of her or his personal language learning (or teaching) history.

Also called "cultural life histories," this account contextualizes the diarist's perceptions and observations, and gives the reader some hint of the diarist's focus or bias. This is important because, as Bailey (1990) states, "what the diarist perceives as real may be more important to that person's language-learning experience than any external reality" (p. 86). The diarist's perception of events informs the study, and thus the reader has to identify with the diarist much as he or she would identify with a fictional character in a novel (Bailey & Ochsner, 1983).

2. The diarist systematically records events, details, and feelings about the current language experience in a confidential and candid diary.

In order to avoid the retrospective lapse mentioned by Brown (1987), it is best that the diarist have ample time and access to the diary immediately after participation in the research situation. Bailey (1990) recommends that the time allotted to writing about the language teaching or learning experience should at least equal the time spent in class. Bailey (1983) also stresses the importance of setting up the conditions for writing so that the actual process of writing is relatively pleasant.

3. Once the diary has been recorded, the diarist revises the journal entries for public access.

Names are changed and information damaging to others or embarrassing for the diarist is deleted. However, Bailey (1980) cautions against changing more than the names of the other participants and dates of the study, in order not to dilute or impair the data. Misleading personal descriptions may distort the readers' conclusions about the research.

4. The revised diary is then studied for significant patterns or events.

An issue is usually deemed salient if it arises frequently or with great intensity.

5. The factors identified as important to the language learning or teaching experience are interpreted and discussed in the finished diary study.

Bailey and Ochsner (1983) outline some stylistic preferences for the diary studies as well. As the diary is creative research, in which the author uses the data as a vehicle for expressing personal views, it is critical that the author makes her or his personality accessible to the readers through the writing. Thus, believability is the first standard for weighing diary studies. The reader must accept the author's sincerity and motive in creating a diary study.

Further, Bailey and Ochsner (1983) ask, "why depersonalize the personal?" (p. 193). To this end, it is recommended that diary studies be written in the first person, with active verbs, and that the indirect diction of experimental research be avoided. The diarist must identify, and then bond with, the readership.

Matsumoto (1987) recommends amending the guidelines to address the issues of universality, reliability and methodology. She suggests that the number of diaries investigated for a particular research be not just one but several, and that the researcher investigate other diaries in addition to her or his own, to avoid (as much as possible) idiosyncratic findings. Second, the results of the journal data should be somehow quantified, as in Brown's (1984) research, to make the results more generalizable to other populations.

Preparing the Diary for Analysis

Relatively few diary studies have been published; they are typically very long and the methodology of keeping and analyzing a diary study is new and unpolished (Bailey, 1985, 1990; Bailey & Ochsner, 1983; Matsumoto 1987). It typically takes almost as long to write about the data as it does to analyze it (Bailey & Ochsner, 1983).

The diary included in the appendix of my thesis looks very unlike the four volumes I kept in Japan. The black and white typed text lent itself to analysis, but was unlike the variously inked and collage-like pages of the actual diary. The original diary is not just text. Pasted among my entries are poems, newspaper clippings, notes from other people, song lyrics, sketches, quotations from books, horoscopes, chocolate stains and circled tear drops. The different inks and handwritings used in the diary volumes give it an inchoate, messy look, more various and revealing than the diary in its transcribed form.

To begin my research, I first re-read the diaries closely, marking passages with colored notepaper for reference and inclusion in the completed diary. I specifically looked for entries relating to adjustment problems, language acquisition, interactions with fellow sojourners and Japanese colleagues, and my teaching. However, I soon became impatient with this method of pre-reading and decided to type the diary up as I re-read it, continually weighing what to include and what to leave out.

When I first began transcribing the diary I was severe about what was worthy of inclusion and what was not. As the task continued I became more lenient about including passages which merely reflected the activities of my daily life without shedding light on the four areas I wanted to treat specifically.

Often when I travelled outside of Japan on vacations I wrote lengthy descriptions of the people and scenery. These descriptions were cut unless they referred back to Japan or seemed pertinent. I also deleted most of the references to my family and other people back in Oregon. Finally, I cut all the poems and passages from books which I had recorded in the diaries, even though some of the selections were obvious reflections of my feelings about Japan and my sojourn there. Places where the diary has been cut are marked by ellipses: "..." However, there is no mark to show if an entire day's entry has been deleted.

Despite (or because of) the numerous excerpts, I decided not to revise the words of the diary for public consumption. The spellings and the abbreviations are transcribed, for the most part, as they were in the original diary. I found, as Bailey (1983) predicts, that as I conducted the analysis, events which initially seemed embarrassing became less so. I had a strong commitment to leaving the diary as whole as possible.

While typing the diary included in the appendix, I distinguished words written in Japanese by italicizing them. I wish, of course, that I had been able to actually render the words in katakana, hiragana, or kanji characters, as they were written, and I consider it a significant limitation that I was unable to do so. Putting the words in italics is not the best compromise.

Analyzing the Diary. Once the diary was typed (and therefore much easier to read), I began the analysis. I had already completed the bulk of the review of the literature, and was looking very specifically for evidence of adjustment stages. I had also planned to analyze the diary for evidence of Japanese language acquisition, but the absence of formal assessment of my language skills and the paucity of entries on this topic led me to abandon it.

Using Schumann's (1978) directive to isolate the salient issues of the sojourn, I marked any expressions of emotion which were repetitive or seemed particularly heart-felt. Behaviors were highlighted for the same reasons.

I drew upon my background as a major in English literature to search for themes and patterns. A close reading of any document will usually yield a consistent motif; it was exciting when my diary complied. Not all

of these found "storylines" were discussed in the finished thesis; however, I have found them personally beneficial to dissect and ponder.

Once I had isolated a particular behavior, e.g., "reading," I combed the diary for every mention of that behavior and wrote down the date of its appearance. I then read these references as a whole, selected several for the thesis analysis, and discussed them in the analysis.

The following is included as an example of the thesis analysis. It is an excerpt from the section on situational variables:

<u>Being a "Gaijin" in Japan.</u> I have internalized the concept of being a foreigner to the extent that while I was in Japan I referred to myself and other expatriates as "gaijins" (literally, "outside/people") and even now, writing this thesis, the word gaijin comes easiest. By my second day in Japan I had picked up the term (4/2/87). We were aliens. There was no way in Japan that I could blend in and appear to be a native.

