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**Oregon Teachers of English to
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The ORTESOL Journal

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In this Issue

This issue of the *ORTESOL Journal* contains articles that reflect the diverse interests of TESOL professionals. Contributions represent the range of settings where TESOL education occurs, including K-12, university, adult education and EFL programs.

- In his article, Bickford Grant discusses the issues involved in whether or not to use the target language in a language classroom. He measures learners' attitudes toward an English-only classroom language policy in six language schools in Japan. He concludes that learners' negative attitudes toward an English-only classroom language policy may impact its pedagogical usefulness.
- In her article, Yoko Iwasaki presents results from a study of language learners' acquisition of English vowels. She looks at the differences between the learners' native Japanese vowels and the English vowels that are new versus those that are similar to Japanese vowels. She concludes that new vowels are more difficult than similar vowels, which makes it difficult for even very proficient English users to completely acquire English vowels.
- In her article, Keiko Ikeda compares the way in which Japanese language speakers encode social meaning compared to the way English users do. She concludes that the differences make it difficult for speakers of one language to learn to encode social meaning in the other. She presents some teaching suggestions that might help students develop socio-pragmatic competence.
- In her research report, Char Heitman examines the acquisition of back channeling devices by learners of English. She finds that the number and variety of back channeling devices used change as students acquire English. She concludes with proposing possible reasons for this change.
- Sheila Cannell Cullen reviews *ESL/EFL Teaching: Principles for Success*, a new edition of this popular book. She describes its useful background information, thorough description of ESL settings and practical lesson planning advice for K-12 practitioners. She also describes the authors' over-reliance on whole language and disdain for other approaches that might supplement a whole language curriculum.
- In her review of *A Courage to Teach*, Pat Bryan describes a book that is written for all teachers who want to connect their personal identity

and integrity with their professional personas. She describes how the authors provide approaches to accomplish this connection.

- In her review of *Context and Culture in Language Teaching* Laurene Christensen describes the author's perspective on a language educator's role in teaching and interpreting culture. She describes how the author is sensitive to the challenge of teaching culture as an important aspect of helping students develop intercultural competence.

Student Attitudes Toward English- Only Classroom Policies

Rickford Grant

Toyama Kokusai University of International Studies

Every teacher stepping into a language classroom implements a classroom language policy whether aware of doing so or not. Many teachers in the EFL setting set upon English-Only as such a policy without really knowing why. This article examines the background of English-Only pedagogy and the reactions that students have to it and other alternative policies. Although English-Only is seen as giving students maximum exposure to and practice in English, it can also act as an affective barrier and, thus, potentially nullify any benefits. And yet, despite the general trend away from such policies, it is not clear what policies best act as a replacement, for implementation of alternative policies can prove to be just as complex and contradictory.

Rickford Grant received his MA TESOL from Portland State University and has been teaching in the field for almost 20 years. He is currently a lecturer at Toyama University of International Studies in Japan. His interests include cross-cultural perceptions and representations, critical pedagogic ideologies, and linguistic and literary analyses of absurdist literature.

Introduction

Classroom realities dictate that every English language teacher at some early point in his or her career comes to a decision, whether consciously or not, as to the role that the students' native language is to play in the classroom. In the ESL setting, it is most often the case that students within a given class come from a variety of linguistic backgrounds. Such linguistic diversity necessitates the use of English by students and teachers as a classroom *lingua franca*, thereby making such decisions of classroom policy *per se* essentially less crucial or, at least, obvious. There are also those numerous ESL settings in which the class is from a homogeneous linguistic background and has a teacher capable in that language and feeling its use as a teaching tool beneficial. In either of these cases, there is the general assumption that the world outside the classroom will provide more than sufficient authentic input and extensive linguistic practice deemed necessary for the students.

The factors which lay such questions of classroom language policy largely moot in the ESL arena, however, do not generally exist to any comparable extent in the EFL setting. Due to the dearth, or even total absence, of opportunity for English interaction, the classroom often comes to be seen as a substitute for an English-speaking outside world. The goal of creating such an ersatz environment sets in many teacher's minds the need for some sort of policy or rule set which requires that the students function primarily or, as is very often the case, solely in the target language. Although such English-Only policies have come under some criticism in the ESL arena of late, they are still accepted by many in the EFL arena as such common sense pedagogy as to require no justification.

And yet beyond the question of the relative effectiveness of English-Only policies, or the pedagogic or cultural philosophy behind them, lies the way that such policies are perceived by the students. Perception, being, as it is, relative to individual, collective, and temporal experiences, can serve to delineate the extent to which any policy or exercise can be viewed as successful or beneficial. This is particularly apparent in our current state of pedagogy by which differences in learning styles, whether culturally or individually based (or both), are taken more fully into account in terms of syllabus design and classroom implementation. Thus, an examination of English-Only as a classroom language policy through a learner-based approach allows the teacher to *see* to what extent the students view English-

Only, or any of its alternatives, as fulfilling the teacher's perception of its effectiveness.

The purpose of this study is to explore these reactions and perceptions by students through a study of five Japanese *gaigo semmon gakko* (two-year foreign language specialty schools). In the process of examining general reactions to English-Only language policies, the study seeks to examine the following questions:

1. What attitudes do Japanese students have toward English-Only language policies?
2. How useful do Japanese students think English-Only language policies are?
3. How do Japanese student attitudes toward English-Only language policies differ at those schools where the policy is implemented on a teacher-by-teacher basis and at those where it is implemented school-wide?
4. How do Japanese student attitudes toward English-Only language policies and their perceptions as to their usefulness differ between language proficiency groups?
5. What classroom language policy do Japanese students most prefer?
6. What classroom language policy would Japanese students least like to see implemented?

Background

One of the reasons that many teachers often turn to an English-Only classroom policy is that it seems to make so much sense. A teacher confronted with a class in which students spend considerable time speaking to one another in their L1 may well feel that class time is being ill spent. After all, traditional logic dictates that in a foreign environment where English is not one of the ambient languages of the street, there are few, if any, opportunities for students to use their target language. It is this lack of target-language input that necessitates, in the eyes of many, the provision of a substitute environment for that missing English-speaking outside world

(Chambers, 1991; Lee, 1991). The EFL classroom environment, in which English is the sole language of function and communication, thus comes to be seen as "the next best thing to going to Britain or an English speaking country and learning English there" (Willis, 1981, p. xv).

English-through-English teaching has also been advanced as a facilitating, if not necessary, device in communicative language learning. The contextualized input through explanations and class management in the target language allow the student to receive what Ellis (as cited in Duff & Polio, 1990) describes as "valuable input" which the students can then decipher for themselves. The development of such deciphering skills is seen as paramount in allowing learners to benefit from such an acquisition-rich environment and, thereby, further their communicative competency. Littlewood (1981) also suggests that using the students' L1 for matters of classroom management "devalues the foreign language as a vehicle for communication" (p. 45). In this way a sense of dichotomy is created in the students minds whereby the students' L1 is seen as authentic, the language of substance, while the L2 target is relegated to an abstract exercise role.

Some proponents, such as Polio (1994), even contend that the use of the native language by teachers in this EFL setting is "actually holding students back and perpetuating existing power relationships" (p. 155). English-through-English teaching thus comes to be interpreted as, or at least seen as, necessitating English-Only policies or rules, which extend the communicative benefits of this form of teaching to the arena of inter-student discourse as well.

A Role for L1

There are those, however, who find fault with the English-Only interpretation of English-through-English instruction. Atkinson (1993), for example, criticizes what he refers to as the "fashionable notions and terminology" in vogue in language teaching today which perpetuate these classroom policies. He states that despite the common acceptance of English-Only language teaching, "there is no solid theoretical evidence to support any case for a methodology involving 100% target language" (p. 2). Auerbach (1993), in fact, contends that the background of English-Only rules is more political than pedagogic. Tracing the genesis of such policies to the era of British neocolonialism, Auerbach claims that English was used as a tool by which to exert and maintain control over colonial populations.

The agents of this policy were, rather conveniently, the readily available resource of native English-speaking teachers. The notion that English is best taught monolingually by native speakers sprang from this early situational demographic reality (Phillipson as cited in Auerbach, 1993).

These tenets later guided, and were ultimately reinforced by, the politically charged pedagogy that later developed in the United States as a result of its involvement in the First World War. During that period, the very large number of schools in which instruction was conducted partially or exclusively in a foreign language, primarily German, was drastically reduced and supplanted by what might best be described as a reactionary period of "Americanization," which was most decidedly antagonistic toward outward manifestations of foreign influence. English use came to be equated with national loyalty, and English instruction, free of "foreign influence," was conducted solely in English (Auerbach, 1993).

Such opponents not only object to English-Only rules because of what they see as a lack of theoretical justification, but also because such rules ignore the potentially positive role which they *see* the native language as playing in the classroom. Atkinson (1987), for example, states:

Although the mother tongue is not a suitable basis for methodology, it has, at all levels, a variety of roles to play which are at present consistently undervalued, for reasons which are for the most part suspect. I feel that to ignore the mother tongue in a monolingual classroom is almost certainly to teach with less than maximum efficiency. (p. 247)

In addition to providing the teacher with a more replete teaching repertoire, Atkinson sees the use of the native language as reducing affective influences and, thus, creating an environment in which the target language can be more easily or quickly learned.

While Auerbach (1993), Atkinson (1987, 1993), and others are actually focusing on English-Only as it applies to the inherently different dynamics of the ESL setting, their arguments have relevance to teachers in the EFL setting as well. The implications of the historical background of the policy challenge the common sense notion that many teachers in the EFL setting hold and can thus serve as a basis of a more thorough consideration of what policy to implement.

Classroom Language-Use Policies: A Case Study

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The debate as to the theoretical pros and cons of English-Only as a classroom policy begs the question as to how it is reflected in the reality of the classroom and, in particular, how it is received and perceived by the students themselves. This study seeks to examine, at least initially, these particular realities and the possible problems that might arise within them. The focus here is on the classroom policies of non-Japanese teachers. The focus is so narrowed in that English-Only policies, for reasons mentioned in the review of the literature are most often imposed in those teachers' classes and as a different set of student perceptions and, thus, expectations have been shown to exist vis-a-vis the nationality of the teacher (Grant, 1997).

The setting of this particular case is that of six tertiary-level foreign language specialty schools in Japan (*gaigo seininon gakko*). While, in general, such a setting may not necessarily be representative of all or even a fraction of EFL classroom situations, even in Japan, the relatively large percentage of class hours taught by "native speakers" makes this an appropriate setting for the reasons stated above. In addition, as students attending such schools are, in theory, more focused on English itself rather than a *degreepurse*, the motivation can be viewed as somewhat higher than that which might be found in various other settings where English may be merely a requirement for graduation.

The Programs

All of the schools in this study were chosen for their general program similarities. These included from 15-25 hours of specific English instruction per week, of which 6-12 hours were taught by "native-speaker" teachers, as they are commonly referred to. Of these schools, four, hereafter referred to as group A, had no school-wide official language-use policy other than a general expectation that the students be given a generous exposure to, as one director put it, "living" English and numerous chances to use it. The choice of an English-Only approach and the strictness of its application was, thus, solely the choice of the individual teacher.

The fifth and sixth schools, hereafter referred to as group B, were chosen because they had school-wide English-Only policies. In general, the format and makeup of these schools was the same as those in group A with

the exception that all instruction, by Japanese or "native-speaker" teachers, all student on-campus communication, and all dealings between students and administration were, as a matter of school policy, conducted in English.

The Sample

In order to examine student reaction to these classroom policies, a total of 180 student volunteers, ranging in age from 18-26, were chosen for this study. These consisted of currently enrolled students who were invited to participate on the basis of their having met the single criterion of having studied in an English-Only classroom. An effort was also made to have as evenly distributed a range of proficiency levels possible based on the students' class placement within their respective schools. In order to deal with the differing number of levels at the six schools (three levels at two schools; five levels at one school; six levels at three schools), these levels were compressed for the purposes of this study. These groupings were based on each school's estimated TOEFL score equivalence for each of the classes. This resulted in three distinctive groupings: lower proficiency (TOEFL 300-370±), intermediate proficiency (TOEFL 370-450±), and higher proficiency (TOEFL 450 -500±). In total, 10 students from each of these level groups at each school were administered the survey.

It should be noted that although these estimations were given as rough TOEFL equivalencies, they were, in fact, teacher estimations based on regular writing assignments and overall oral assessments, not on the TOEFL itself.

The Survey

Data were elicited in the form of a questionnaire, which was based on the results of an initial pilot study conducted over the Internet two years earlier. This was then pilot-tested again, more-or-less in its present hard-copy form, on 25 students from a similar institution a year later. The questionnaire was translated into Japanese and back-translated into English before being distributed in Japanese directly in class to those students who had expressed an interest in the project. The questionnaires were coded by level and school and consisted of a series of check boxes and related open-ended questions (see Appendix). These questions sought to directly discover the students' reactions to their experiences in the English-Only environment and their feelings as to its usefulness. In addition, as a negative feeling

toward English-Only would suggest a preference for an alternative language-use policy, students were also asked to indicate a most and least desired preference from a list of alternative classroom policies. This list was based on those alternatives generated by subjects in the two pilot studies.

Results

Combined Attitudes Toward English-Only

Student attitudes toward an English-Only classroom policy were predominantly negative; as can be seen in Figure 1, 52% of the students disliked the restriction against L1 use. The question of the policy's usefulness, however, turned up the opposite findings, as the majority of students (68%) considered it a beneficial tool in bettering their oral English abilities.

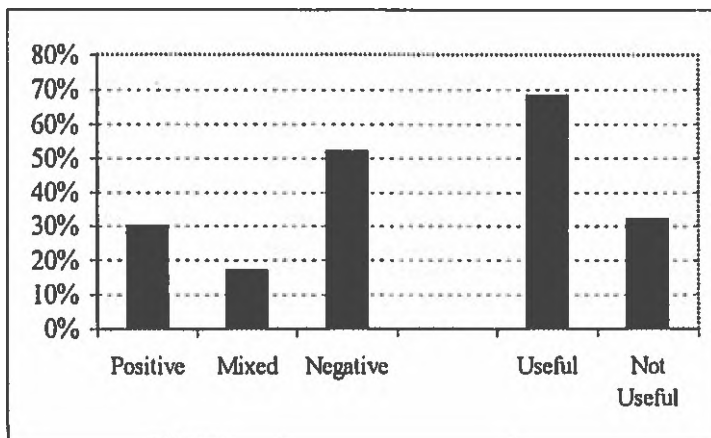


Figure 1. Student reactions to English-only and perceptions as to its usefulness.

Negative reactions seemed to center around the raising of affective barriers due to the frustration caused and pressure imposed by having to function solely in English, sometimes under pain of punishment or other

penalty. These sentiments are represented in the following student comments:

I feel so tense in class that I can't really pay attention. It's stressful to speak English when I'm not allowed to speak Japanese. I think most of us speak less English in (the English-Only teacher's) class than in our other classes.

I like to speak English, but if I get scolded or punished because I forget and speak a little Japanese, I don't want to speak English any more.

Another area of dissatisfaction was what was perceived of as an inconsistent application of rules and irritability on the part of teachers trying to enforce their English-Only policies, a tendency which Gorsuch (1991) warns against in her article on imposing English-Only rules effectively. This point is clearly stated in the following student comment:

Sometimes (the teacher) is very strict about not using Japanese and then he doesn't seem to mind. So, we begin to think it is OK to use a little Japanese in class sometimes, but then another day he is angry about that, too,

Positive reaction to English-Only focused on pragmatic dimensions, with comments centering on the role which English-Only plays in providing students with the chance to use English in a context where little opportunity exists outside of the classroom to do so. This is clearly reflected by one student, who stated: "We can't speak English anywhere (outside) easily, so in class is our only chance. If we don't have English-Only in class, people will speak too much Japanese, so coming to class is a waste."