The southern city I lived in was a port sometimes visited by sailors, and had a stable population of over forty Europeans, Australians, and North Americans. Nevertheless, seeing a gaijin was always a rarity, and I was a constant subject of stares, covert or overt, whenever I ventured outside. At first this was delightful; I remember feeling like a movie star. However, the attention soon lost its fascination. I summarized it once:

Town today. People standing on the bus rather than sit down next to a gaijin. Mothers twisting their toddlers around to look at me, & the toddlers crying. Boys following me & saying, "Hello! How are you! I am handsome boy."...Everywhere, stares. (6/26/88)

As my Japanese improved, and I became even more aware of what people were saying about me, my sensitivity rose. While attending the field day of my host sister, I became very upset at being referred to as "gaijin-san," and behaved badly by shouting (in Japanese), 'Hey my name is Susan! It's not gaijin-san, you know! Call me Susan!'...They've no thought that I'm a person, an individual w/feelings" (11/6/89). While living in the dormitory, I had insulated myself as much as possible from the stares and comments of the townspeople. Living with a family brought me out in public, with an increase in upsetting incidents.

Certainly, my obvious physical differences were a summary of my alien status in Japan; during one Halloween I felt so upset about some exclusion from the other foreign teachers that I went to a party as a mime, not speaking at all, only writing, "As a mime, I was there & I made no demands on anyone to entertain me. It was a good analogy for my life in Japan. No one treated me as a <u>person,</u> I was just a white face" (10/31/87).

Being stared at became so usual that I began to remark on it only when it wasn't occurring, as in Hong Kong, when I noticed, "No one looks @ you b/c you're a `gaijin'" (1/3/89).

The "gaijin stares" continually reminded me of the social distance spoken of by Schumann (1978) and perhaps inhibited my acquisition of Japanese. But even when I felt close to the Japanese, my foreign-ness got in my way, as I reflected:

> I got a little homesick for Japanese people while I was in Thailand & sidled up to a few & exchanged exclamations with them. It's strange, though--if I see a Japanese person I feel a little like I know them... I understand their speech, I can guess from what they're wearing what socioeconomic group they're in...Anyway, I feel that kinship with them, but they, looking at me, have no idea of it. Even when I start speaking to them they can't accept me as one of them. Other countries are more willing to do that. (1/5/89)

A strange thing about the "gaijin" fascination was that it was contagious. When Seiki hosted some Australian exchange students I wrote, 'They are so colorful... they all looked different! Our Seiki students were gaping—pt.ing & saying, `Kawaiir I tried to reprove them, but I actually felt like doing the same thing!" (12/4189). When I saw unknown foreigners on the streetcar or in town, I, too, would gawk and wonder about them.

Responding to continuous attention required that I develop some means of dealing with it. Reactions to gaijin stares were compared and debated among the foreign community. On bad days, I responded to what I considered rudeness with rudeness of my own. However, it seems I was able at last to achieve some peace with my status as a foreigner, saying

"I'm also (usually) nicer to people who stare at me or make gaijin remarks" (3/26/89).

I even attempted some consciousness-raising with my Japanese friends, as this passage demonstrates:

I love being called "Oneisan" (Elder Sister). I was telling that to Mr. K. & co. last night & he said, "You foreigners seem to dislike being called `gaijin.' But we Japanese have no other name for you." Oh yeah? I said, "What about 'oneisan' or 'anata' or finding out a person's name? You don't call strangers Nihonjin-san', do you? Then why do you need to say `Gaijin-san'?" I thought I'd made a good argument, & I don't think that group had thought of it before. A little pause & Mr. K said, "Your strong point is in being frank, isn't it?" Ha ha ha! (4/14/89)

This passage was an explanation of one of several personal and situational variables which I thought had had an influence on my adjustment process, and was included with the analyses of my coping strategies and adjustment process.

Blind Alleys. I abandoned several methods of analyzing the diaries. The usual tension between qualitative and quantitative research preoccupied me, and I sometimes felt myself making uneasy compromises, attempting to chart data which was not meant to be visual.

At one point, I began isolating all the expressed emotions in the text, followed by their precipitating event. The idea, taken from Matsumoto (1987), was to connect my emotions with their triggers and to trace a pattern. The results looked something like this:

7/9/87 s.th. fundamentally wrong w/me
    (blc told cdn't use Tandai for pvt lesson)
    deficient as a colleague
    not always cheerful   tired   grumpy   paranoid
    let my feelings show   not professional
    just want to clear out
    prize solitude   dislike responsibility
    I'm a grouch
    need a vacation

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I filled several pages with this sort of analysis before concluding that my criteria for what constituted an "expressed emotion" were fuzzy, and that the triggers were problematically varied. I did not know how to use the results as I lacked any systematic method of linking event and emotion.

At another time, I did a word count, tallying the frequency with which certain concepts were repeated, e.g., "paranoid," "crazy," "happy," "lonely" and "depressed." It was suggestive that far more negative terms were expressed than positive. However, I decided not to include these results because it was difficult to distinguish among the terms meant to describe myself and those which described others. Furthermore, sometimes the word "crazy" (for example) was used lightly, and at other times with great seriousness, and I could not devise a table which would weight those uses accurately.

I had a very similar problem with a graph I made of coping strategies and the frequency of their appearance in the diary. I abandoned this graph because I felt that the number of times a strategy was mentioned in the diary was not necessarily a true reflection of the importance the strategy held for me. A strategy like over-eating, or eating chocolate, for example, might be so common and so relatively harmless that it did not merit remark in the diary, while going away on vacation did. For this reason I did not believe a graph of coping strategies would be a helpful measurement.

In the end, what I did was read the diary text carefully, alert to events of particular salience or frequency, as Schumann (1978) suggests. I read the greater part of the material on culture shock, adjustment stages and coping strategies before beginning my research, and in that way many avenues for analysis were suggested to me.

Finally, as a guide to the diary analysis, I took the words of the Cree hunter who said, upon taking an oath in federal court, "I'm not sure I can tell the truth...I can only tell what I know" (Clifford, 1986, p. 8).

Deviations from the Diary Guidelines. My original intent was to follow, as closely as possible, the guidelines established by Bailey and Ochsner (1983) for a diary study. However, for various reasons I found conforming strictly to the diary study guidelines established by Bailey impractical or unappealing.