Perhaps more noteworthy, however, was the role that English-Only plays for some in reducing affective barriers by making students feel less reluctant to speak English in class. As one student noted: "It's hard to speak English if the other students *keep* speaking Japanese. If I do, the other students think I'm showing off", so I have to stop."

Differences Between Groups A And B

Differences in reaction to English-Only appear related to the degree to which the policy is applied within a given institution. As can be seen in Figure 2, while reaction is overwhelmingly negative at those schools where the policy is employed on a teacher-by-teacher basis, it is predominantly positive at those schools where it is a school-wide policy.

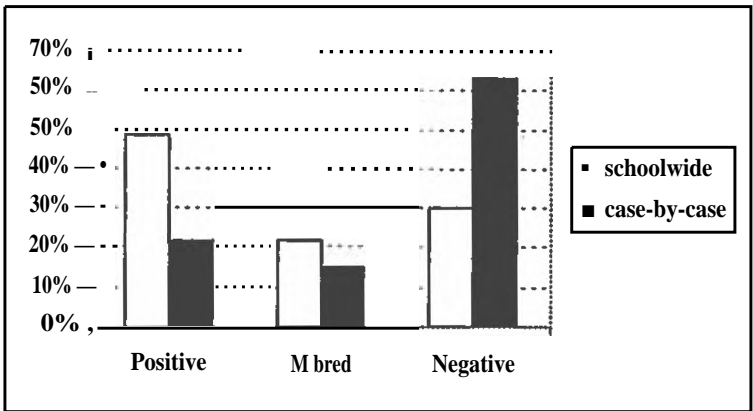


Figure 2. Student attitudes toward English-Only: School-wide vs. case-by-case application.

The rather extreme differences in attitudes between the two groups seem to give credence to Gorsuch's (1991) previously stated requirement for success in an English-Only implementation, i.e., consistency of application. However, it can also be argued that students enrolled in those schools in group B were aware upon enrollment that they were entering an English-Only environment. Their more positive reaction could be indicative of an acceptance of such an environment, as that is indeed the choice they consciously made.

Despite these differences in attitude toward English-Only, the differences between the two groups were negligible in terms of their perceptions of the policy's usefulness. In this case a majority in both groups,

63% of group A and 73% of group B, considered English-Only useful in improving their English.

Learner Proficiency as a Variable

When learner proficiency is considered as a variable, it becomes clear that negative reaction is strongest among those with the lowest proficiency, with 72% of all pre-intermediates indicating a negative reaction to English-Only (Table 1). This negative rating is even stronger among pre-intermediate students in Group A, where the figure rises to 88%. These results are reflected in the comments of many pre-intermediates which focus on the frustration felt at not having the English language ability to ask questions and/or understand explanations in class.

Table 1
Student Attitudes Toward English-Only by
Student Proficiency Level

	Positive		Mixed		Negative	
	N-	%	N-	%	N-	%
Group A Schoolwide						
Higher Proficiency	16	40	10	25	14	35
Pre-Intermediate	8	20	5	13	27	67
Mid-Upper Beginner	2	5	3	8	35	88
<i>N-Total</i>	26	72	18	47	76	73
Group B Schoolwide						
Higher Proficiency	8	40	7	10	10	50
Pre-Intermediate	11	55	8	40	1	5
Mid-Upper Beginner	9	45	5	15	8	40
<i>N-Total</i>	29	72	13	45	18	62
Combined						
Higher Proficiency	24	N=11	12	N=6	24	N=10
Pre-Intermediate	19	N=8	13	N=8	28	N=11
Mid-Upper Beginner	11	N=16	6	N=7	43	N=6
<i>N-Total</i>	55	72	31	56	94	71

While the large percentages are noteworthy, what is equally, if not more, surprising is the relatively high negative rating among higher proficiency students in Group B, where 50% reacted negatively to English-

Only. According to comments from these students, also echoed among higher proficiency students in Group A, the negative attitude can be attributed to the feeling that English-Only is less necessary for their proficiency group and can actually act as a barrier to their developing a deeper understanding of the language.

Alternative Policies

The most common responses in regard to language policy preferences are indicated in Table 2. Interestingly, the policies most highly and lowly rated seem, rather paradoxically, opposed, as most highly preferred among the alternative choices (36%) was a being able to speak to the teacher, who uses only English, in Japanese when necessary, while lowest in the survey (17%) was having the teacher use Japanese to teach.

Table 2

Student Classroom Language Policy Preferences as Grouped by Reaction to English-Only

Classroom Policy	Positive			Mixed			Negative			Total	
	High	Mid	Low	High	Mid	Low	IVO	N14	Low	N.	I
Teacher uses only English; Students use only English	12	10	2	2	4	0	2	4	1	37	21
Teacher uses only English; Student-to-student LI permitted	5	3	1	2	3	2	8	10	12	48	26
Student-to-teacher LI use permitted. Student-to-student LI use permitted	7	4	4	6	3	2	10	10	11	64	36
Teacher uses LI when teaching. Student-to-teacher LI use permitted Student-to-student LI use permitted	0	2	2	2	3	2	4	4	12	31	17

As for the strong preference for being allowed and able to use LI with the teacher, student comments seemed to focus on a reduction in psychological distance between themselves and the teachers by being able to express their true minds and feelings. Another reason given was a lessening of affective barriers as is illustrated in the following: "Even if I don't speak to the teacher in Japanese, I feel more comfortable if I know that I can if I need or want to."

Conversely, negative comments provided a similar, albeit opposite, argument for English-Only, i.e., a *raising* of affective barriers from LI use. One comment elicited in the pilot studies most eloquently summarizes student feelings in this regard: "Before I was able to speak to him (the teacher) in English, but after I started speaking to him in Japanese, I became so shy. Since I didn't really have to speak to him in English, I never did anymore." This point is supported in another study by Grant (1997) which found that 21% of those students in favor of the teacher's exclusive use of English in the classroom were so inclined because they lost courage to speak English if the teacher could speak Japanese.

The classroom policy that students would least like to see implemented, *however*, was one in which the teacher used Japanese when teaching (43%) (Table 3). English-Only, despite its 52% negative rating, was rated as least desirable by only 30% of the respondents.

Table 3

Classroom Language Policy Students Would Like Least as Grouped by Reaction to English-Only

Classroom Policy	Positive		Mixed		WITM2111		Total	
	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U
Teacher uses only English; Students use only English	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U
Teacher uses only English; Student-to-Student LI permitted	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U
Student-to-teacher LI use permitted; Student-to-student LI use permitted	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U
Teacher uses LI when teaching; Student-to-teacher LI use permitted; Student-to-student LI use permitted	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U

The reasons given for the largely negative rating, ranged from the teachers' poor Japanese ability to the lack of need for them to use Japanese due to the students' L2 abilities and the total curricular realities within the school. As one student put it, "Our Japanese teachers use almost all Japanese, so we don't need Japanese from the foreign teachers, too."

The most frequently stated reason against LI use by teachers, however, was overuse, a point mentioned by 37% of those opposed to LI use by the

teachers and illustrated in the following student comment: "Sometimes he (the teacher) seems to speak no English at all. It's really annoying, especially because he always explains in Japanese things that we could understand in English? This propensity of teachers to use increasingly large amounts of the students' L1 is also mentioned by Duff and Polio (1990), who found in their study of foreign language teaching assistants at UCLA that the amount of L1, in this case English, used by them in class reached, in some cases, as high as 90%. Franklin (1990) found similar results in his study of French teachers in Scotland, which showed that target language use in matters of classroom management and explanation was limited to only 40% of the classes.

This negative reaction to foreign teachers using Japanese as part of their teaching is in marked contrast to the desirability ratings of those classes in which the teachers used only English but allowed students to address them in Japanese. This policy was rated as least desirable by only 11% of the students — the lowest least desirable rating.

Comments in regard to this policy were essentially the same as those stated in regard to policy preferences. In particular, students expressed the feeling that, because they felt their English proficiency lacking, it was easier for them to carry their meaning more clearly and completely in L1, especially as L2 was not an absolute necessity for communication with the teacher. Concern in this general area is also voiced in this regard by Tajino, Leyland, and Walker (1997) in their study of AETs (foreign assistant English teachers) at a Japanese high school. They state that in situations such as this, in which teachers are able to speak Japanese and students are free to use Japanese to speak to them, the need to communicate in English ceases to exist, thus resulting in a "deterioration" of the real language exchange between teacher and student.

Conclusion

Limitations and Suggestions for Further Research

The most obvious limitation of this study is that its limited scope, Japanese foreign language specialty colleges, is hardly representative of the field as a whole. This is not to say, however, that the results are without value, for indeed they do bring light to problems and attitudes which surface in relation to English-Only policies regardless of whether the findings are universally applicable. Nevertheless, it would be interesting, and possibly

beneficial, to examine LI classroom use in other settings, within and outside of Japan, and to this end, the results and format of this study can act as a starting point.

Another limitation of the study surfaces in regard to the questionnaire itself (see Appendix). Question I asks: What is your feeling toward your English-Only classes? The inclusion of the word 'your' in this question could have had the effect of directing student response from one of general impression or opinions of English-Only classroom policies to one of their individual experiences with such policies. It should be kept in mind that the results of the survey may have been affected by this wording.

In terms of further study, a most natural point of departure would be to replicate the study in the university environment in Japan, comparing students who study English as part of their major and those who study it merely as a breadth requirement. Finally, as negative attitudes toward English-Only would indicate a preference for an alternative language use policy, a more thorough examination of what these alternatives are and how students react to them would *be* another point of departure.

Finally, as classroom policies are implemented by teachers, it would be worthwhile to examine the reasons individual teachers institute the policies they do. A natural complement to this would be to examine teacher perceptions and attitudes in regard to alternatives to their chosen policies.

Implications

While English-Only as a classroom language policy does not realise universal application in the ESUEFL arena, it is commonly enough employed to warrant consideration, either as a choice to be weighed for actual use or to be considered in relation to its logical alternatives. Although the socio-political background of the policy would suggest a lack of merit in an educational context, it is not truly correct to say that it is void of pedagogic validity. In fact, the socio-political environment of a given location very often gives rise to directional shifts in pedagogy which in turn bring about changes in the environment itself.

A good example of this is the Jigsaw activity that is often used in second language classrooms. The origins of this now commonplace activities were also predominately socio-political rather than purely

pedagogic. As Coelho (1992) points out, the activity was designed to facilitate interracial and intercultural trust and thereby promote academic achievement by minority students. In this way the socio-political context of the time shaped a pedagogy which had as its goal an altering of the prevailing societal paradigm.

It can be argued, therefore, that pedagogy and its socio-political context are, in fact, intrinsically interrelated. As Auerbach (1993) states, "...commonly accepted everyday classroom practices, far from being neutral and natural, have ideological origins and consequences, . ." (p. 29). Thus, the nature of the language classroom as a mixing of educational, psychological and personal and collective cultural concerns means that a wider range of factors than purely pedagogic matters must be considered. In this vein, English-Only proves to have merit to the extent that it is well received by certain segments of the English language student population and perceived as beneficial by an even broader recipient population.

However, the study also indicates that student attitudes toward English-Only can be quite polarized. While some see English-Only acting to reduce affective barriers, others see it as raising them. This fact alone suggests that a universal application of such policies in a given class is likely to bring about unequal results. The fact that those students predisposed or initially receptive to such policies rated them more positively suggests that learner preferences are of particular concern in regard to classroom language policy. Thus, in situations where it were practicable, if students were able to know beforehand what policy a given class was implementing, they could choose according to their own preferences.

Barring this possibility, however, the facts from the literature and this study combined suggest the need for a thorough examination beyond the abstracts of the selective acceptance or discarding of the findings of field-specific literature. In this regard, for the EFL teacher, it is prudent to divorce English-Only as a classroom language policy from the implications of its history and from those of its current political context, i.e., the English-Only movement. Instead it should be examined in terms of such factors as the target students' motivation, general disposition, individual circumstances, and the universality of the policy's application within a given educational setting.

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APPENDIX

STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRE

1. What is your feeling toward your English-Only Classes?

Generally
Negative

Generally
Positive

Neither
Positive nor
Negative

=====

=====

=====

Why?

2. Do you feel English-Only helps you to improve your English?

YES
=====

NO
=====

3. Which of the following classroom language policies would you most prefer in your foreign teachers' classes?

Teacher uses only English in class/Students may use only English in class 0

Teacher uses only English in class/Students may use Japanese in class when necessary a

Teacher uses only English but students can ask questions or speak to him/her in Japanese/Students may use Japanese in class when necessary a

Teacher sometimes uses Japanese in class/Students may use Japanese in class when necessary 0

Why?

4. Which of the following classroom language policies would you least like to have in your foreign teachers' classes?

Teacher *uses* only English in class/Students may use only English in class Ei

Teacher uses only English in class/Students may use Japanese in class when necessary a

Teacher uses only English but students can ask questions or speak to him/her in Japanese/Students may use Japanese in class when necessary 0

Teacher sometimes uses Japanese in class/Students may use Japanese in class when necessary 0

Why?

Japanese Speakers and American English Vowels: Spectrographic Analysis of Learners at Three Different Stages of Acquisition

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The purpose of the present study is to examine the pronunciation of American English vowels by native speakers of Japanese. This study compares the vowels produced by native English speakers and native Japanese speakers at three stages of acquiring English. The vowels are analyzed by using a computational spectrographic analysis system for comparing formant frequency of vowels. All 15 subjects were currently studying within the American university system or had already received American degrees. This study investigates whether and how adults learn to produce L2 vowels in the same way as native speakers of the target L2.

This research discovered that the "new" L2 vowels (i.e., li, le, A A are more difficult to produce than "similar" sounds (i.e., /i,e,c,a,u,o/). The results also indicated that backness may be the reason for the L2 accent instead of vowel height. It was concluded that even Japanese learners of English who have lived in the U.S. for a long time may not completely acquire all L2 vowels.

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Introduction

The U.S. Census Bureau estimated in 1994 that 8.7% of the American population (22,568,000 people) was foreign-born. Millions of residents in the U.S. are not native speakers of English and use a language other than English in their homes and personal lives (Lippi-Green, 1997). Thus, a large number of Americans, at the least, may have a foreign accent. A "foreign accent can be characterized as speaking the L2 [second language] with L1 [first language] phonological settings" (Pennington, 1994, p. 95). One aspect of those L1 phonological settings is the substitution of L1 sounds for unknown L2 sounds. This substitution can be so pervasive that it sounds as if non-native English speakers are speaking their native language when they are actually speaking English. Naturally these substitutions would affect intelligibility.

In the last three decades, a considerable amount of research has been conducted on the learning of English by native Japanese speakers. In the area of second language phonology, a number of research studies have investigated the N-/r/ confusion by Japanese speakers (Brown, 1996; Flege, 1995; Henly & Sheldon, 1986). Vowels, however, have been neglected. This study will address that neglect by evaluating the production of American English vowels by Japanese speakers at different stages in the acquisition of English.

Review of Literature

A Theory of Second Language Phonological Acquisition

Research has pointed out three major approaches to characterizing the learning of L2 phonology: transfer, developmental processes, and variations on or combinations of these two. In the past and continuing to the present, many researchers have discussed the dominant role of L1 transfer in L2 productions by non-native speakers. Beginning in the 1970s, a second approach has emphasized the role of developmental factors in the acquisition of an L2 phonology. Recent investigations have taken more complex stands, looking at combinations and interactions between the two.

Recent Theories: Transfer and/or Developmental Factors

Wode (1981, 1992) says that in naturalistic L2 acquisition of phonology, learners start from their own LI "phonological capacity." This capacity is the state of development of their LI phonological system with transfer and contrastive analysis (CA) still playing a role. From their LI capacity, they start toward the L2 targets by substituting L1 elements for those L2 elements that are sufficiently similar to the available L2 targets. Thus, universal developmental processes are important in L2 acquisition but only for those L2 sounds that are perceived as sufficiently different from LI counterparts.

Flege (1987, 1988, 1992) has expanded on this notion of equivalence in his Speech Learning Model (SLM). The SLM is explained by Munro (1993) as follows:

... specified predictions can be made about which phones should pose difficulty in the target language on the basis of how difficult it might be for learners to establish new phonetic categories for them. In general, phones which are "similar" to existing categories are predicted to be difficult to learn, while phones which are "new" will eventually be mastered. (p. 39)

The SLM states that learners will undergo an "equivalence classification" of the sounds of their L2 and will compare them to the native sounds of their LI. Flege (1987, 1988, 1990, 1992) goes further and distinguishes between three types of phonological elements on the basis of perceptual similarity: identical, similar, and new sounds. In Flege's analysis, if L2 sounds are perceived by the L2 learners as being the same as LI sounds, the equivalent sounds in the LI easily transfer to the developing L2 phonology. Because most L2 speech errors involve "similar" and "new" sounds, "identical" sounds have received little attention (Flege, 1990; James, 1984).

If "similar" phones are perceived as different, but not dissimilar enough to be substituted for the LI equivalent, the L2 learners transfer their native sound to the developing L2 phonological set. In other words, since "similar" sounds more closely resemble a sound in the LI inventory, similar sounds in the LI and L2 are treated as belonging to the same LI phonetic category (Flege, 1992). If "new" sounds are perceived as different from anything in the learner's LI repertoire, the L2 learners develop a new category for the

sound. Flege's 1987 study provides evidence that certain "new" vowels in an L2 can be mastered by adult learners, whereas other L2 vowels that are "similar" but not physically identical to vowels in the LI cannot be mastered.

Major (1987, 1994) maintains that there is a different way to explain the interaction between transfer and developmental factors. His Ontogeny Model (1987) is an integrated view of how L2 phonology changes over time. In order to test his model, he investigated the relationship between transfer and developmental factors in L2 phonology in different stages of acquisition. In this model, there are some patterns due to transfer and others due to developmental substitutions. This means that transfer processes decrease over time [see Figure 1 (a)], whereas developmental processes are infrequent in the early stages, then increase, and finally decrease [see Figure 1 (b)]. In support of the model, Major (1994) conducted a longitudinal investigation of the acquisition of consonant clusters by Brazilian learners of English.

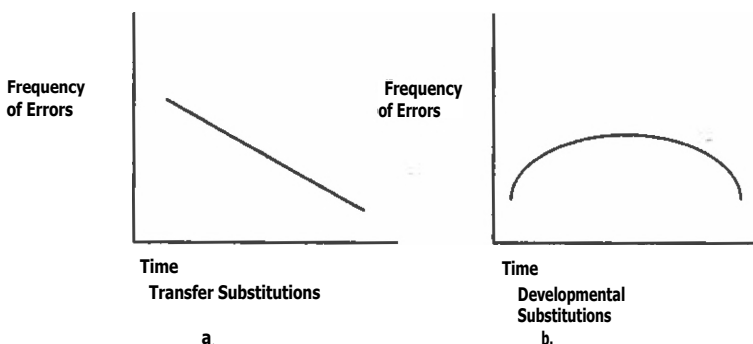


Figure 1. Major's (1987) Ontogeny Model.

The results supported his model regarding chronology, and exhibited a hierarchical organization of L2 acquisition processes similar to those in Li 's, as proposed in Natural Phonology (Stampe, 1969).

Moreover, Major (1986) said his Ontogeny Model

... does not imply that learners will eventually achieve native pronunciation, for it is widely known that most L2 learners past the age of puberty fossilize short of native pronunciation. Depending on the proficiency of the learners, it follows that either interference or developmental processes predominate for these fossilized speakers. (p. 454)

Major's explanation thus maintains that adult L2 learners are not capable of completely acquiring an L2 phonology, once L 1 has been acquired, and that the final product may have different sources.

These studies indicate that the variations or combinations of both transfer and/or developmental processes appear to operate in complex ways in L2 phonology, and as the author acknowledges, much more research is needed. An attempt will be made to evaluate the results of this study's findings against these theories.

Vowels: American English Vowels vs. Japanese Vowels

Eatmanliamency. Ladefoged (1996) explains "formant frequency" as follows. The air in the vocal tract vibrates in different ways when the vocal organs are in different positions. The periodic sound has a frequency measured as the number of cycles of vibration per second, which is expressed in Hz. For example, if the vocal cords make 500 complete opening and closing movements in a second, the frequency of the sound is 500 Hz. Figure 2 shows the position of the vocal organs and the spectra of the vowel sounds. The first lowest peak in the spectra is the frequency of the first formant (i.e., F1), the second peak is F2, and the third peak is F3. The horizontal line indicates the frequencies in Hz, and the vertical scale indicates the amplitudes.

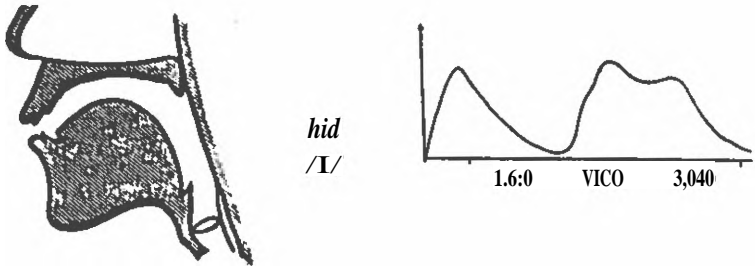


Figure 2. The position of the vocal organs and the spectra of the vowel *kl*. Source: Ladefoged (1996).

American English vowels. Linguists usually classify English vowels by tongue position and the tense-lax distinction (Edwards, 1997; Ladefoged, 1993; Mayer, 1996; Tsujimura, 1996). There are at least 14 vowels in American English: 5 front vowels, 4 central vowels, and 5 back vowels (Edwards, 1997; Mayer, 1996). The front vowels are /i,z,e,c,ɪ/, the central vowels are /A,G,3',•I and the back vowels are /u,u,o,o,a/. The English vowel system is illustrated in Figure 3, less 4/ and *let*. These vowels do not fit on the chart because they cannot be described simply in terms of the features such as high-low or front-back (Ladefoged, 1993). In Figure 3, the solid circle represents the rough articulation position of American English vowels. More recently, Ladefoged (1993, 1996) states that there are three features that can be used to characterize vowels (see Figure 4): (1) vowel height, which is inversely proportional to the frequency of the first formant (F1); (2) backness, which is proportional to the difference between the frequencies of the second and first formants (F2-F1); and (3) the degree of lip rounding, an articulatory feature that has complex acoustic correlates.

As used in Figure 4, Lindau (1978) and Ladefoged (1993) replaced the F2 dimension with the difference between F2 and F1 (i.e., F2-F1) because this difference is more directly related to the auditory concept of 'frontness' or 'backness' than F2 alone.

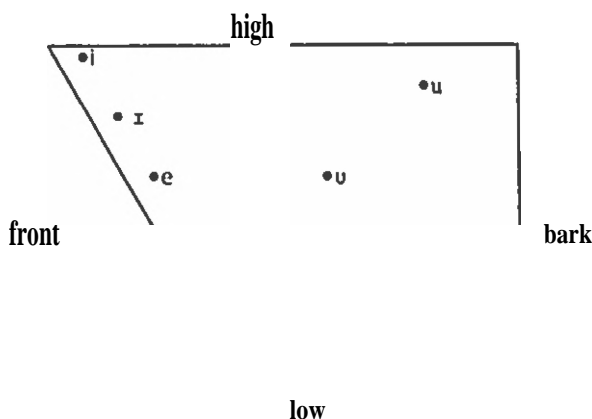


Figure 3. The vowels of American English. Source: Ladefoged (1993, p. 81).

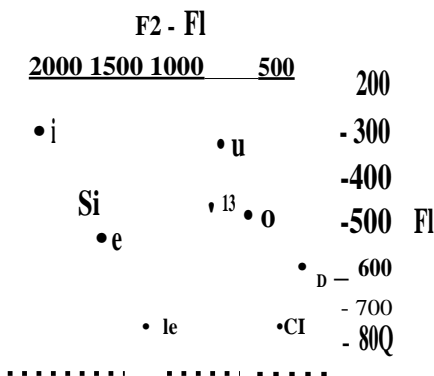


Figure 4. An acoustic representation of American vowels. Source: Ladefoged and Maddieson (1996, p. 286).

Japanese vowels. In Japanese, there are five vowel phonemes: high front, high back, mid front, mid back, and low central (e.g., Tsujimura, 1996). In a broad International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) transcription, these five vowels are /a,e,i,o,u/. In a narrower IPA transcription, the high back

vowel could be transcribed as [w] which is used to indicate an unrounded high back vowel (Ladefoged, 1993; Okada, 1991; Tsujimura 1996).

Both Homma (1973) and Ladefoged (1993), utilize the inventory of Japanese vowel phonemes found in Figure 5. As shown, only the vowels /a,e,i,o,u/ are found in both English and Japanese. The following additional English vowels are not present in this figure; /ɪ/, /eɪ/, /eɪ/, /ɪn/, /ɪ/, /u/, and /Le/. Ladefoged (1975) reports that the Japanese low central /a/ and high back /u/ are both more forward than their counterpart in English. The English high back vowel /u/ is produced by rounding the lips for such words as 'pool,' 'soup,' and 'shoe.' On the other hand, in pronouncing Japanese /w/, the lips should be kept unspread and unrounded (Hornma 1973).

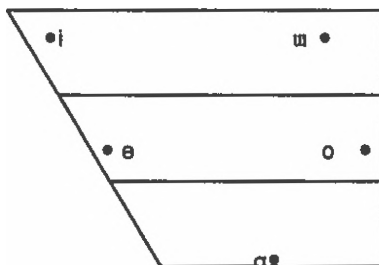


Figure 5. The vowels of Japanese. Source: Okada (1991).

refining the new vs. similar distinction. As explained in the section on the theory of second language phonological acquisition, the testing of two models [Flege's (1987, 1988, 1992) Speech Learning Model (SLM) and Major's (1987, 1994) Ontogeny Modell provides the most appropriate framework for investigating my research questions.

In order to determine the "new" and "similar" vowels of Flege's (1987, 1988, 1992) SLM, different criteria have been used for making this distinction. Best (1990) claims that the distinction between these two is based on differences in the perceived phonetic distance between sounds in the L2 and those in the L1. Munro, Flege, and Mackay (1996) also state that "differences in success with individual phones are hypothesized to depend on whether or not new perceptual categories can be established . . ." (p.

315). Thus, it seems reasonable to conclude that the terms "new" and "similar" should be assessed at the perceptual level. From this assumption, I will categorize these "new" and "similar" vowels based on native Japanese speakers' vowel perception for this research.

However, empirical evidence is not available for the English vowel perception of Japanese speakers. Dale and Poms (1994) explain in their book "English Pronunciation for Japanese Speakers" why some English vowels create problems for Japanese and the type of pronunciation difficulties they are likely to experience. Based on their pedagogical experiences, Dale and Poms say that American English vowels *h,m,u,n/* may be difficult for Japanese to hear and produce. They suggest this is because these vowels do not exist in Japanese and irregular English spelling patterns are likely to cause confusion. English */c/* is not mentioned as a problem in this book. Probably, English *Id* formant values (i.e., $F1 = 610$, $F2-F1 = 1720$) are closer to Japanese vowel *lel* (i.e., $F1 = 483$, $F2-F1 = 1834$) compared to any other pairs, such as English *li,u,nl* and Japanese *fi,u,a/*. This explanation of possible pronunciation and perception problems for Japanese will be used to support the categorizing of the L2 vowels used in my study:

- "New" L2 vowels are *h,w,A,u/*, and
- "similar" ones are */i,e,c,a,u,o/*.

In addition, in order to investigate Major's (1987) Ontogeny Model, the stages of the development of English vowels by children whose L1 is English has to be stated. The data of Wellman, Case, Mengert, and Bradbury, in 1931 indicated that the development of English vowels followed these stages:

- Stage I: *[i,u,o,a,A)*
- Stage II: *[E,3]*
- Stage III: *Ne,u,ar)*

Specific Hypotheses

If both transfer and developmental processes affect adult L2 production as in Major's (1987) Ontogeny Model, and if adult L2 learners follow Flege's (1987, 1988, 1992) SLM, I would expect to observe the following

differences among the three subject groups as differentiated by their exposure to English. Three subject groups are:

- Group A: short time in U.S., beginning L2 learner group;
- Group B: medium time in U.S., an intermediate L2 learner group;
- Group C: long time in U.S., advanced L2 learner group:

H1: In the early stages of English, L2 learners (Group A) may fail to produce "new" L2 vowels (i.e., /l,r,e,A,uθ/ accurately, but Group B and/or Group C may do so as a result of establishing new phonetic categories.

H2: Even Group C, which has a lengthy exposure to the L2, will not reach the target in similar vowels (i e., /i,e,c,a,u,o/).

H3: The beginning L2 group (Group A) in this study will demonstrate a greater transfer of process (i.e., sound substitution) than the intermediate (Group B) and/or advanced L2 learner group (Group C).

H4: The intermediate L2 group (Group B) may follow similar universal developmental stages such as children whose LI is English.

H5: Even though native Japanese speaking L2 learners may not be capable of completely acquiring all L2 vowels, the amount of Li experience may account for how well they produce Li vowels.

Method

Subjects

All subjects in the study were adult, female, native Japanese speakers who teamed English as their sole second language. The subjects were divided into the following three groups, each consisting of five people. Some details of their English proficiency levels are given below:

- **Group A:** students who had been enrolled in English as Second Language (ESL) courses at Portland State University for two months;

- **Group B:** students who had been enrolled in undergraduate or graduate university courses at Portland State University and who had lived in the U.S. from one to four and one half years;
- **Group C:** students who were currently or previously enrolled in graduate university courses at Portland State University. The subjects were married to native speakers of English and/or had been working in an English-speaking environment for more than six years. Thus, all subjects in group C spoke more English than Japanese in their daily activities.

Stimuli

The English carrier phrases for this study consisted of 10 single-syllable words with a syllable structure of consonant-vowel-consonant [CVC] (see Appendix). They were all [hVd] words, with the target vowels *li*, *hliellcl*, *fief*, *AIN*, *Jul*, /u/ and /ot/. This phrase has been the standard for measuring vowels (Ladefoged, 1993, 1996) since Peterson and Bamey's original research in 1952. In order to avoid subjects' misunderstanding, a "sounds-like" example was provided for each carrier phrase. For the word "heed," for example, subjects were provided the sounds-like words "seed," "seat," and "feet." All subjects were asked to say each test [hVd] word three times in the carrier sentence: "She said **yesterday.**" The subjects were required to produce an identifying number before each utterance to avoid later confusion. For example, they said "Number two [pause] She said 'hit' yesterday [pause] She said 'hit' yesterday [pause] She said 'hit' yesterday."

instrumentation

Recordings were made on a Sony PCM 2300 digital audio recorder with an Audio-technica ATM 31a microphone. Each subject was seated in a soundproof room with a mouth-to-microphone distance of 20 cm. The data were recorded on a Fuji 120 digital audio tape (DAT) low-pass filtered at 20 kHz using a Wavetek Brickwall Filter model 752A.