Bailey and Ochsner (1983) suggest that the diarist should provide a "language learning history," so that the reader may become acquainted with the character of the diarist: her biases, experiences and personality. I was unable to organize my experiences in a history related to my diary study. Furthermore, I believe my personality is fully accessible in the thesis and in the diary itself.

Bailey and Ochsner (1983) recommend revising the diary for public consumption. I deleted passages which I deemed irrelevant to the study: dreams, news from home, some personal speculations. However, if the diary is so big (over 60 pages in the thesis), it is because I wanted to present the diary as much as possible in its entirety. I felt that even if I did not use all the material in the appendix diary, perhaps someone else could see patterns or themes toward which I was blind. Too, reading the diary, even the seemingly irrelevant parts, reveals the personality of the diarist and conveys a sense of the daily life of my sojourn.

Although I deleted sections, I did not reword the public diary. I felt it would be a misrepresentation to allow the text of the diary to be "polished" to make myself sound smoother, more intelligent and perceptive, in my private prose.

Disadvantages of a Diary Study. The unusual and personal nature of the diary studies invites limitations peculiar to its genre. As with other case studies, but unlike most social science research, the diary studies by definition are not based on a random sample (Bailey, 1985). The findings in the diaries are based on a sample of one, and thus cannot be generalized easily to the wider population. Schumann (1978) concludes near the end of her diary study:

> When I initially undertook this study, I did so with the hope that
> by examining my own language learning I could arrive at some
> answers about what is involved with second language learning in
> general. However, now I realize that what I have learned is how
> I learn second languages. (p. 56)

Bailey's response to the question of the diary's generalizability has evolved with her research over the years. Bailey and Ochsner (1983) concede that the possibility of aggregating the diaries is an "unresolved question" (p. 191). In her analysis of competitiveness and anxiety as

revealed through the diary studies, Bailey calls the insistence upon generalizability "inappropriate" (p. 95) because all learners are unique and functioning in an individual learning environment shaped by their own perceptions, even those learners used in an empirical research study.

Some questions have been raised about the integrity of revising the diaries for publication (Matsumoto, 1987). Ethnographies are summaries of the events observed. Readers have no access to the original data and therefore no opportunity to arrive at their own interpretations. The interpretive lens of the ethnographer is sometimes seen as a distortion, not as a clarifier.

In addition, the re-written diaries may lose the essence of the diary, and eliminate some valuable variables from the study. Without the diary in its entirety, research, especially comparative research, is generalized from only partial data. Brown (1984) asserts that the primary data need to be available for proper hypothesis-generating, and recommends that the diary under analysis be wholly available.

The dual role of the researcher as diarist also may pose an obstacle to the acceptance of diary studies as reliable data (Brown, 1984). Matsumoto (1987) agrees, saying that the diarist may be a language learner or teacher, but, for reasons of objectivity, should not be the researcher. However, in the early models of the diary studies, the researcher provides her or his own data. If the diarist is also the researcher, pre-conceived ideas and expectations about the results of the diary study may influence the diarist's record of events and subsequent interpretation and conclusions.

Bailey (1990), admitting that all diaries "are not necessarily always gems of ethnographic investigation" (p. 217), states that a diary study, like ethnography, is often only as good as the person conducting it. A good ethnographer must be thorough, flexible, nonjudgmental, interpretive, and a good observer and critical thinker.

Ethnography is meant to provide a holistic view of the research topic (Watson-Gegeo, 1988). A frustrating aspect of analyzing my diary was realizing how many variables were involved. To attempt a detailed study of a human being demands too much. I might be required to research physiology, psychology, and sociology. I resolved the problem by finally

drawing some limits. I asked what was the bare minimum the reader needed to know to understand my diary analysis, and left my research at that. During the course of this analysis I chased many paths of which I have recorded but a few. Many other avenues tempted me but I resigned myself to not following them.

A significant limitation to my research was the contrast between my memories of my stay in Japan, and what was actually written in the diary. In fact., some of my clearest and most immediate memories of Japan were not even mentioned in passing in the diary. My dilemma then was whether to use a kind of writer's privilege and include these memories, or to limit myself to what was found in the revised, public diary. The compromise is found throughout the text of the diary analysis.

The thesis attempted to document in detail the effect the host culture had upon the sojourner. It is left to wonder what effect the sojourner had upon the host culture. I see, from the letters and choices of my former colleagues and students, that my presence in Japan affected them. To discover how would be speculative and anecdotal, but no less important.

I often questioned the ethics of using a private document for a public purpose. I wondered what my motives were for doing so, beyond the obvious fascination of studying and learning from my own experience. I felt that my diary might have some significance because of its unusual length, covering the duration of my sojourn. From my research, I knew that the opportunity to use such a longitudinal study is rare, and for that reason I believed my thesis would be a contribution if I did nothing but allow the revised diary to be accessible.

That the diary is a "found" diary, not written expressly for research purposes, is its strength; it also may be its greatest weakness. The diary keeping was not regular, as these entries indicate: "I do want to write in my diary, but I am so tired!" (9/28/87); "Another precious week lost to posterity—it means that it was a full & active one" (6/16/89); and "What a long time since I've written!...Have to rely on letters to Mum to explain. I've been busy" (7/31/89). Factors which may have been significant in my adjustment process may have correspondingly impaired the diary keeping.

Perhaps that truncation of the diary is a metaphor for such an endeavor. The past was lived as a whole. How difficult it is to resurrect

a bygone life and isolate its elements piece by piece. In this diary study I began with a large scope, hoping to analyze and explain all the facets of my life in Japan. My ambitions shrank as my thesis evolved. My purpose became merely to illustrate several coping strategies which worked or were detrimental, and to delineate the stages of adjustment I experienced, in order to confirm or question the stages proposed in the literature.

Advantages of a Diary Study. There are some strengths unique to the diary form. A diary study is exploratory and creative in the sense that it not only generates new hypotheses concerning second language acquisition, but discovers new variables which play important roles in classroom language learning or teaching, thus inspiring further experimental investigation (Matsumoto, 1987).