The data were analyzed using the Computerized Speech Research Environment Program Version 42 (CSRE 42) (Jamieson, 1993). In analyzing the data, only the screen showing the waveform result of the second and third productions of each carrier sentence were considered.

Next, the vowel from the [hVd] word was extracted using two cursors: one cursor at the beginning point of the vowel and another at the endpoint. The CSRE showed time measurements for the beginning and ending, which allowed for the formant (F1 and F2) values to be assessed following the common procedure of measuring values at the midpoint of the vowel production (Baken, 1996, Peterson & Barney, 1952). Therefore, this study used the midpoint values along the continuing vowel which were determined by time.

The next stage in the process was to get readings for the first and second formants of each vowel (see Figure 6). These could be easily read from the displays of the CSRE's formant analysis. The cursor was placed at the midpoint of the vowel, and the CSRE produced readings for the F1 and F2 values at a sample rate of 40 kHz.

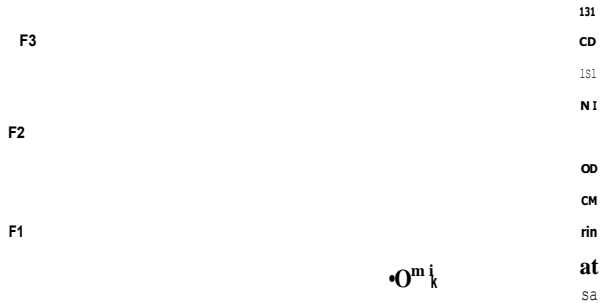


Figure 6. Sample output from CSRE software. Analysis of "had."

Data Analysis

Each subject produced three tokens of each of the 10 vowels, and the mean of the last two tokens was used. The formant values produced by native Japanese subjects in this study were compared with those reported in Peterson and Barney (1952), and in Hagiwara (1994). Table 1 summarizes formant frequency data for the native American English speakers from two research studies:

Table 1

American English Vowel Formants of Native English Speakers

	F1	F1-F2	Source
33	310	2480	CO 03 .0 CO CO CO CO CO ASIO
	430	2050	
	454	2272	
	610	1720	
	860	1190	
	850	270	
	760	640	
	370	580	
	470	690	
	561	886	

Sources: (a) Peterson & Barney (1952); (b) Hagiwara (1994).

1. Peterson and Barney (1952) evaluated eight vowels, excluding two vowels /e/ and /o/ which had been included earlier study by Potter and Steinberg (1950) (source a).
2. Hagiwara (1994) studied 10 vowels including /o/ and /e/ (source b), thus providing the source for the values for those two vowels, as given in Table 1. Based on these values, the differences between the subjects' production of the vowels and American English were calculated as "Error Distances" (EDs). ED is calculated as the (in Hz) linear distance between the target and actual vowel in a two-dimensional display, as calculated below (Figure 7), following the approach Bailey's study took in 1994.

Actual ED in this study is computed using these measurements:

- $F1_{A}$ is the first formant of the elicited data in this study,
- * $F2_{sda}$ is the difference between the first and second formants,

• $F1$ is the value of the first formant for the American English vowels produced by native speakers of English, and

• $F2 - F1$ is the difference between the first and second formants.

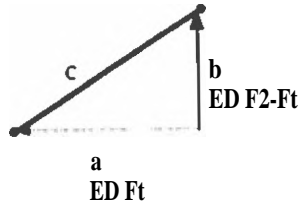


Figure 7. Vowel distance (c).

The formula for the ED is thus:

$$\text{Error Distances (ED)}^2 = (F1_{i1} - F1_{i2})^2 + ((F2_{i1} - F1_{i1}) - (F2_{i2} - F1_{i2}))^2$$

$$\text{ED} = \sqrt{(F1_{i1} - F1_{i2})^2 + ((F2_{i1} - F1_{i1}) - (F2_{i2} - F1_{i2}))^2}$$

Results and Discussion

Statistical Tests I

In this first section, the results of EDs (error distances) are calculated based on measurements of $F1$ and $F2 - F1$. I will discuss the following three different statistical analyses:

1. Effect of group (factor A): Groups A, B, and C
2. Effect of vowel types (factor B): similar L2 vowels (i.e., i, e, c, a, u, o) vs. new vowels (i.e., h, m, A, u)
3. Interaction effect (factor A x B)

The findings of the analyses of effects are summarized in Table 2. There were statistically significant differences based on the group ($F = 6.525$, $df = 2$, $p = .002$), yet the differences in vowel types and interactions were not

statistically significant (vowel types: $F = 3.427$, $df = 1$, $p = .066$; interactions: $F = 2.447$, $df = 2$, $p = .090$). However, the result of factor B (vowel types) was $p = .066$, which is very close to being significant.

Table 2

Test of Between Subjects Effects

Source	Sum of Squares	<i>df</i>	Mean Square	F Ratio	<i>p</i>
Groups	451072.7	2	225536.3	6.53	.002*
Vowel Types	118454.4	2	118454.4	3.43	.066
Interaction	169141.9	4	84570.9	2.45	.090

$p < 0.05$

Group Effect

To discover the effect of the independent variable of group on the dependent variable (error distances), the Post Hoc Tests (Multiple-range comparisons) were performed. These tests show the mean error distance relationships among the three groups (i.e., Group A vs. B, Group A vs. C, and Group B vs. C). Table 3 shows the result of multiple comparisons among the three groups differentiated by their length of time. The mean differences between Group A and B, and between A and C were statistically significant based on the mean difference at 0.05 level. On the other hand, the mean difference between Group B and C was not statistically significant.

Table 3

Test of Group Effects

(I) Group	(J) Group	Mean Dill (I)-(J)	Std. Error	Sig.	93% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
A	B	110.79*	37.18	.010	20.72	200.86
	C	99.62*	37.18	.025	9.55	189.69
	B	11.17	37.18	1.00	-78.90	101.24

*The mean difference is significant at the .05 level,
 Each Group n = 5

Interactions Among Factors: Groups and Vowel Types

Figure 8 shows a line plot of the means of ED for the three groups using the SPSS program (SPSS,1997). The horizontal axis shows the three groups: Group A (short time in the U.S.), 13 (medium time in the U.S.) and C (long time in the U.S.). Each of the lines represent vowel types: the dotted line for new vowels (i.e., h,t,e,A,u) and the solid line for similar L2 vowels (i.e., /i,e,c,a,u,o/). It is clear that the two types of vowels seem to change in different ways, albeit with convergence near the final point of Group C. The results show that the similar vowels had a much shorter ED than new vowels from the beginning (Group A), and the ED dipped down in the middle point (Group B) and then went up at the final point (Group C). It seems as though the ED returned to almost the same point as at the beginning group's ED, people who were in this only two months, even though the subjects had been living here for an average of nine years and seven months.

The new vowels, on the other hand, had a large ED in the beginning (Group A), but these had decreased drastically by the midpoint (Group B). The ED continued to decrease, and the line crossed the similar vowels' line near the end (Group C). Therefore, the production of the new vowels moved dramatically closer to the American standards, but the similar vowels did not.

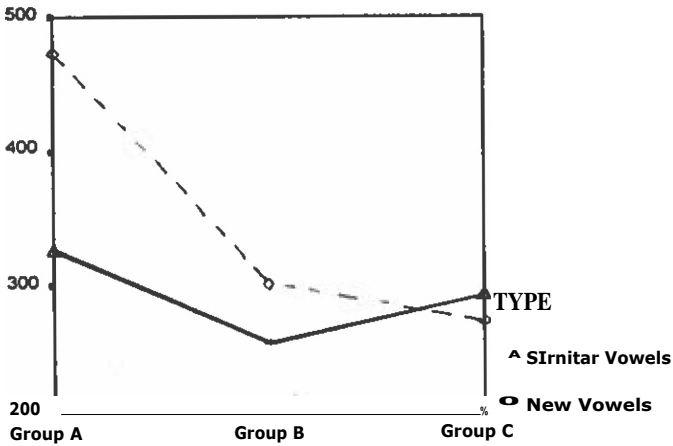


Figure 8. Means of error distances.

If the sets of vowels are considered separately, the result of the new vowels confirmed that the mean differences between Groups A and B and Groups A and C were statistically significant based on the mean difference at the 0.05 level. However, the mean difference between Groups B and C was not statistically significant. On the other hand, the mean differences between all groups (i.e., Groups A and B, Groups A and C, and Groups 13 and C) were not significant with regard to similar vowels.

Interactions Among Factors: Groups and EDs

The results described in Figure 8 also show the relationships between EDs and three groups. Some of the results might be interpreted as supporting Major's (1987) Ontogeny Model. First, transfer errors are more evident in the earlier stages of acquisition (i.e., Group A) and that developmental errors might not be common until L2 learners have made considerable progress (Group B). However, when the mean of the ED in Group B is compared to all vowels, the results do not follow this order [i.e., Stage I: (i,u,a,o); Stage II: (c,o,a1,31,au); Stage III: (i,e,u,lei (Wellman et al., 1931)). Since the results did not support his model unequivocally, it is very hard to say that developmental factors are involved.

The results for Group C, however, do support the fossilization piece of Major's (1987) Ontogeny Model because Group C has EDs even though the

subjects have lived in the U.S. for more than nine years. In other words, even Japanese who are learning English and have lived in the U.S. for a long time may not be capable of completely acquiring L2 vowels.

Statistical Tests II

In order to know how English vowels produced by native speakers of Japanese differ from corresponding native English productions, F1 ED and F2-F1 ED are calculated separately. As previously mentioned, the vowel height is inversely proportional to the frequency of the first formant (F1) and backness is proportional to the difference between the frequencies of the second and first formants (F2-F1). So, F1 EDs and F2-F1 EDs are investigated separately. The analyses of effects are summarized in Table 4. Based on the first dependent variable, which is F1 (i.e., vowel height) ED, the differences among all three effects (i.e., groups, vowel types, and interaction) were not significant (groups: $F = .816, df = 2, p = .444$; vowel types: $F = 1.818, df = 1, p = .180$; interactions: $F = .205, df = 2, p = .639$). In contrast, based on the second dependent variable, F2-F1 or backness ED, there were statistically significant differences based on the group ($F = 4.469, df = 2, p = .013$), and vowel types ($F = 4.853, df = 1, p = .029$). Interactions were not statistically significant (interactions: $F = .449, df = 2, p = .639$).

Table 4

Test of Between-Subjects Effects
(F1 and F2-F1)

Source	Sum of Square	df	Mean Square	F Ratio	p
Groups					
F1	10590.15	2	5295.08	.82	.444
F2-F1	330702.95	2	165351.48	4.47	.013*
Vowel Types					
F1	11801.20	1	11801.20	1.82	.180
F2-F1	179549.94	1	179549.94	4.85	.029*
Interaction					
F1	2661.88	2	1330.94	.21	.815
F2-F1	33190.69	2	16595.35	.45	.639

$p < 0.05$

Group Effect

Table 5 shows the results of multiple comparisons among the three groups differentiated by their length of time on two dependent variables. At the same time, the mean difference between Group B and C was not statistically significant. Due to this, the backness seemed to be the key feature in determining the differences between Group A and Group B and between Group A and Group C.

Table 5

Test of Group Effects (F1 and F2-F1)

Dependent Variable	(I) Group	(J) Group	Mean DU (I)-(J)	Sid. Error	Sig.
F1	A	B	3.37	16.45	.838
		C	19.64	16.45	.234
		B-C	16.27	16.45	.324
F2-F1	A	B	108.59	39.26	.006*
		C	92.90	39.26	.019*
		B-C	15.60	39.26	.690

The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

Each Group n = 5

Vowel Types

Table 6 shows the *results* of comparisons between the two vowel types based on Flege's Speech Learning Model (i.e., similar L2 vowels /i,e,c,a,u,o/ vs. new vowels kie,A,u/). Based on the first dependent variable, which is F I E D, the mean differences between the vowel type were not significant. On the other hand, based on the F2-F1 ED, the mean differences between the vowel type were statistically significant. Again, backness seemed to be the key feature in determining the differences between new and similar vowels.

Table 6

Test of Vowel Type Effects (F1 and F2-F1)

Dependent Variable	(I) Type	(J) Type	Mean Diff (I)-(J)	Std. Error	Sig.
F1	New	Similar	18.11	13.43	.180
F2-F1	New	Similar	70.62	32.06	.029*

The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

Each Group $n = 5$

Figure 9 shows a line plot of the means of both F1 and F2-F1 of ED for the three groups using the SPSS (1997) program. Each of the lines represents vowel types: the light line for new vowels and the dark line for similar L2 vowels. The dotted lines are F1 ED and the solid lines are F2-F1 ED. As previously mentioned, statistical differences for F1 ED turned out to be not significant; this plot confirms there were not many changes in F1 ED values. Both new vowels (i.e., light dotted line) and similar L2 vowels (i.e., bold dotted line) are almost straight for all groups, indicating that little change occurred. Also, the two dotted lines do not cross each other. Parallel lines indicate that no interaction occurred and that the interaction effect was not statistically significant. In contrast, F2-F1 ED did change, and what accounts for the most change are similar vowels (i.e., solid line). The biggest changes in F2-F1 ED were between Groups A and 13 and between Groups A and C. These results, depicted on line graphs, show visually that the mean differences were significant between Groups A and B, between Groups A and C, and between the vowel types. In other words, backness (i.e., F2-F1) seemed to be the key feature in determining the differences between Groups A and B and between Groups A and C. In addition, both F1 and F2-F1 EDs in similar vowels are closer to American English vowels than new vowels. The findings of this statistical test again cast doubt on Flees Speech Learning Model (SLM), as did the first set of statistical tests. There is no indication that adult L2 learners will establish phonetic categories for "new" L2 sounds, although "similar" sounds will remain foreign-accented even after lengthy L2 exposure. On the contrary, the "new" vowels were indeed more distant from the target, which contradicted the SLM predictions.

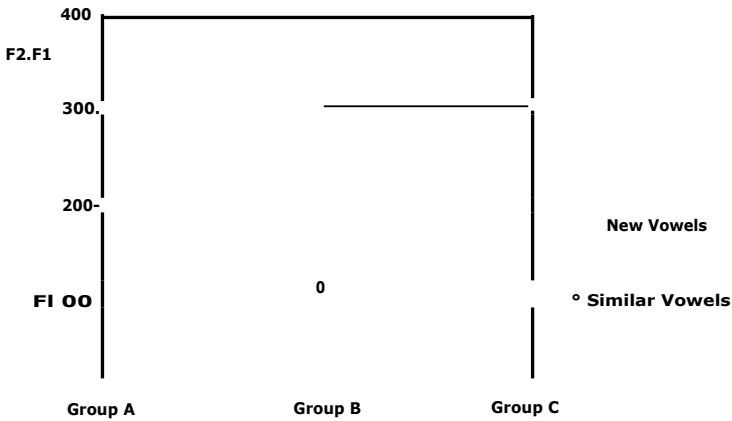


Figure 9. Means of F1 and F2-F1 EDs.

Some of the data from these statistical tests might also support Major's (1987) Ontogeny Model, similar to the results of the first set of statistical tests. First, negative transfer might have occurred in the earlier stages of acquisition (i.e., Group A). Second, even advanced L2 learners (Group C) might not be able to acquire completely L2 vowels as produced by native American English speakers. Statistical Tests II, then, did not support his developmental model, which predicts that developmental factors might be involved in the intermediate L2 group (Group B).