A crucial advantage of the second language diary study is that it provides a detailed description of all aspects of the language learning or teaching experience. While product-oriented experimental studies investigate only one or a few pre-selected aspects of the second language learning experience at one time, process-oriented ethnographic studies such as the diary study enable researchers to investigate all aspects of the classroom-language experience over a period of time. Therefore, a holistic investigation of classroom language learning or teaching is possible in second language diary research (Matsumoto, 1987).

Diary studies allow a context-laden overview of the language learning situation, but the researcher is part of the context. Thus diary studies avoid the "observer's paradox" discussed by Van Lier (1988), a situation in which the mere fact of having an observer watch the lesson distorts the natural chemistry of the classroom and disturbs the naturalism of the observation. Because the diary study requires little research intrusion, it does not strongly affect the teaching or learning process it observes (Matsumoto, 1987).

Diary studies shed light on otherwise unobservable aspects of second language learning or teaching, particularly on hidden psychological variables in second language acquisition such as affective factors, cognitive style, language learning strategies, decision making, self-esteem, and sources of enthusiasm. Also, the diary study is one of the best methods for focusing on the individual learner, and for discovering personal variables

which influence the process of second language learning (Matsumoto, 1987).

Gaies (1983) points out that the diary study, as it is not concerned with the students' verbal participation in the classroom, allows investigation of the learning processes of even "quiet" learners. In addition, Bailey (1985) argues that whether or not the diary studies can be generalized, they (like other case studies) can be compared for trends and significant variables.

A further advantage of the researcher-diarist role is the certainty of collecting the data. When the researcher analyzes the diaries of other subjects, there is always the chance that the diarist will refuse to hand over the journal, or will not conscientiously record all the relevant data, or will not follow directions when filling out the diary (Brown, 1987).

An important strength in using the diary study lies in the fact that it can be used for purposes other than the research itself (Brown, 1984). Bailey (1980) claims that the keeping of a journal holds "considerable promise both as a research tool and as an aid to self-awareness" (pp. 64-65). Regular reflection may aid in a growing involvement in the topic: Grandcolas and Soule-Susbielles (1986) state that "self-awareness of the partners in the classroom situation is the necessary condition for any real and lasting internalization of the language and any behavioral changes leading to such internalization" (p. 299).

When I first picked up my journals for re-reading, I saw nothing in them worth studying and little to analyze.   I had written myself, in the diary, "Why do I want to write so much when what I put down is so trivial, contributes in no way to my understanding of myself & the world & is just an egocentric exercise to remember my experiences?" (4/3/89), It was only on the third reading, or the fourth, that I began to see some coherence in the diary, and could trace consistent themes and patterns. Now it seems that analyzing the diary could become a life-work, so rich is it in episodes to ponder, study, and analyze.

To me that is a lesson in the fertility and complexity of the human experience and the human personality. It has confirmed for me the value of doing ethnographic work in order to more fully delineate the individuals that people our classrooms and our world.

Some problems could have been eliminated, I think, had I chosen to analyze another person's diary. The text of the analysis would probably be more disinterested—or not. The clumsy tongue of the interpreter is always the distorting medium between the veracity of one person's experience and its communication. Unless one's life is a life of words, words cannot communicate the truth of it; words are a foreign language to describe the lived truth. But there is heroism, I think, in trying to convey what is lived. I recommend it. I encourage others to conduct diary studies. It seems that writing the diary was less than half of the story; the re-examination of the diary was the most valuable part of the journal-keeping. Truly, as a sojourn is more than new scenery and people, a diary is more than paper and ink.

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TEACHING ENGLISH AS A SECOND OR FOREIGN LANGUAGE: A CRITICAL COMPARISON OF THE FIRST AND SECOND EDITIONS
Review Article

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Teaching English as a Second or Foreign Language. M. Celce-Murcia and L McIntosh, Eds. Rowley, MA: Newbury House Publishers, Inc. 1979.

Teaching English as a Second or Foreign Language, second edition. M. Celce-Murcia, Ed. Boston, MA: Heinle and Heinle Publishers. 1991.

A comparison of the first and second editions of *Teaching English as a Second or Foreign Language* provides a comprehensive view of what changes have taken place in the field over the last twelve years, with some similarities in approach, concentration, and depth of coverage, but also many differences. A few areas of focus are omitted all together from the second edition.

In the foreword to the second edition Celce-Murcia (1991) states that its objective is much the same as that of the first, to maintain "a balance between theory and practice" (p. She also writes that goals of the second edition are to "cover all of the areas that are considered critical to successful language instruction: knowledge of teaching methods, background on and strategies for teaching the language skills, new ways to integrate the skills, an understanding of important student factors, and additional information helpful to a teacher's performance and growth" (p. In the second edition these goals are met in ways that reflect not so much a distinct departure from the first edition, as a holistic integration of earlier techniques, methods and approaches with new ones.

In the last decade new approaches have come to the forefront. The first article of section one on Methodology in both editions is an outline of teaching approaches; to the five approaches discussed by Prator and Celce-Murcia in the first edition, Celce-Murcia adds the Situational Approach, the Affective-Humanistic Approach, the Comprehension-based

Approach, and the Communicative Approach. In addition to the lists of defining features of each approach in both editions, in the second edition she includes a discussion of the pendulum swing in the history of language teaching. She calls to attention this phenomenon for "healthy perspective in evaluating the so-called innovations or new approaches to methodology that will continue to emerge over time" (p. 3).

Newton's "Current Trends in Language Teaching" in the first edition and Blair's "Innovative Approaches" in the second edition both look at current trends and approaches in language teaching. Newton's concluding discussion that the trend will be for teachers to simply choose "what appears to be the best from diverse sources, systems, or styles" (1979, p. 24) accurately predicts Blair's discussion. Blair suggests that many creative methods and approaches came out of the 1980s and attempts to help make "sense out of a deluge of creativity" (1991, p. 24). He looks at some of the more unconventional approaches and contrasts them with more mainstream approaches; to many of the approaches discussed in the first edition, he adds more recent methods, such as the Natural Approach and Freire's Problem Posing.

The final articles in the Methodology section in both editions are completely different. In the first edition Heaton's "An Audiovisual Method for ESL" discusses various media for language teaching, including traditional devices and electronic media. This and the content of Gasser and Waldman's "Using Songs and Games in the ESL Classroom" are subsumed in the second edition into articles throughout the Language Skills section, and especially in Brinton's "The Use of Media in Language Teaching" and Schreck and Schreck's "Computer-Assisted Language Learning" in the Skills for Teachers section.

The final articles in the Methodology section in the second edition concern presenting material and teaching ESP. In "Guidelines for Classroom Language Teaching" Crookes and Chaudron discuss many factors involved in a successful language learning environment, including presenting language through modalities (i.e. materials, AV), and rules and explanations; the use of tasks (controlled, semicontrolled, and free); and interactional learning in group work. They also discuss the role of the teacher as a facilitator, the necessity of correction and feedback, and the importance of a warm and inviting classroom climate. Finally, Johns' "English for Specific Purposes (ESP): Its History and Contributions"

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reflects a new focus on teaching not just for survival or for literature and humanities-based learning, but for a wider range of purposes benefiting a larger portion of the student population.

In the Language Skills section in both the editions of *Teaching English as a Second or Foreign Language* some articles have the same focus, yet with slightly different contents, and others are completely different. In the Listening section in the first edition Hershernhorn's 'Teaching Listening Comprehension Using Live Language" gives an overview of the literature from as early as 1945 to 1972 and emphasizes "the need for using live language to supplement materials" (1979, p. 69). This article and Epting and Bowen's 'Restructuring the Language Lab for Teaching Listening Comprehension and Related Skills" are subsumed into Morley's "Listening Comprehension in Second/Foreign Language Instruction" in the second edition. Morley stresses that listening is an active, not a passive, aspect of the process of communication (1991, p. 86), which may have been assumed but not emphasized in the first edition, and stresses the necessity of listening to understand, not just to repeat. She also brings up the argument that affective factors and attitudes may impinge on the learner. In addition to including live language in the classroom, Morley's focus is to develop listening comprehension activities and materials which are relevant and task oriented. Her article also contributes some useful sample lesson activities, which increase the practical applicability of the second edition over the first.

An entirely new focus, "how people learn to listen, and how listening promotes learning" (1991, p. 107), is presented in the second edition in Peterson's "A Synthesis of Methods for Interactive Listening." She shows how the development of listening skills is linked with a psycholinguistic model of cognitive processing and introduces bottom-up, top-down, and interactive processes into the discussion of listening comprehension. She shows at what stage of development a learner can benefit from practice through different kinds of activities, and follows with exercises for different levels using these different processes.

In the Speaking section of both editions the focus is communicative competence. In the first edition Campbell's "Linguistics and Social Aspects of Communicative Competence" compares rules of pronunciation, word grammar, and sentence formation that characterize different languages to illustrate that the rules of communicative competence differ from culture

to culture. Following Campbell's article is Mockridge-Fong's review of late 60s and early 70s literature on teaching speaking, 'Teaching the Speaking Skill," into which she weaves many teaching activities, some communicative and some traditional. She concludes by emphasizing teaching in "total contexts" as opposed to in "isolation" (1979, p. 99).

The articles in the second edition reflect the synthesis and incorporation of the communicative approach during the 1980s. Riggenbach and L.azaraton's "Promoting Oral Communication Skills" goes beyond discussing the importance of communicative competence in language learning to provide some well-developed communicative activities: linguistically structured, performance, participation, and observation activities. In 'Teaching Speech Act Behavior to Normative Speakers," Olshtain and Cohen demonstrate that teaching speech acts is a useful context in which skills can be taught, as in the grammar of modals.

Bowen's "Contextualizing Pronunciation Practice in the ESOL Classroom" in the first edition and Celce-Murcia and Goodwin's "Teaching Pronunciation" in the second edition both discuss teaching pronunciation through contextualized techniques, emphasizing "real" world speaking "in meaningful contrasts and in situations that are both relevant and interesting to the students" (1979, p. 101). Celce-Murcia and Goodwin provide, along with Bowen's contextualized drill technique, other contextualized exercises, such as chain drills, recitation, and the use of pictures, diagrams, and slides. Furthermore, they discuss communicative activities for speaking practice, such as interviews and role-playing and dramatization, as well as individualized practice ideas, such as audiotaped dialog journals, the language laboratory, and tutoring. They also stress the importance of feedback and correction and that pronunciation instruction lends itself to integration with activities geared toward other skills.

In both editions the Reading section contains an article on teaching reading to nonliterate adults. Lewis' "Preliteracy Activities for Adolescents and Adults" in the first edition includes a number of activities that "move from the concrete to the abstract" (1979, pp. 113-114). In the second edition Haverson's "Adult Literacy," on the other hand, makes a crucial distinction between a strategy-based model and a skills-based model for teaching adult literacy (1991, p. 185). He writes that a skills-based model "denies the very nature of adultness" (1991, p. 186) and that a strategy-based, or whole language, reading model views reading as a

"successful interaction of conceptual abilities, background knowledge, and processing strategies" (1991, p. 186). As does Lewis, Haverson discusses the unique characteristics and needs of the nonliterate. Thus, while both authors propose language experience activities for teaching adult literacy, Haverson's emphasis is on teaching by valuing the adult as a wealth of personal experience and knowledge, and on incorporating this into learning activities.

A notable omission from the second edition is Hatch's "Reading a Second Language" which deals with "word-attack" skills, including phonetics, syllabary, linguistic, and whole word methods. In place of Hatch's article is Hawkins' Teaching Children to Read in a Second Language," which puts the teaching of skills into perspective by viewing it as a part and not the whole of teaching reading. Hawkins' discussion incorporates recent research in psycholinguistics, which views reading as "decoding, prediction, and schemata building" (1991, p. 182).

In the first edition, the articles "The Teaching of Intermediate Reading in the ESL Classroom" and 'Teaching Reading at the Advanced Level" by Gaskill and Gorman, respectively, are subsumed into Dubin and Bycina's "Academic Reading and the ESL/EFL Teacher" in the second edition. Dubin and Bycina stress an interactive model for reading instruction that provides practice in both bottom-up and top-down strategies from psycholinguistic research (1991, p. 197). They write that the combination of these two strategies will address learners on both ends of the ability scale: those who "rely on bottom-up processing and fail to take advantage of previous knowledge and predict...[and those who rely on top-down processing who] overlook textual clues and guess wildly at the meaning of a passage" (1991, p. 198). They also include a discussion of cultural dimensions to reading, which calls to attention crucial differences in how different cultures approach and use reading.