Conclusions

Hypothesis I (H1): In the early stages of English, L2 learners (Group A) may fail to produce "new" L2 vowels (i.e., tr,te,A,u0 accurately, but Group B and/or Group C may do so as a result of establishing new phonetic categories.

There were no significant differences between vowel types based on the two dependent variables (i.e., both F1 and F2-F1 EDs and F1 EDs). However, based on the F2-F1 EDs, there were significant differences between vowel types. From the results of the Statistical Test II, F1 ED and F2-F1 ED were calculated separately, and the "similar" vowels had a much smaller ED than the "new" vowels. Thus, both F1 and F2-F1 EDs in

"similar" vowels are closer to American English vowels than "new" vowels. My research did not support Hypothesis 1, which indicated that the "new" L2 vowels are more difficult to produce than "similar" sounds. Furthermore, the result indicated that backness may be the reason for the L2 accent instead of vowel height.

Hypothesis 2 (112): Even Group C, which has a lengthy exposure to the L2, will not reach the target in similar vowels (i.e., /i,e,c,a,u,o/).

The mean differences between all groups (i.e., Groups A and B, Groups A and C, and Groups 13 and C) were not significant based on the similar vowels. The production of the new vowels moved dramatically closer to the American standards between Groups A and B, and Groups A and C, but the similar vowels did not. These results of Statistical Test I show that the similar vowels had a much shorter ED than new vowels from the beginning (Group A). On the other hand, at the final point (Group C), new vowels had a shorter ED than similar vowels. In other words, as part of Hypothesis 2, the findings of my study concluded that even though Japanese English learners have lived in the U.S. for a long time, they may not be capable of completely acquiring all L2 vowels.

Hypothesis 3 (113): The beginning L2 group (Group A) in this study will demonstrate a greater transfer of process (i.e., sound substitution) than the intermediate (Group B) and/or advanced L2 learner group (Group C).

There were statistically significant differences based on the group. These findings only seem to support that the beginning L2 group (Group A) in this study demonstrated larger EDs than the intermediate or the advanced L2 learner group.

The biggest changes in F2-F1 ED were between Groups A and B and between Groups A and C. However, F1 differences between EDs for groups were not significant. Negative transfer might have occurred in the earlier stages of acquisition (i.e., Group A), with the intermediate (Group B) not experiencing much negative transfer. Finally, Group C has greater EDs than Group B, but not as much as Group A. It might indicate that the advanced learners are undergoing the onset of fossilization, and will not completely acquire the L2' vowels of native American English speakers. Therefore, my

study supports Hypothesis 3, which is the beginning L2 group (Group A) in this study demonstrated more transfer of processes (i.e., sound substitution) than the intermediate (Group B) and/or advanced L2 learner group (Group C).

Hypothesis 4 (H4): The intermediate L2 group (Group B) may follow similar universal developmental stages such as children whose L1 is English.

There were statistically significant differences based on the group. However, my research did not have the results which could support the part of Major's (1987) Ontogeny Model and Hypothesis 4 that states developmental factors might be involved in the intermediate L2 group (Group B). Also, the results did not follow the universal developmental order. Thus, it is very hard to support the claim that developmental factors might be involved, at least for these vowels.

Hypothesis 5 (H5): Even though native Japanese speaking L2 learners may not be capable of completely acquiring all L2 vowels, the amount of L2 experience may account for how well they produce L2 vowels.

My findings cast doubt on Hypothesis 5. As I explained previously, Group C has more ED than Group B, but not as much as Group A. Therefore, the length of time L2 learners lived in the U.S. may not account for how well they produced L2 vowels.

Limitations of the Study

This research has several limitations. First, although a small number of subjects is common in this field of research, it is difficult to generalize the results for a larger population. Also, all subjects were native Japanese speakers who were learning English, and this limited the applicability of the results. The availability of the subjects is a major factor in the choice of subjects, and the range of choices was limited.

Second, individual differences in speech production limits the results of this study. Johnson, Ladefoged, and Lindau (1993) point out that most studies of speech production find some differences between speakers. Hagiwara (1994) also says "... women showed greater formant frequencies

within category variance, as well as different distribution of categories within their vowel space" (p. 90). In addition, the use of elicited data may show a different result than using naturalistic data.

Next, the advanced L2 learner group (Group C) may want to stop putting effort into learning pronunciation while they are living in the U.S. for a long time. Because they can communicate with other people easily at home and in the work place, Group C people might not see the necessity to be native-like speakers. On the other hand, the intermediate L2 group members (Group 13) are still having a hard time communicating with other people. In order to speak English effectively, they pay close attention to learning how to pronounce each word. These attitudes might affect this study's result.

Finally, the criteria used for evaluating the categories of "similar" and "new" sounds may not have been appropriate. There are no standard methods for determining if an L2 sound will be treated as "new" or "similar" (Bohn & Flege, 1992; Rochet, 1995). Best (1990) claims that the distinction of these two is based on differences in the perceived phonetic distance between sounds in the L2 and those in the L1. Munro, Flege, & Mackay (1996) also state that "differences in success with individual phones are hypothesized to depend on whether or not new perceptual categories can be established . . ." (p. 315). Therefore, some perceptual factor not directly represented in the F1 and F2 measurements might be the relevant criterion for evaluation.

Implications for Teaching

Teaching L2 pronunciation is directly related to effective teaching techniques and methodologies. If a better understanding of the production of L2 sounds is achieved, and the factors that contribute to deviations in L2 sounds are identified, more effective techniques can be developed for ESL students. Traditionally, ESL teachers map American vowels onto the vowel chart using a key word as a mnemonic aid to the study of the vowel system and as a device later for self-monitoring (Morley, 1979). Even though ESL students understand which area of the mouth they should use in order to produce each vowel, they do not see how far or how close they are to the target sounds from their productions. Using personalized interactive speech training software for English learning may improve pronunciation for ESL students. If the software provides automated visual feedback on the user's

articulations, such as that displayed by CSRE, it may help L2 learners to visually understand the differences between native sounds and their sounds.

Therefore, my study might help ESL teachers understand how to focus their teaching of pronunciation. For instance, teachers can emphasize teaching the differences between L1 and L2 vowels in the front-back dimension instead of height, especially to Japanese beginning learners of English.

Finally, ESL teachers should encourage all students, whether they are beginners or advanced English learners, to pay close attention to learning and pronouncing each word. The new L2 vowels, particularly, need to be focused on and practiced, so it is very important for ESL teachers to understand each student's first language.

Directions for Future Research

There are several related issues which need further investigation: What is the relationship between perception and production? How do native Japanese speakers perceive and produce American English vowels? How can the categories "identical," "similar," and "new" be determined? What is "mastery"? What relationship exists between language transfer and developmental processes in the acquisition of the L2 phonology over time? To increase understanding of L2 phonological acquisition, these issues need much further research.

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APPENDIX

WORD LISTS USED FOR ELICITATION

1. She said "heed" yesterday. (the vowel sounds like feet, seat, seed)
2. She said "hid" yesterday. (the vowel sounds like fit, sit, did)
3. She said "hayed" yesterday, (the vowel sounds like *cake*, paper, great)
4. She said "head" yesterday. (the vowel sounds like bed, leg, met)
5. She said "had" yesterday. (the vowel sounds like cat, bad, fat)
6. She said "hod" yesterday. (the vowel sounds like car, father, hospital)
7. She said "bud" yesterday. (the vowel sounds like sun, cut, cover)
8. She said "who'd" yesterday. (the vowel sounds like noon, boot, shoes)
9. She said "hood" yesterday. (the vowel sounds like look, book, cook)
- ID. She said "hoed" yesterday. (the vowel sounds like note, boat, soap)

Teaching How to Communicate Social Meaning: Socio-Pragmatic Instruction in Second/Foreign Language Education

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This paper focuses on grammatical encoding of social meaning in Japanese and English. Social meaning refers to social relationship among the interlocutors of a conversation. The way Japanese language encodes social meaning is very different from English; while Japanese shows it in its morphology, English utilizes a variety of repertoire in vocabulary, and the use of grammatical elements such as modals. Native speakers of the language can manipulate these codes and apply them to appropriate conversational context, depending on whom they are speaking to, where they are, and what they are talking about. Such an ability is part of one's communicative competence, more specifically, their socio-pragmatic competence. The difference between the two languages makes the work of a learner of the language (either English or Japanese) difficult; developing one's L2 socio-pragmatic competence comes in slow, and explicit teaching of socio-pragmatic components of the target language is not an easy task. This paper presents some pedagogical suggestions to encourage development of social-pragmatic competence in a language classroom.

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Introduction

Recent studies recognize the importance of pragmatic knowledge in second/foreign language education. From a learner's perspective, pragmatic competence is a part of communicative competence. In Baclunan's (1990) model, pragmatic competence constitutes one of two components of language competence. Pragmatic competence is subdivided into "illocutionary competence" and "sociolinguistic competence." By the former, Bachman refers to general pragmatic meanings, that is to say, what the speaker actually means other than the semantic, or literal, meaning of the sentence. The latter refers to a variety of abilities, all of which comprise different aspects of using language appropriately according to social context. Some of such performance will be the sensitivity to differences in dialect, language variety, or register, and observing linguistic and cultural conventions that cannot be understood from the linguistic structures. Canale and Swain's (1980) model includes the ability to utilize pragmatic elements along with sociolinguistic elements of the target language in one's communicative competency. For language teachers whose pedagogical objective is to develop such competency in learners, it is essential to know how these socio-pragmatic elements are performed in the languages they teach, and ideally how these elements compare and contrast to those in the learners' native language.

This paper attempts to provide a learning opportunity for teachers by contrasting two different languages, Japanese and English, in terms of their ways of encoding or grammaticalizing social meanings. In Japanese, such grammaticalization is recognized as social deixis (Wetzel, 1995). English uses a variety of different ways of grammaticalization for the same functions as Japanese social deixis. From a contrastive analysis of the two, one will realize that these two languages encode social meanings using very different linguistic devices. Unfortunately, this is not an overt notion that L2 learners of English or Japanese naturally realize. Learners tend to use their LI socio-pragmatic knowledge in the target language, and in many cases such an attempt ends up in communication failure. This tells us why it is important for language teachers to work on explicit socio-pragmatic instruction in the classroom.

Why Do We Want to Code Social Relationships?

A basic assumption underlining the study of sociolinguists is that there is no neutral language. Whenever we communicate, we cannot avoid expressing some social identity. One of the most important aspects of social identity is the relationship with conversation participants. Languages have ways to code social relationships between speaker and hearer, and referent (i.e., the person spoken about). Why would we want to remind ourselves of such social meanings every time we talk? Encoding social relationships is a device of politeness.' Goffman (1967) describes politeness as a general theory of action or behavior by which an individual shows deference to another. Brown and Levinson (1987) say that the concept of politeness is universal. That is to say, any type of human society will require languages to encode the social identity of participants. In their conceptualization, politeness is seen as trade in a commodity called face (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 62). "Face" is defined as how one wants to be seen. "Face" consists of the freedom to act unimpeded by others (autonomously), labeled negative face, and the satisfaction of having one's values approved of, labeled positive face (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 62).

We maintain both sides of "face" by applying what are called "politeness strategies." There are negative politeness strategies to keep up negative face, and positive politeness strategies to protect positive face. Negative politeness strategies are used to show speaker effacement, formality and restraint. The positive politeness strategies are used to indicate solidarity and in-group membership with the addressee(s). Given the fact that maintaining "face" is important, it is naturally risky to engage in interaction where one might lose face. For example, expressing gratitude may threaten one's face in the sense that one needs to admit the debt to the addressee. Such an act is called a "face-threatening act" (FTA) in Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory. They suggest that whenever we must perform a face-threatening act in the course of accomplishing goals, we "pay face," which means that we apply positive or negative politeness strategies. When speakers contemplate an act which they believe may threaten the addressee's or the referent's face, the speakers have to "calculate" how much they are

Throughout the paper, the term "politeness" is not used as a layperson's meaning such as "being respectful" or "being nice." I strictly follow the definition provided by Brown and Levinson (1987).

risking in performing the face-threatening act. Factors that go into this calculation are the speakers' estimates of how close a relationship speakers and addressees have, the social power of the speakers relative to the addressees, and the extent to which the addressees will consider the act performed to be an imposition on them (Brown & Levinson, 1987). The speaker's calculation of the social relationship is expressed in the way that their communication follows the politeness rules in the particular language/culture.

Japanese Social Deixis: Polite Forms

Deixis deals with the linguistic expressions that encode or grammaticalize features of the context of utterance or speech event (Levinson, 1983, p. 62). Among the categories of deixis, there is a relatively uncommon category called social deixis. Therefore the references of deixis cannot be interpreted without the context where an utterance occurs. Social deixis is recognized in pragmatics as the grammaticalized elements that encode the social identity of participants or the relationship between them. In many languages we can find social deixis in the device for person marking, such as TN pronouns in European languages (e.g., "tu" pronoun and "vous" in French). In many East Asian languages such as Japanese, one type of social deictic encodings is found in their morphology, typically in verb endings.

The Japanese polite forms are subdivided into three major categories. One is the addressee polite form, *teineigo*, which is used in reference to the hearer. The typical morphemes for hearer polite forms are *mas-Ides-*. The presence of these morphemes attached to a verb in an utterance shows that speakers recognize social distance between themselves and the hearers.

1. Kore-o *kakimasu*. "I will write this." (formal/distal style)
This -Ace. Write+mas- (the addressee polite form)
2. Kore-o *kaku*. "I will write this." (informal/direct style)
This -Ace. Write+zera addressee polite form

In (1), the social distance between the speaker and the hearer will be greater than in (2). As we see in sentence (2), the absence of the addressee polite forms in an utterance signals that the speaker perceives informality in the relationship. With these characteristics, Jordan and Noda (1987, p. 40) call *mas-/des-* present speech style "distal," and the absent style "direct."

The other two kinds of polite forms are both referent polite forms, meaning that they show the speaker's perceived social/personal relationship with the person spoken about, or the referent (Coulmas, 1992). One of them is called honorifica, *sonkeigo*, in which the expressions about the referent in an utterance are "decorated" with certain morphemes (typically as verb inflections) to indicate that the referent is perceived to be socially "higher ranked" or to belong to an out-group relative to the speaker.

3. Sensee-ga Kore-o *okaki-ni naru*. "The teacher will write this."
Teacher-Nom. This -Ace. Write+referent honorific form

Compare (3) to (4) below:

4. Taro-ga Kore-o kaku. "Taro will write this."
Taro-Nom. This-Ace. Write+zero reference honorific form

In sentence (3), the pattern [*o+Verb stem +ni naru*] is used to express an action which is done by the referent (the teacher). As a similar concept to the addressee polite forms, the absence of the honorific forms also indicates some social meaning intended by the speaker. If the speaker had said (4) instead of (3), it would usually have denoted that the speaker considers the referent (Taro) to belong to his/her in-group (Coulmas, 1992; Makino, 1996).

The other referent polite form is called humble form, *kenzyoogo* in which speakers themselves use special morphemes to denote a humble meaning. By "lowering" the rank of their own actions done toward the referent, speakers acknowledge that the referent's social standing becomes "higher" (Levinson, 1983). Thus, the pragmatic-social meaning of humble forms has the same purpose as the honorific polite forms, which creates deference between the speaker and the referent.

5. Sensee-ni Kore-o *okaki-suru*. "I will write this to the teacher."
Teacher-Ace. This-Ace. Write+humbk form
6. Taro-ni Kore-o kaku. "I will write this to Taro."
Taro-Ace. This-Acc. Write+zero humble form

The pattern *o+Verb stem +suru* is used as the humble form in sentence (5). In this sentence, social deference to the teacher is expressed by humbling the speaker's action (writing) which is done toward the teacher. As in the case

with the honorific forms, the absence of a humble form-- i.e., saying (6) instead of (5)-- also denotes the in-group consciousness of the speaker toward the referent. For example, Taro in (6) is possibly the speaker's friend, a family member, or someone in the in-group.