Finally, omitted from the second edition's is Povey's "The Teaching of Literature in ESL Classes," the focus of which is taken up again in the Integrated Approaches section (which will be discussed below), yet in an entirely different manner. In place of literature, the second edition includes an article focusing on English for Science and Technology, "EST Reading," by Lynch and Hudson. Although Gorman mentioned the needs of the science and technology student population in the first edition, this

focus on EST is new to the second edition and marks a concern in the field to more fully address actual needs of a broader student population.

The Writing section in the first edition begins with Gorman's "The Teaching of Composition," in which he suggests an interactive approach that links the use of reading and writing in a text-based approach to teaching writing. Similar to Gorman, in the second edition Kroll's 'Teaching Writing in the ESL Context" advises including reading in writing assignments to provide models and to encourage ability to function in college environments where students are asked to synthesize large amounts of material and prepare academic writing based on it. Kroll continues that the focus in writing has shifted from a product approach to a process approach. She focuses on "free" writing (as opposed to "controlled" or "guided" writing) in the academic curriculum (1991, p. 249), and departs from Gorman in emphasizing the importance of teaching techniques for getting started in the writing process, as in activities such as brainstorming, listing, free writing, and clustering.

A major difference between Gorman and Kroll is that Gorman stresses teacher correction of student writing, stating that he himself corrects assignments in detail (1979, p. 198). In contrast, Kroll stresses the importance of the goals, timing, and content of feedback and includes peer response along with traditional teacher response.

The contents of Cronnell's "Spelling English as a Second Language" in the first edition is largely subsumed into Olshtain's "Functional Tasks for Mastering the Mechanics of Writing and Going Just Beyond" in the second edition. Olshtain's article is geared for early writers, and advocates the teaching of sound-spelling correspondences and English consonant and vowel combinations. Olshtain goes beyond Cronnell in linking the mechanics of writing with the composition process, in that writers must focus on linguistic accuracy and content organization for communicative competence in writing (1991, p. 242). In effective writing, she stresses the importance of writing as communication and as directed towards an audience.

Finally, an addition to the second edition is Frodesen's "Grammar in Writing." Frodesen emphasizes that it is important to help students edit and "provide them with a variety of syntactic strategies for effective communication and help them understand how grammar contributes to

meaning'' (1991, p. 266). The inclusion of this article in the second edition reflects the new focus on integration (1991, p. 265).

In the Grammar and Vocabulary section Larsen-Freeman contributes "Issues in the Teaching of Grammar" to the first edition and 'Teaching Grammar'' to the second, and much of the contents of McIntosh's "Grammar Sequence" from the first edition are subsumed into Larsen-Freeman's second article. Larsen-Freeman's focus in both editions is on deductive and inductive teaching and learning strategies, the need for a mix of these strategies in the classroom to suit the different learning references of the students, and the effectiveness of recycling material instead of teaching linearly (1979, p. 226; 1991, p. 284). Overall, the difference between Larsen-Freeman's two articles reflects growth and maturity of views she has held consistently on teaching grammar.

The approach to teaching Vocabulary in the two editions is different. Celce-Murcia and Rosensweig's 'Teaching Vocabulary in the ESL Classroom" in the first edition holds that it is the teacher's duty to "arouse in his or her students a genuine interest in vocabulary'' (1979, p. 256). Seal, on the other hand, in 'Vocabulary Learning and Teaching" in the second edition, writes: "for years, learners have been telling us that they want to increase their vocabularies'' (1991, p. 309). The techniques offered by Celce-Murcia and Rosensweig can be subsumed into Seal's "three-C's": techniques to "convey meaning," "check," and "consolidate." Seal's activities, moreover, are designed to get students to relate vocabulary words to personal experience (1991, p. 295). The articles in both the first and second editions advocate encouraging students to read extensively as the best way to build vocabulary (1979, p. 255; 1991, p. 309). Seal adds that it is important to teach not just a large vocabulary, but collocation, the "how" of vocabulary use, so that learners know the combinations of possibilities for a word (1991, p. 306). Noticeably absent from the second edition is a discussion of the use of idioms in teaching vocabulary (1979, p. 251).

Both editions of *Teaching English as a Second or Foreign Language* contain sections that focus on the Student, yet in the second edition the terminology has changed to Learner, reflecting a change in how the teaching relationship is viewed, from a student/teacher to a learner/facilitator relationship. In both editions several articles address the following issues: the differing needs of ESL students (an almost identical

discussion by Peck in both editions), linguistic minority groups, and adult education.

McGroarty's "English Instruction for Linguistic Minority Groups" in the second edition covers most of the same issues as Arthur's 'Teaching English to Minority Groups" in the first edition. There is additional attention given in the later article to "different forms of language that may impede communication or comprehensibility" and to "different approaches to style" for different cultures (1991, p. 373). McGroarty's discussion of the different speech communities involved is also more comprehensive than Arthur's; she includes, among others, Native Americans and the deaf. Both authors emphasize maintenance of the first language, yet McGroarty goes farther in proposing a cooperative learning classroom arrangement to "offer a better chance for providing the cognitive and linguistic scaffolding that supports further language development" (1991, p. 383).

In Heaton's "The Adult ESL Classroom" and in Hilles' "Adult Education" in the first and second editions respectively, the authors similarly define the adult student population and its needs, yet propose different ways to go about teaching adults. While Heaton proposes accessible games, language experience activities, and survival English, Hilles stresses taking the maturity and extensive life experiences of adult students into account when designing learning activities.

An important addition to the section on Learners in the second edition is Enright's "Supporting Children's English Language Development in Grade-Level and Language Classrooms." As in the addition of Hawkins' article on teaching reading to children, this inclusion of children in the discussion of ESL reflects a more comprehensive view of the actual student population.

The section on Teachers in both editions of *Teaching English as a Second or Foreign Language* contains articles which address planning lessons, selecting and evaluating textbooks, media, testing, and keeping up to date as an ESL professional. With basically the same layout and topic coverage from the first to the second edition, the articles in the second edition are more comprehensive. For example, while Celce-Murcia and Gorman's "Preparing Lesson Plans" in the first edition gives a list of information that should be included (1979, pp. 295-296), Purgason's "Planning Lessons and Units" moves beyond the format of the lesson plan

to include a discussion of the context for planning and different principles and uses that determine the shape of a lesson (1991, pp. 420-423). Similarly, an addition to Daoud and Celce-Murcia's "Selecting and Evaluating a Textbook" in the first edition, Skierso's 'Textbook Selection and Evaluation" in the second edition includes an additional preliminary information survey for textbook evaluation.

In the first edition Bailey and Celce-Murcia's "Classroom Skills for ESL Teachers" discusses aspects such as attention to the social climate, incorporation of a variety of learning activities, encouraging student participation, care in feedback and correction, and teacher self-evaluation. While such an article has been omitted from the section on Teachers in the second edition, these aspects have been incorporated into many articles throughout the book. A notable addition to the second edition is Schreck and Schreck's "Computer-Assisted Language Teaching."

The discussion of language testing in both editions reflects a growing observation among language teaching professionals that tests have been misused and that a more constructive view of language testing is needed (1991, pp. 486-487). To this end, Cohen, the author of both articles, includes a discussion of the importance of teaching test-taking strategies in the second edition.

Finally, both Thompson's "Keeping Up to Date as an ESL Teacher" in the first edition and Crandall's "Keeping Up to Date as an ESL Professional" in the second edition list such resources as professional organizations, periodicals and journals, and publishers. Crandall's article adds to this list book reviews, textbook selection committees, curriculum development teams, workshops, research and collaborative projects.

Section three on Integrated Approaches is completely new to the second edition. Snow's 'Teaching Language Through Content" presents "the use of subject matter for second language teaching purposes" (1991, p. 315) and stresses that "the main instructional goal is to prepare second language students for the types of academic tasks they will encounter in school, college, or university" (1991, p. 315). The content-based approach teaches the four skills with the addition of the fifth skill: study skills (1991, p. 319). Stern's "An Integrated Approach to Literature in ESL/EFL" subsumes Povey's article on literature in the first edition and is an example of teaching content in an integrated way. Moreover, Stern's approach to

teaching literature necessarily integrates skill areas and teaches cultural similarities and differences. Finally, Eyring's "Experiential Language Learning" defines experiential language learning as "more than providing natural experiences so that learners acquire the language; it also deliberately teaches learners, as whole people, about how to learn" (1991, p. 347).

In conclusion, this new section on Integrated Approaches is reflective of the change in focus from the first to the second edition. While the first edition reflects a departure from the audiolingual method and the advent of many new approaches, the second edition reflects maturity and depth in integrating various approaches and methods from the past.

A SHORT COURSE IN TEACHING READING SKILLS. Beatrice S. Mikulecky. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company. 1990.

Review Article

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This guidebook to teaching reading is based on the interactive approach to reading, an approach that emphasizes both bottom-up (identification) and top-down (interpretation) processes. The book is intended for teachers whose students already possess the elementary literacy skills. It begins with a succinct and comprehensible summary of recent research in reading and then proceeds to illustrate how theory may be put into practice. Mikulecky focuses on methods of teaching reading skills within a framework of collaborative learning and on raising the learners' conscious awareness of those skills. [It should be noted that while several researchers, such as Haverson (1991), make a clear distinction between reading *skills* (focusing on word identification) and reading *strategies* (focusing on comprehension), Mikulecky uses "skills" as a cover term for both.]

The text is divided into three sections, the first of which treats relevant research and theory. The second section is devoted to an enthusiastic rationale for incorporating pleasure reading into the curriculum. The third section, comprising the bulk of the book, specifically addresses the teaching of reading skills. In addition, an appendix contains further information about various theoretical and practical concerns. The main tenets of the book are examined below in light of current research in teaching reading.

According to Grabe (1986), teachers of English as a second language should strive to enable their second-language readers to read in a way that approximates that of native speakers. That is also clearly Mikulecky's goal for ESL teachers. While several other researchers mention the cultural aspects of reading (Dubin & Bycina, 1991; Eskey, 1986; Grabe, 1986), Mikulecky explores them more deeply, examining the mismatch between the schemata assumed by native-speaker authors and those possessed by second-language readers. She suggests that the second-language teacher's

task is to understand that different cultures have different schemata, to be sensitive to those differences, . and to help to build new schemata in second-language learners. This she terms "teaching an alternative cultural literacy" (p. 5), which involves teaching learners native-speaker-lie ways of reading, thinking about, and interpreting texts.

Many researchers, including Grabe (1986, 1991), Haverson (1991), and others, emphasize the importance of extensive reading and the need for teaching skimming, scanning, previewing, and bottom-up skills. However, their writing often consists of masses of theory sparsely punctuated with practical examples. Mikulecky, on the other hand, lists 24 necessary top-down and bottom-up reading skills compiled from diverse research, and packs her book with helpful suggestions and classroom-ready sample activities for teaching them. Interspersed strategically among these is theoretical explanation.

The section on extensive pleasure reading is exuberant and practical. Others *say* it should be done, but Mikulecky gives ideas for actually incorporating it into the class. She also includes a strong (but not dominating) emphasis on bottom-up skills which, according to Grabe (1991), is necessary, though often neglected. Most of the bottom-up exercises focus on rapid word recognition and taking in phrases or chunks, as advocated by Stoller (1986). In the vocabulary section, Mikulecky gives a surprising caution against teaching vocabulary in pre-reading activities (p. 81), in agreement with Seal (1991). She also recognizes the need in academic settings for the direct teaching of vocabulary (see Grabe, 1991) and gives three types of exercises that teach vocabulary in context. In addition, the book includes extensive sections on identification of topics and main ideas and on teaching formal schemata, or the recognition of textual organization patterns. In all, the text is a very useable blend of theory and practical examples.

However, comparison of Mikulecky's book with current research reveals some problems. First, with so much emphasis on teaching skills, a question could be "When do the students actually *read?*" It seems that skill-building exercises would take up most of the class time. Indeed, in the sample time-frames for reading classes (p. 32), intensive reading is scheduled for only 30 minutes out of two and a half hours of reading class per week. This does not seem compatible with the "pre-reading, while-reading, post-reading" lesson format recommended by Dubin and

Bycina (1991) and Grabe (1991). (Still, it should be noted that some of Mikulecky's exercises, such as rate-building, do involve reading in a meaningful context.) **In addition, with the exception of her** recommendation of pleasure reading, no explicit emphasis is placed on the use of authentic materials in the classroom. Neither is there any mention of the theme- or content-based reading that is endorsed by Grabe (1986) and Dubin and Bycina. None of these issues are addressed at all by Mikulecky.