English Social Grammaticalization: Some Features

In English, it is difficult to classify the forms that can be counted as social deixis. However, English performs the same kinds of functions as social deixis through many other grammaticalizations. Although this list is rather preliminary with respect to all the possibilities in one's linguistic repertoire, this paper attempts to name several such features.

Register

One way to indicate social relationships among the interlocutors in English is choice of words, namely, register. In English, a speaker may use a particular word over another whose semantic meaning is synonymous, but where the special pragmatic meaning is denoted as a result.

7. We look forward very much to *dining* with you.
8. We look forward very much to *eating* with you. (Brown & Levinson, 1978, p. 179)

The choice of the word *dining* gives a more formal impression of the pragmatic meaning, and we can assume that the speaker-addressee social distance in sentences (7) and (8) is different. There are other examples listed by Brown and Levinson, such as man/gentleman, give/bestow, bit/piece, and book/volume. The second members of these pairs encode greater respect to the person, activity or thing (Brown & Levinson, 1987).

Speech Styles

As a positive politeness strategy, in-group linguistic variety is often used in English. One might use a vernacular variety of English. Here is an example dialogue spoken by two males (British English speakers) who "hang around" together a lot.

9. *Knocker* Comin' down the club Jim?
Jim: Not fringin' likely. It's rubbish, that club.

Knocker: It ain't that bad. Music's cool. I seen a couple of sharp judied there too. If we plays our cards right... Anyways you was keen enough las' week.

Jim: The music's last Knocker. I'm off down the Pier 'cad if there ain't nothin' better than that on offer.

Knocker: Bleedin' rozzers crawlin' round down there. Come down ours instead. (Holmes, 1992, p. 174)

Explicit use of a vernacular variety of English here denotes the solidarity between the speaker and the hearer. Many different kinds of linguistic codes are used in a particular speech style. In example (9) above, we find particular pronunciation of words (e.g., 'eaci), use of jargon or slang (e.g., *sharp judied*), vernacular use of be-verbs (e.g., *ain't, you was*) or verb agreement (e.g., *we plays*). These codes can be considered social deixis to indicate the social relationship between the two speakers.

Address Forms

Although there are not as many as in some other languages, some address forms are used in English. Professional titles such as *Dr.*, *Prof.*, and many military titles are used as negative politeness, and other forms such as *buddy*, *pal*, *honey*, and *luv* are used to show in-group membership (i.e., positive politeness). In his lecture on social deixis, Fillmore (1997) talks about the difficulties in switching from one pattern of address to another in American culture (p. 116). If A has always called B "Dr. Smedlap" and B has called A "Herschel," initiating a change by saying "Dr. Smedlap, would you mind if I called you Sam from now on?" or "Instead of calling me Herschel, I'd prefer it if you called me Dr. Bramble from now on" would be presumptuous. Fillmore's point here is that patterns of address and how we identify each other are parts of social deixis, and we can tell from the fact that they are constrained by the relationships between the speaker and the referents or hearers.

Syntactic Features

Lakoff (1972) and a number of other linguists identify certain syntactic/semantic features that play a role in politeness in English. Some of them are: (a) use of tags, (b) negation, (c) mood, (d) modals, and (e) tense of modals. Lakoff also suggests that the three different sentence forms,

imperative, declarative, and interrogative denote social distance in the order described. Here are some of the examples:

10. Could you give me a glass of milk? *Interrogative past tense modal*
11. I'll have a glass of milk. *Declarative-present tense modal*
12. Give me a glass of milk. *Imperative*

Sentence (10) is more polite than sentence (11) because of the tense of the modal and because it is an interrogative. Examples (10)-(12) are also indirect speech acts, which are also claimed to denote social meanings by Davison (1975).

As we see, the linguistic forms chosen as social deixis are very different in Japanese and English. When language learners deal with very different languages like these two, they cannot make any predictions as to which linguistic forms are used as social deixis.

Language Use and Social Grammaticalization

So far, the discussion has focused on the linguistic forms used to denote social meanings in Japanese and English. Now we will look at how the native speakers of these languages actually use them, and the social/personal factors that make them determine which style (out of the possibilities in one's linguistic repertoire) to use.

What directs the choice of a polite form in Japanese is an interesting question. We recognize that there is no simple one-to-one mapping between linguistic forms and contextual features. Rather, the choice of one form of social deixis in Japanese can be based upon very complicated sociocultural or individual reasons. Nelson (1988) created a list of the social and personal variables for Japanese politeness behavior, which can be also directly applied to the social deixis determiner. Nelson divided the variables into two large groups, namely "vertical" and "horizontal" motivations. Figure 1 illustrates her divisions.

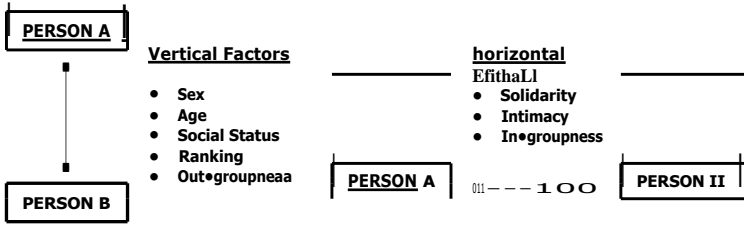


Figure 1. Two-way social factors. Adapted from Nelson (1988).

The vertical motivator represents relative social position in some form of hierarchy. Some of the vertical factors are sex, age, social status, and vertical role (e.g., ranking in a company) of the speaker and the other participants in the conversation, and these factors condition the speaker's speech style. In many cases vertical rules are socially conventionalized, and the Japanese speech community expects one to follow such conversational rules. **Horizontal motivation has to do with closeness of human relationships.** The acknowledgement of in-group/out-group membership as well as the indication of the degree of solidarity and intimacy are some of the factors that construct horizontal motivation. It is at more of a personal level than vertical motivation because factors like solidarity or group membership are open to one's perception of social distance.

A survey by Hills, Ide, Ikuta, Kawasaki, and Ogino (1986) shows that the Japanese tend to want to satisfy socially conventionalized rules (i.e., vertical relationship) more than horizontal motivation, while Americans opt to satisfy their horizontal, volitional decision of the speech styles. Mizutani (1989) also mentions that American culture values treating everyone equally; consequently, it is rather "polite" (in a sense of positive politeness) to choose social deixis which satisfies one's horizontal motivation. For example, we encounter many cases where a professor and a student call each other by their first name, and that behavior is thought to establish a good relationship in the Western culture. This is not to say that their politeness strategies are a totally different set of rules. Both vertical and horizontal motivations are recognized in both cultures, but the manner in which they are weighted for the implementation of certain politeness strategies is language-specific.

Speech Level Mixing: Sociolinguistic Analysis

Brown and Levinson (1987) show that both types of politeness strategies interact in complicated ways, according to the nature of the act and the status of the speaker and the hearer. There are many occasions where we find the mixture of elements deriving from positive and negative politeness strategies in a given utterance, and such a mix reflects the result of the speaker's calculation. In other words, speakers balance out how much negative face or positive face they want to satisfy, depending on the social context, speech event domain and so forth. When we look at the actual usage of social deixis in real discourse, we find such crafting with two kinds of politeness strategies in speakers of both Japanese and English.

Japanese usage of polite forms has been described in a rather oversimplified manner. The actual data, however, show us that native speakers manipulate the presence and absence of these forms to reach the appropriate social distance among themselves, and also use such a skill as a communication strategy (Ide, Tanabe, Abe, Okamoto, & Sato, 1987; Ikuta, 1983). The following are some pieces of conversations I encountered with native speakers of Japanese. Speaker B is a mother of the two young Japanese children to whom I teach English. Speaker B and I are both female, and we are not very far apart in age. Although the two of us want to have rather casual, informal conversation, there is a teacher-parent relationship which needs to be denoted by the speakers from time to time. In the transcription, the focused predicates are underlined. The absence of the wanted form is indicated with a -, mark, and the form which should have been used follows the arrow in the parentheses.

Dialogue (7)

1A: Hmm, demo suugaku to tigatte imakara demo oitukeru n to tigaimull (:addressee polite form) ka nee.

A: *Hmm, but can't she catch up with the class [for Social Studies] even starting now, unlike Math?*

2B: Da to iidesu (:addressee polite form) kedo nee. Sensee wa doo §aremsita (:honorific form)?

B: *I hope that is the case. How did you do for Social Studies?*

3A: Watasi wa..yappari anki desu (:addressee polite form) ka nee. Nihon ni latent hattara (:honorific form), eekai wa gakkoo ka dokoka ni wa 115u (-0-ikareru; honorific) n drall (:addressee polite form)ka?

A: *Las you see, I memorized the facts. When you all go back to Japan, is she going to an English conversation school of some kind?*

4B: Iya..sensee ga JUR 60-irassyatta: honorifici minai na zyuku ni ikaseyoo ka to. Sensee ni wa iro iro yoku oleic itadai (:honorific). to nee. Tasukari masita.

B: *Well, no.. I was thinking maybe I will send her to a cramming school just like the one you went to. You have given us so much information. It has been a great help.*

Both speaker A and B show one token where they did not use an honorific polite form where they could have used one (in line 3 and line 4, respectively). However, overuse of the honorific may emphasize a vertical social relationship, such as social role (teacher-parent), which will result in an unwanted social distance. The speakers in dialogue (7) balance out their use of polite forms to reflect both vertical and horizontal factors within a speech event to craft an appropriate social distance.

Another example of *use* of social deixis as a communication strategy is found in a case where a Japanese interviewer manipulates the presence and absence of the polite forms to elicit more lively conversation from the interviewee. The interviewee is a guest on a TV show; therefore, he is automatically an out-group person (i.e., the speaker needs to use referent honorific polite forms to address him).

Dialogue (8)

1I: Waseda ni,

I: *to Waseda university.*

2R: Hai. Dakara, onaji daigaku ni ni-kai halite masu yo.

R: *Yes. So, I have been to the same university twice.*

3I: Ja, Waseda ni haitte-Ipagara 60-irassyninagara:honorifict
moo, haitchatta n da kara tte,

1: *Then while you entered Waseda and thought "well I got in
so..*

4 Kootsuulcoosha ni jrasshatte, de shoosetu jcaitd-o-okaki ni
patte:honorifla

1: *You went to Kootsuukoosha, and wrote novels?*

5R: Tugitugi yatta n desu ga, doko itte mo dame na n desu yo.

R: *I tried many things one after another, but it that wherever
I went it didn't work out.*

"Tetsuko no Heys" transcription appeared in Karamatsu (1995).

As we see, the interviewer did not use a honorific form even when she was talking about the guest's action (in line 3 and 4); however, this strategy successfully led the guest to speak more freely about his life story. The guest takes up the interviewer's tempo (fast and rhythmical) and takes his turn immediately.

Pedagogical Implication: How do we Promote Socio-Pragmatic Competence?

When we switch our perspective to second/foreign learners, many teachers know from their everyday experience that such competence does not just "emerge." With the introduction of the idea of communicative competence to the field of linguistics, it has been realized that grammatical knowledge alone does not make a student of foreign language a "fluent" speaker. Studies show that even advanced learners show deficiency in understanding or performing appropriate pragmatic language use in a particular context (Kasper, 1997; Takahashi & Roitblat, 1994). Although development of socio-pragmatic competence in a second/foreign language is not easy, it is an essential part of the communicative competence that we should not neglect. The learner's failure to distinguish the devices to indicate

the intended illocutionary force or social meaning may create communication breakdown (Gumperz, 1982) between a native speaker and a non-native speaker.

In the case of learners of Japanese, many students, particularly the Westerners, tend to overgeneralize the usage of polite forms. Specifically, learners may use too many polite forms, reflecting solely the vertical relationships in all encountered situations, and fail to show any reflection of horizontal relationships by mixing informal or semi-formal speech styles in their language. In such cases, with an insistence on using the formal form, native interlocutors may sense an unintended sign of social distance or coldness from the non-native speaker (Nelson, 1988). Another case may be where a learner suddenly switches to use direct style (i.e., absence of polite forms) with a particular addressee to emphasize the horizontal, personal closeness, but fails to show the vertical social relationship which does not disappear by becoming friends with the addressee, Japanese native interlocutors may find such sudden change unprofessional and may be insulted by the speaker's ignorance of *wakimae*, which means "discernment" (Hills et al., 1986), or social norms of appropriate behavior (Maynard, 1989). The following dialogue, which I encountered in a conversation with an American learner of Japanese, illustrates the issue here.

Dialogue (9)

IC: Sensee ga, amerika ni kite(-Hrassystte:honorifici, nihongo ga
okasiku nattesimawaredlonorific form) noto onaji desu ne.

C: *It's just like you came to the United States and your Japanese was influenced by English, isn't it?*

2A: Han, soo desyoo ka nee,

A: *Oh, I assume so.*

3C: Kare ni idite (-0- Mite kudasal: addressee polite formi.

Doitugo no akusento arimasen ka rte.

C: *Would you ask him that? Say "Do you have a German accent?"*

4A: . . . Hai.

A: . . . Okay.

The non-native speaker's request for the teacher to do a favor (line 3) is a sudden change. The context (teacher/student role and a formal situation

in a conference room) did not allow a blunt expression like 3 as a natural style switch. The teacher could have understood such a style switch as the student's disrespect of her if she did not take the knowledge of pragmatic knowledge interference in consideration when interpreting line 3.

There is an anecdote of the reverse case, a Japanese learner of English who made an "overgeneralized" casual request of his professor. Student T, who just came into his professor's office and said only, 'Professor M, I need a letter of recommendation.' Asking for a letter of recommendation is considered a request made by the one who has less power than the one with more power. It is a strong face-threatening act which requires negative politeness, and which enables the speaker to preserve deference while he is making a request. Unfortunately, this utterance was not attached with any politeness devices in English such as "I was wondering if —," due to the student's unawareness of politeness devices in English which are not as grammatically overt as those in Japanese social deixis. These examples are classified as pragmatic failure. Pragmatic failure occurs when non-native speakers either directly apply what they do in L 1 , or hypothesize the L2 strategy in a rather oversimplified way.

Speech shift or speech mix is used more frequently when the speaker and the hearer hold an "ambiguous" social relationship. If we imagine a continuum of social distance, such ambiguous relationships fall in the middle. Wolfson (1988, 1989) recognizes that the two extremes, those who are intimates or strangers, have a relatively stable social distance, which enables the conversants to predict which speech style should be used. On the other hand, those who are somewhere in the middle of the continuum require more verbal negotiation for the relationship to be made clearer. Specifically these middle relationships could be acquaintances, co-workers, or those who share more than one kind of social role (e.g., two people who have a teacher-student relationship in the classroom but are teammates on a basketball team at the club). In these situations, non-native speakers may apply incorrectly hypothesized pragmatic rules and end up creating unwanted social distance with the interlocutor.

Socio-pragmatic elements of language are the most difficult to acquire. Studies of speech acts in second language acquisition tell us that one's LI socio-pragmatic competence is, unconsciously, often transferred negatively to one's second language performance. At the same time, socio-pragmatic instruction is also problematic. The elements of socio-pragmatic use of

language are hard to pinpoint as a simple recipe (Kasper, 1997). Social deixis in both English and Japanese require the learners' deep understanding of the social and cultural elements of the language, which is definitely more complex than teaching vocabulary or simple grammar at a basic level. Despite the difficulty, it is clearly to the learner's advantage to understand as many native varieties and communicative styles as they can be expected to have contact with and, moreover, to develop efficient strategies for their own use in the target language, which enables learners to achieve their goals promptly and efficiently (Jordan & Walton, 1987).