There are also two areas that Mikulecky treats insufficiently. First, although she recognizes activating and building readers' schemata as important, she includes very few suggestions on how to do it. The activities mentioned are teaching learners to preview a text, encouraging learners to predict, and "Prep" (Pre-reading Preparatory Instruction, p. 41), which is essentially semantic mapping. Secondly, the rate-building section seems less practical than other sections, being over-dependent on commercially available rate-building kits. But even so, the examples shown give teachers ideas of how it might be possible to use any passage for rate-building.

It must be pointed out that none of these shortcomings in Mikulecky's book result from conflicts with current theory in the teaching of reading and all of them could be resolved with minor adjustments in emphasis—adjustments which would be well worth the effort considering the wealth of practical examples and usable theory contained in the book.

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TEACHING ENGLISH OVERSEAS: AN INTRODUCTION.　　**Sandra Lee McKay. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press. 1992.**

Review *Article*

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Relatively little attention has been given to the practical professional considerations of teaching overseas in an EFL setting, where it is the teacher, rather than the student, who is in the minority. While there does exist a range of resources on such things as culture learning, intercultural communication, and job listings that are available to the language teaching professional wishing to work overseas, the practical aspects of what is actually involved—the various contexts within which language is taught-- have been left largely untouched.

It is into this gap that Sandra McKay has stepped with *Teaching English Overseas: An Introduction,* an introductory text designed to bring together and examine exactly how sociopolitical, economic, cultural, educational, and institutional factors affect the teaching of English in countries where it is not spoken as a native language. The book is divided into two parts. The first part deals with the broader picture: the sociopolitical, economic, and cultural contexts, and their impact on the teaching of English. The second part narrows its focus to the effects of educational and institutional factors.

Chapter One examines language planning (the status accorded a given language, and the means used to develop that language, both in the society as a whole and in education), the types of nations under consideration (A-modal, uni-modal, or multi-modal), and the objectives sought: nationalism (national identity) or nationism (the practical exercising of government). Chapter Two deals with the economic context of teaching English overseas, with an examination of the factors involved in both the international and intranational spread of English.

The concern of Chapter Three is the cultural context of teaching overseas, which determines how and what kind of English gets taught, involving the goals perceived for education and the roles of the teacher

and student. Chapter Four reviews the educational context and how the practical outworking of government-mandated language policies manifest themselves. Finally, Chapter Five concerns itself with the institutional contexts that the expatriate teacher may encounter—the public, the privately-funded, and the private—along with their advantages and disadvantages.

There is much that I liked about this book. To begin with, I agree with the three things that the author stresses at the beginning, first that the teaching of English is a socially and politically significant act that is reflected in the specific manner in which the language operates in a particular country. Second, since the function of schools is to symbolize and strengthen cultural values, the biases that expatriate teachers possess as to what constitutes "correct" methodology must be recognized and examined. Finally, a teacher's primary concern when overseas should be the improvement of their students' English proficiency within the context of prevailing social and educational structure, rather than the changing of that structure.

Of course, this last point does not mean that the teacher cannot use whatever channels are available to seek change when something arises that he or she perceives as a problem affecting the welfare of the students, even if it does deal with the prevailing social and educational structure. The issue is much more the degree to which change is sought.

Other aspects that I appreciated about the book were the "implications for language teaching" offered in each chapter. I found them quite useful, and often very insightful. The author states that language policies are made often out of ignorance or political expediency. Consequently, the English teacher can become, in effect, a tool of a host country's policy for upholding the status quo. In another instance she points out that due to the perceived connection overseas between English and socioeconomic mobility, there may be an increase in the demand for curricula that emphasize technical language over literature, reading over speaking, and formal rather than informal English.

The format was another part of the book that I thought useful, with case studies (providing good illustrations of each topic), questions for "exploring the ideas," further research options and related readings at the

end of each chapter. The format, coupled with the content, makes the book an ideal classroom text on the subject.

Thus, for the person contemplating teaching EFL overseas, or the teacher already in the process of going, *Teaching English Overseas* offers a very good introductory source of practical information, told in a forthright, well-exampled manner. Yet it is not without a few deficiencies. For example, in discussing the implications for teachers concerning educational factors, in Chapter Four, the author on several occasions recommends that prospective teachers "observe classes" and "talk to local teachers." This is the kind of advice that would seem appropriate only for those people who already happen to be "in-country," not for those who are half a world away (unless they have the courage—and the airfare—to take a chance). In many countries of the world, this would be extremely difficult, if not impossible. A few more words by the author on just how to implement these recommendations, with perhaps a case study of a person who had done so successfully, would have been helpful in this regard.

Another limitation perhaps more significant than the above is the author's decision to confine her discussion to professional concerns, and not to address more thoroughly the practical issues of living in another culture and the adjustments that are involved. This is a serious omission, because these two areas will have an unavoidable impact on a teacher's job performance. While McKay does imply that teachers need to respect cultural differences as well as be aware of their own cultural conditioning, she makes no mention of how difficult a process cultural self-awareness is, or even that the process is something that a person tends to resist, being an "emotional event" derived from experience alone, and which presents a serious threat to an expatriate's sense of self-control and cultural identity (Hoopes & Pusch, 1979). Furthermore, the author fails to mention the step that precedes both cultural self-awareness and respect for cultural differences—that a teacher must have a secure, positive identification with his or her own culture in the first place (Hoopes & Pusch, 1979).

Despite these criticisms, however, those who have had the opportunity to live and work abroad will recognize the service that Sandra McKay has done in writing this book. It fills a very specific, very pressing need in a practical, straightforward manner, and will serve well as an introductory

guide to embracing the challenges and avoiding the pitfalls of teaching English overseas.

REFERENCES

Hoopes, D. S., & Pusch, M. D. (1979). Definition of terms. In M. D. Pusch (Ed.), *Multicultural education: A cross cultural training approach* (pp. 2-38). Yarmouth, ME: Intercultural Press.

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