Implications

Teaching Guidelines

Then what should we do about this? What should teachers expect from the learners? What would plausible objectives be? In his book *Language Variability and Language Teaching*, Valdman (1987) suggests four sets of principles to show teachers how to go about teaching socio-pragmatic elements of language. These principles and some of the pedagogical implications to fit the principles are presented.

The first of Valdman's (1987) principles suggests that what and how we teach should *reflect the actual behavior of the target language speakers in authentic communicative situations*. Language authenticity is not possible when language is taught outside of a specific context. Particularly for social deixis or English social grammaticalization, its forms should be introduced with a very specific context--that is to say, who the speaker is, to whom the utterance is uttered, and the relationship among the participants of the conversation. The speaker's intention in uttering the sentence and so forth is provided to the learners. In authentic language we will find linguistic variety and style shifting by the participants. At least for advanced learners who have already established a certain degree of linguistic knowledge in the target language, teachers should expose them to raw material that will show them how the target language is really used by the native speakers.

The second principle says that *the learners' language use should conform to native speakers' idealized views of their linguistic behavior*. What Jordan (1986) calls "gaijin-go," the unnatural foreigner's language, should not be allowed in the language classroom. From a socio-pragmatic perspective, what teachers should facilitate, as well as other communication

strategies, is appropriate and accurate communication in the target language (Iwasaki, 1992), not fluent word-by-word translation from the LI expression. Valdman's (1987) wording *linative speakers' idealized views on language behavior*" is the key. Learners need to learn to follow cultural conventions in the *use* of language. Application of this principle also leads us to authenticity of the language material.

The third principle suggests that *what teachers teach in the classroom match target language speakers' views about what linguistic behavior is appropriate for educated foreigners as well as the perceptions of learners themselves*. This principle touches the issue of teacher expectation of *success* in socio-pragmatic instruction. Kasper (1997) mentions that native speaker pragmatic competence is a particularly unrealistic goal since the learners lack the quality and quantity of contact with the L2 that would provide them with the necessary input and occasions for using the L2 productively. Teachers should take into account the learners' personal goals in language learning at this point. For example, if a learner has the motivation to become a member of the target community, the teaching expectation should be raised, but if a learner wants to remain a recognizable outsider, a different objective for this particular learner has to be established. Teachers need to reflect the students' needs in setting such objectives. In any case, however, learners need to be aware of sociolinguistic variation in the target language. Whether and to what extent learners wish to conform to native speaker expectations must be their choice (Thomas, 1983).

The fourth principle says that teachers should *take into account processing and learning factors such as learners' interlanguage features*. At the start of the learners' process to socio-pragmatic competence acquisition, there needs to be development of the learners' socio-pragmatic comprehension ability in the target language. Pragmatic comprehension is defined by van Dijk (1977) as the series of processes during which language users assign particular conventional acts, such as illocutionary forces, to each other's utterances. In addition to the ability to recognize the illocutionary force, the learners must learn to categorize a speech event in terms of a variety of social and personal factors. Social status, familiarity, sex, age, and other characteristics of both speaker and addressee, need to be known long before the execution of speech itself (Jordan & Walton, 1987).

Socio-pragmatic comprehension requires one to have sensitivity to recognize what interactants are doing with language. Socio-pragmatic

competence in the first language is almost always subconscious. The native speakers of a particular culture are not aware of the fact that they are applying endless numbers of communication strategies when they speak. The realization of the concept that different languages have different socio-pragmatic strategies needs to be promoted in the language classroom so that the L2 learners become conscious about how language denotes many other things besides the overt semantic meaning. This is a meta-linguistic awareness that is recognized as an important ability in good language learners. It refers to the skill to consider language not just as a means of expressing ideas or communicating with others, but as an object of inquiry (Gass & Selinker, 1993;p. 220). Promotion of metalinguistic awareness will contribute to the learner's acquisition of socio-pragmatic competence in the target language.

Another reason the promotion of awareness is what teachers should emphasize lies in the unpredictable variability of socio-pragmatic skills in a language. For example, as we have seen from the discourse of the native Japanese speakers earlier, it is impossible to predict when the speaker will decide to use or not to use a certain polite form in his/her utterance. Such a decision is totally context dependent; moreover, it differs according to the participants of the conversation every time. Thus, it is difficult for teachers to provide a limited number of general, systematic rules that can account for all situations that learners are going to encounter in the target community. The pragmatic instruction should be practiced with attention to variability in different contexts. Although classroom instructions should never avoid teaching socio-pragmatic elements of the target language, teachers should not be forced to give too simplistic information to the learners, either. What teachers can do, instead, is to raise the learners' consciousness by providing opportunities for them to observe and to discuss how language is used and the effect of linguistic choices.

Teaching Ideas

There are some specific teaching techniques to practice these objectives. One is to adopt authentic spoken conversation by the native speakers as teaching material, and to carry out a discourse analysis with the students (Riggenbach, 1990; Rings, 1992). Teachers can record or audiotape a conversation of themselves with other native speakers of the target language and bring it into the classroom. First, the learners and the teacher can listen and analyze the context of the conversation and the core

message communicated. Then the teacher can go through line by line with the students, focusing on the word choice, linguistic forms, and other possible social deistic codes. The teacher can provide questions such as why the speaker said "dine" instead of "eat" and "could you" instead of "can you," and have learners discuss with their peers what they see in the discourse in terms of social meanings. Furthermore, Riggenbach (1990) suggests that students can be placed into the role of language researchers by having them do "field work" to gather authentic discourse. In this way, the learners can be active participants in learning, and they become conscious of the processes that operate to produce the language that they hear. Studying the variety in such authentic spoken discourse data as part of the lesson would be very useful in teaching different speech styles and their use.

In the textbook *Japanese: The Spoken Language* by Jorden and Noda (1990), we find many consciousness-raising dialogues and much cultural explanation with the dialogues. One particular dialogue found in Part 3 very nicely illustrates the objectives in socio-pragmatic teaching I discuss in this article:

N: Ee. Sekkaku tomodati to site tukiaeru yoo ni natta to omottara desu nee.

N: *Yes. [Just] when I thought I had at last become able to associate [with him] as a friend, you know,*

Kyuuni mata kyori ga dekita-mitai de..

suddenly it's as if distance [between us] has developed again.

J: Aa, mosi ka sum to, koohai to site wa hanasikara ga sitasi-sugita n zya nai desu ka.

J: *Oh, isn't it perhaps the case that your way of talking has been too familiar for a junior colleague?*

N: Watasi ga desu ka.

N: *I[ve done this]?*

J: Ee. Donna ni sitasiku natte mo, koohai wa koohai-rasiku desu nee. Hanasikata nanka mo,

J: *Yes. No matter how familiar you become, juniors [should act] like juniors, you know.*

tyotto Id o tukueru yoo ni site mitara doo desyoo.

Why don't you try to be a bit careful even about things like your way of talking, and see [how that works out]. (Jorden & Noda, 1990, p. 40)

After the dialogue, Jorden and Noda (1990) provide an explanation on integrating style switches used by the native speaker role:

Professor Ohno [J]'s style of speech is more casual, reflecting his superior position. He begins with an utterance in distal-style, ... he shifts to a minor sentence and a major sentence in direct-style, both of which occur at a point where he is anxious to share concern and sincere interest in Mr. Cater [N]'s problems. (p. 44)

Also Jorden and Noda (1990) mention a social/cultural note for social debris in a very explicit way:

Distinguishing among senpai [senior], dooryoo [colleagues], and koohai [junior] is crucial in Japanese society. This relationship affects interaction at every turn within many spheres . . . what is often surprising to the foreigners is the persistence awareness of these relationships among the Japanese. (p. 44)

As we see in this sample, awareness raising is possible by choosing a dialogue which integrates a topic on language use or by providing the language style, mixing and analyzing the art of it with the learners. In ESL/EFL education, use of discourse analysis on authentic recordings or other conversations accessed through media can function in the same way.

Conclusion

In this article, I introduced some grammaticalized devices for social meaning in Japanese and English and how these features are used in the actual native speaker speech communication. I noted that there is variability in the *use* of social deixis in native speaker discourse, and such flexible use of social deixis is part of one's communicative strategy to signal social meanings at both macro and micro levels. In order to make language learners more socially and culturally proficient speakers in the target language, teachers must promote socio-pragmatic competence of the learners in the classroom. For teaching implications, I suggested integrating lessons which attempt to trigger learners' metalinguistic awareness of such socio-pragmatic components in the classroom. Consciousness of pragmatic differences in the target language on the part of the learners will lead them to a better comprehension of what is communicated besides the overt words, and possibly make them more proficient speakers.

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RESEARCH NOTES

**A Comparison of the Use of Back Channeling
Gambits in Intermediate ESL Students
Before and After Instruction: A
Preliminary Report**

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Char Heitman is an instructor at the University of Oregon's American Language Institute and has recently returned from a teaching exchange in the Netherlands. She taught EFL in Japan for four years and is currently on a teaching exchange in the Netherlands for the 1999-2000 academic year. Her research interests include interlanguage pragmatics, oral fluency, task and content-based instruction, and cross-cultural communication.

Introduction

In recent years, pragmatics has received increasing attention in second language acquisition models and has been recognized as an important component of overall language competence. Pragmatics refers to the speaker's knowledge of rules of appropriate and polite behavior which influences the way speakers use language to communicate (Koike, 1989). Due to its important role in facilitating communication, it deserves attention in language classes, particularly those focused on oral production, in which improved communication skill is the ultimate goal. Although some ESL textbooks and materials are beginning to incorporate pragmatic information, classes still deal primarily with the grammatical, structural features of the language.

Part of the reason for the absence of pragmatic information in ESL materials is due to a lack of research in the area of pragmatics and especially interlanguage pragmatic (IP) development. Unlike other areas of language competence such as reading and grammar which have been studied extensively and the results of which have influenced the methodology of language teaching, comparatively little is known about pragmatic competence development. The following is a research report of a preliminary study on teaching one aspect of pragmatic competence: back channeling.

Back channeling is defined as "contributions which do not constitute a turn but which provide the speaker with useful information as his turn progresses" (Duncan cited in Coulthard, 1985). It includes utterances such as *yeah, uh-huh, ohh, oh really* so on. Although back channeling occurs in most, if not all, languages in the world, the words and phrases used differ. Also different are the uses of silence and the frequency of back channeling utterances. In some languages frequent back channeling is expected and welcome, while in others it is considered rude. Thus, ESL students who employ back channeling behavior appropriate in their language may unknowingly violate back channeling rules of English. This negative pragmatic transfer can lead to communication difficulties and even breakdown. As a result, interactions with native speakers may end prematurely or not be as successful as the interactions of those who employ more native-like back channeling. The purpose of the following study was to describe the back channeling behavior of intermediate ESL students before instruction (T1) and after instruction (T2) and to see how the back

channeling behavior of a non-native speaker (NNS) compares to that of a native speaker (NS) in the same situation.

Methods

In this study, 10 NS/NNS dyads of intermediate-level ESL students and university-age NS students were videotaped having conversations in a setting that simulated two students meeting for the first time in a university classroom on the first day of class. There was a total of 10 ESL students who were enrolled in an Intensive English Program (IEP) oral skills course and 7 American students enrolled in regular university classes. The make-up of the NNS group consisted of five Japanese speakers, three Taiwanese speakers, one French and one Arabic speaker. The situation was selected because most of the non-native speaker subjects plan to pursue studies at a university after intensive English study, so it seemed the most realistic in terms of the type of situation the subjects may likely encounter in the future. One reason for pairing them with NSs was to determine the kind and frequency of back channeling utterances used by NSs. Another was to put the NNSs in a situation in which they would be most compelled to employ native-like strategies as opposed to pairing them with other non-native speakers in which they may have felt uncomfortable doing so. The rationale for pairing them with peers was to minimize any differences due to age and social status. They were instructed to have a conversation until the "professor" (in this case the researcher) came into the room. Students were videotaped at the beginning of a 10-week term and then again after six weeks. In the second taping, the NNSs were paired with different NSs since the task was to simulate a first meeting, and pairing them with the same speaker would have put both parties in a position of having to feign a first meeting. Due to scheduling conflicts, the make-up of the NS group differed from time one (T1) to time two (T2); however, the NNS group remained the same. After the tapings, the researcher analyzed five minutes of each conversation, identifying the range of structures (types) used and tallying the number of occurrences of those structures (tokens) by both native and non-native subjects.

The Results

What one notices when analyzing the data from the initial taping (see Appendix A) is a difference both in the types and tokens used by the two groups. Not only did the NSs *use* a wider range of back channeling

utterances (19), they also used them more frequently (305 times in 50 minutes of conversation). In contrast, the NNSs used back channeling utterances only 145 times, less than half the number of back channels uttered by NSs. One also notices a difference in the distribution of the utterances. Looking at the top five back channeling utterances used by NSs, the total number of occurrences is nearly twice that of the non-native speakers (179:85), while the bottom nine utterances are used exclusively by NNSs a total of 39 times, nearly a third of the total utterances by NNSs (145) in 50 minutes of conversation. Tables 1 summarizes the information about the distribution of back channeling utterances at T1.

Table 1
Distribution of Back Channeling Utterances
Before Instruction

Total # of different structures used by NS — T I	19
Total # of different structures used by NNS -T1	18
Total # of structures used by both NS and NNS - T1	9
Total # of structures used by NSs only — T I	10
Total # of structures used by NNSs only — T1	9

At first glance, there seems to be no difference in the range of different structures used (NSs: 19, NNS: 18, Table 1). However, upon closer examination one sees that half of the back channeling utterances used by NNSs are unique to them. In other words, NNSs were using nine utterances that NSs did not use. This evidence could indicate that pragmatic transfer-using utterances and strategies from their native language--is occurring. Furthermore, 10 of the 19 structures used by NS subjects are never used by the NNSs. Whether these phenomena are due to the fact that NNSs feel more comfortable using the words and phrases from their own language or due to a lack of knowledge of corresponding appropriate back channeling

utterances in the target language is not clear. It is clear, however, that according to this limited data, the NNS subjects' interlanguage does not seem to contain as wide a range of structures as that of the target language and contains utterances that do not occur in the target language.

After the first videotaping, the NNS students received instruction in the concept of back channeling and were given numerous opportunities to practice using back channeling utterances in conversation. At the end of the instruction, students were given multiple choice quizzes to measure their passive knowledge of appropriate back channeling behavior and open-ended production quizzes to measure their ability to apply the knowledge to new situations.

From the data of the second taping six weeks later and after instruction (see Appendix B), we notice an increase in the types and tokens of structures employed by NNSs. For example, the utterance "Oh really?," which occurred only 3 times during T₁, occurred 13 times during T₂ (Appendices A and B). This is more than a four-fold increase. We also notice the disappearance of certain back channeling gambits, such as "Nnnnnn," which appeared frequently (12 times) at T₁ (Appendix A). There are also noteworthy differences in the types and tokens of particular utterances in the NS data at T₁ and T₂ which could be accounted for by the differences in the make-up of the two groups and the idiolectic differences of the individuals in each group. One NS subject, for example, who accounted for nearly all the occurrences of the utterance "Uh huh" at T₁ did not participate in the tapings at T₂, which likely accounts for the dramatic drop in the frequency of this utterance in the data at T₂ (from 45 to 14 occurrences, Appendices A and B). The differences in group make-up could also partially explain the difference in total frequency of utterances at T₁ and T₂ (305:241) as well as the increase in the total number of different structures uttered by NSs (19 to 24, Tables 1 and 2).

Differences in group make-up cannot explain the changes seen at T₁ and T₂ for the NNSs, however, since the group was the same. While the frequency of total utterances increased only slightly from the first to second taping (145:173, Appendices A and B), the ratio of the frequency of utterances not used by NS subjects compared to the total number of back channeling devices shows a dramatic decline from T₁ to T₂ (37/145 compared to 5/173, Appendices A and B). Comparing the distribution of the utterances, we see that overlap in structures used by both NSs and NNSs at

T2 is greater than that of T1. While the two groups only used 9 of the same structures at T1, they used 12 identical structures at T2. Additionally, the number of structures used exclusively by NNSs dropped from 10 in the first taping (Table 1) to 4 in the second taping (Table 2). In other words, NNSs are using more of the structures used by NSs and fewer of the structures unique to NNSs. Table 2 summarizes the information from T2.

Table 2
Distribution of Back Channeling Utterances
After Instruction

Total # of different structures used by NSs T2	24
Total # of different structures used by NNS - T2	16
Total # of structures used by both NS and NNSs T2	12
Total # of structures used by NSs only T2	10
Total # of structures used by NNSs only — T2	4

Here we can see that, though the NNSs used fewer total structures (18 compared to 16, Tables 1 and 2), three fourths of the structures were ones also used by NSs, as compared to only half at T1. In addition, only 4 of the structures, rather than the initial 9, were used exclusively by NNSs. In other words, the pragmatic transfer seems to have diminished, and they are drawing from a larger body of structures also used by NSs. Their interlanguage seems to more closely resemble the target language.

Conclusion

The results of this study seem to indicate that students' back channeling behavior changes in terms of both frequency and range over time, although it cannot tell us whether the changes observed were due to simple exposure in a native-speaking environment, actual instruction or a combination of the

two. Answering such a question would require a study with a control and experimental group, which the researcher is, in fact, carrying out at this time.

In addition to doing a controlled study and looking at the data longitudinally, the data from this and future studies could look at any differences which might be explained by gender, native language and length of exposure in the target language prior to the data collection. Also necessary are studies which examine the correspondence between back channeling behavior and its role in the success of interactions with native speakers. Another interesting study would be one which compares the back channeling behavior of *NS/NS* dyads and those same native speakers in a *NNS* dyad to see if there is any difference in behavior when the NS is interacting with a NS versus a *NNS*.

Certainly, more studies on the pragmatic development of second language learners will help us discover what types of pragmatic information are acquired over time and how instruction can impact a *NNS*'s interlanguage pragmatic behavior. The results of such studies can be used to inform decisions as to what kinds of pragmatic information are worthwhile incorporating into the language curriculum and how much time to devote to pragmatic development in a language classroom. In the meantime, questions about reasonable target competencies also need to be considered. Given that the goal of language instruction is to maximize a student's communicative competence, and given the undeniably important role pragmatics plays in communicative success, this is an area of study from which students and teachers alike can greatly benefit.

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APPENDEK A

Back channeling structures used	Total # of occurrences NSs	Total # of occurrences NNSs
Uh huh	45	15
Ohhh	47	35
(repeat previous word or phrase)	32	17
(Oh) really?	29	3
Mhmm	26	15
Yeah?	20	3
Cool	15	0
Huh	14	0
Wow	13	0
Hmmm	12	2
Yeah (gothca)	11	10
Really	10	0
Yeah (agreement)	9	8
Okay	8	0
Right	4	0
(Tag question)	4	0
Interesting	3	0
That's good	2	0
Awesome	1	0
That's true	0	1
Ahh	0	6
Yes?	0	2
I see	0	2
Yes	0	1
Oh?	0	1
Nnnn	0	12
Mmmm	0	9
Yeah (Go on)	0	3
Total	305	145

APPENDIX B

Back channeling structures used	Total # of occurrences NSs	Total # of occurrences NNSs
Uh huh	14	33
Ohhh	33	32
(repeat previous word or phrase)	12	15
(Oh) really?	14	13
Minim	62	39
Yeah?	9	2
Cool	2	0
Huh	0	0
Wow	13	0
Hmmm	19	2
Yeah (gotcha)	12	7
Really	8	1
Yeah (agreement)	10	16
Okay	3	0
Right	3	0
(Tag question)	8	0
Interesting	6	0
That's good	1	0
Awesome	2	0
That's true	1	0
Ahh	0	0
Yes?	0	2
I see	1	2
Yes	0	1
Oh?	0	1
Nnnn	0	0
Mnunm	0	0
Yeah (Go on)	5	6
I understand	0	1
That's great	1	0
Oh nice	1	0
Gosh	1	0
Total	241	173

BOOK REVIEWS

A Fresh Look at the Role of a Whole Language Perspective in ESL/EFL Instruction

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ESL/EFL Teaching: Principles for Success. Yvonne S.
Freeman and David E. Freeman. Portsmouth, NH:
Heinemann. Pp. 292. 1998. \$25.00. ISBN
0-325-00079-4

Sheila C. Cullen has been an ESL teacher in adult school and in K-12 public school classes in Lake Oswego School District. Her particular interests in ESL education include the teaching of reading and sociopolitical concerns in the field.

Yvonne S. Freeman and David E. Freeman, well-known proponents of whole language methods and bilingual education, have published a revision of their *Whole Language for Second Language Learners*. Professors at Fresno Pacific University where they work in teacher preparation, the Freemans have also worked with English teachers outside the U.S., so they write from a base of broad experience in the field. *ESVEFL Teaching* is dedicated to "all the teachers of English language learners" and is an extended discussion of methods and lessons designed to be useful for those preparing to teach in either English as a Second Language or English as a Foreign Language settings.

In this revised version, the Freemans, perhaps bowing to the unfavorable political winds blowing around the whole language approach these days, have changed the title and emphasis of the book to "Principles for Success"; but it is clear that their orientation remains the same. The new book is an explanation and a defense of the validity of the whole language approach to teaching.

The organization of the book is clear and helpful. The first chapter, "Contexts and Orientations," summarizes the history of approaches to language teaching. The second chapter, "Teaching Language through Content," is entirely new to this edition and presents this fairly recent development in considerable detail. The remainder of the book—eight more chapters—is organized around the Freemans' seven "Principles for Success," listed in the introduction as follows:

1. Learning proceeds from whole to part.
2. Lessons should be learner centered.
3. Lessons should have meaning and purpose for students now.
4. Lessons should engage students in social interaction.
5. Lessons should develop both oral and written language.
6. Lessons should support students' first languages and cultures. [This principle is considered so complex that it is given two chapters. The extra coverage is effective since it is in these two chapters that the Freemans discuss the complicated question of bilingual education.]
7. Lessons should show faith in the learner to expand students' potential. (pp. xvii-xviii)

The Freeman practice what they espouse: each chapter begins with an example from a classroom. These are well-chosen and varied, ranging from elementary to adult classes and including both ESL and EFL settings. After the authors present a classroom situation, they go on to demonstrate how it exemplifies the principle being discussed in that chapter. Further examples from other classrooms are included in most chapters.

The end of the book is an "Epilogue" devoted to the description of "Elaine . . . an outstanding teacher" and to showing how her teaching puts all seven principles into practice. The text of the book is followed by an extensive bibliography of "Professional References," a very useful source of bibliographical information on major works in the field of ESL pedagogy.

A 20-year veteran of ESL classrooms in public schools, my evaluation of this book is from the standpoint of its usefulness for future teachers or for teachers brushing up on current trends in their field. I think that the book has three especially strong features. The first is the beginning chapter, "Contexts and Orientations," which gives a history of methods and orientations in the field of language instruction. For a brief summary, I think it is excellent: it describes important trends in the field over the years and introduces major figures from Noam Chomsky to Steven Krashen to Virginia Collier. The summary is succinct and clear and makes a useful outline of the field for new teachers and a reminder/summary for experienced teachers. The chronological organization helps give a sense of the development and flow of professional trends through the years.

A second strength of the book is Chapter 2 on "Teaching Language through Content," a relatively new practice where guidance and encouragement for teachers are needed. ESL teachers are often called upon to give advice and support to "regular" classroom teachers, so the Freemans' explanations of sheltered English, and of the newer terms of ELD (English Language Development) and SDAIE (Specially Designed Academic Instruction in English) are of great practical assistance to ESL teachers. Examples in the chapter include lessons based on the theme of the migrant experience and another set of lessons on diversity in nutritional practices. As is true in all the chapters, very practical information about appropriate children's books and lesson design is liberally provided.

At the end of this "Teaching Language through Content" chapter is a section on adapting the idea for use in EFL settings. The Freemans' practical

experience in other countries is valuable here as they admit the challenges (for example, lack of appropriate, up-to-date reading material) presented by the EFL environment and offer some practical ideas, contributed by teachers in the field, for meeting these challenges. One suggestion for meeting the challenge of reading material shortcomings, for example, was to "have students put together class sets of big and little books around themes the whole class is studying" (p. 58).

The third real strength of the textbook is the offering of very specific classroom activities, chosen from a wide variety of classrooms and subject areas, to put into action the Freemans' more abstract principles. These activities, even if they cannot be transferred directly to all situations, can serve as inspiration for creative, engaging lessons for students in various programs. Chapter Six, "Learning Takes Place in Social Interaction," is a good example of the kinds of ideas offered. The chapter begins with the teacher of an adult ESL class who sets up a pen pal program with a local college. Another scenario describes Yvonne Freeman's teacher education students writing letters to elementary students. A third example tells of a high school teacher who has students in her different schools exchange letters. Besides letter exchanges, the chapter describes a sharing of books written by elementary students, a program of cross-age tutoring between first and fourth graders, a fourth-grade classroom that utilizes collaborative groups to work on an oceanography unit, and a detailed presentation on how to use "Problem Posing" for social studies research projects. The fact *that ESL/EFL Teaching* contains this much helpful detail illustrates my point about the usefulness of the book; it has a depth and practicality that many books on teaching methods do not have.

The weakness of *ESL/EFL Teaching in my view* is the insistence on only whole language techniques and principles for effective language tutelage. The authors are disdainful of any skill-building techniques (such as grammar lessons, speaking drills, or vocabulary practice), dismissing them as "part to whole" teaching. They refuse to accept these since such techniques violate their first principle that "Learning Goes from Whole to Part." Most intelligent, experienced language teachers would not return to the rigorous drills and memorization of the audio-lingual method, but many of us still use substitution drills or the like for a few minutes as warm-up activities at the beginning of a class or perhaps as quick review at the end of a lesson. If musicians practice scales and golfers practice putting, it doesn't seem reasonable to say that part-to-whole learning never works. It is

effective in certain situations where a level of automatic response is needed—and some language is like that.

In addition, I believe that students want and sense that they need some direct instruction in grammar matters and vocabulary acquisition. I am not arguing that these should constitute the framework or the motive power of an ESL curriculum. I agree with the Freemans that those should derive from communicative needs, social interaction, and students' interests. But grammar and vocabulary are aspects of language acquisition which deserve attention in the curriculum.

Despite the Freemans' overemphasis on the whole language approach, this book will be of real assistance to teachers. It will help them construct solid lessons which will integrate effective teaching methods and weave together both students' current interests and their future needs, both skills instructions and "Big Questions," both language parts and whole language. For the work of constructing those balanced and effective lessons, *ESUEFL Teaching: Principles for Success* is a valuable resource.

Beyond Technique: The Heart of Teaching

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*The Courage to Teach: Exploring the Inner Landscape of a
Teacher's Life.* Parker J. Palmer. San Francisco: Jossey-
Bass Publishers. Pp. 199. 1998. \$22.00. ISBN 0-7879-
1058-9

Pat Bryan has been an instructor in the IEP at the American English Institute, University of Oregon, for the past 10 years. She coordinated the Homestay Program from 1990 to 1995, and has served as Academic Advisor since 1991. Pat has been active with NAFSA: Association of International Educators since 1996, and is on the Steering Committee of TESOL Interest Section on Intercultural Communication.

Twelve years ago, as part of my academic preparation to teach ESL, I was directed to a book called *Teacher* by Sylvia Ashton-Warner. I understood it to be a classic, but so different was it from the articles on SLA research which comprised most of my reading at that time that it took me a long while to realize why my mentor had recommended it so highly. *Teacher*, published in 1963, chronicles the experiences of a white woman teaching young Maori children in New Zealand. Learning, says Ashton-Warner, is an organic process which must originate from the child's own resources and experience. A technique which does not take into account the humanity of the learners is worse than useless, she believes, because it robs them of their connection to their own lives. Without this connection, the classroom becomes an alienating environment in which learning cannot take place. To an aspiring teacher, Ashton-Warner's book was an exclamation point, an imperative about listening to one's students and getting to know as much about their cultures, interests and reasons for learning as possible.

As teachers of ESL, we understand well the value of knowing our students as individuals and of engaging them as deeply as possible in learning language. But what of that gibes participant in the learning process, the teacher? In *The Courage to Teach: Exploring the Inner Landscape of a Teacher's Life*, Parker Palmer argues that, in order to create the optimal conditions for classroom learning, teachers must invest time and energy examining the resources and experiences which we ourselves bring to the classroom. Palmer is a teacher himself; a senior associate of the American Association for Higher Education and senior advisor to the Fetzer Institute, for whom he designed the Teacher Formation Program for K-12 teachers. His book's premise is that "good teaching cannot be reduced to technique; good teaching comes from the identity and integrity of the teacher." Palmer sees technique as necessary but not sufficient to engender learning, and he criticizes the academic profession for ignoring "the personhood from which good teaching comes."

Because teaching is done at the intersection of personal and private life, teachers stand in a vulnerable position, subject to student indifference, judgment and even ridicule. Most of us respond to this vulnerability by fashioning a "teacher" role that we can step into when interacting with students. During my first few years of teaching, I created a classroom persona based on my mentor. This strategy allowed me to weather that insecure period with some grace, but it also kept me at a distance from those I taught. In fact, I vividly recall the sensation of watching myself teach those

classes. I agree with Palmer that this role-playing disconnects us from our students, our subjects, and even ourselves. Good teachers, Palmer says, differ from one another in almost every imaginable respect, but they share one characteristic: they all bring a strong sense of personal identity to their work which enables them to connect with both subject and students, and to connect students to subject in a community of learning. Bad teachers, on the other hand, use technique as a mask to hide behind. As one of Palmer's students expressed it, "Their words float somewhere in front of their faces, like the balloon speech in cartoons." Rather than blaming teachers for this failure to connect, Palmer finds fault with the "culture of professionalism" which focuses exclusively on technique and ignores the teacher's inner life. He asks whether the teacher's selfhood can become a legitimate topic in education and in our public dialogues on education reform.

In order to move beyond the classroom persona of my early teaching years, I had to learn to express my fears and my liabilities as well as my gifts and strengths. I had to find colleagues whom I trusted not to judge me by my weaknesses. Palmer asks teachers to talk to each other about our inner lives because he believes that only by creating a teaching community in which we can share our failures as well as our triumphs can we become surefooted in our teaching.

In particular, Palmer urges us to examine our identity and integrity. Each of us is the coming-together of a number of different elements: genetic makeup, gender, class, race, sexual orientation, birth order, religious heritage, and culture in all its profound complexities, to name the most universal. Interacting with each and all of these are one's life experiences, the influence of parents, relatives, teachers and other individuals who have had an impact on one's life, and the individual's responses to those influences. All of this comprises identity. These elements of identity, however, are never in perfect harmony in any one of us. Incongruities, contradictions, conflicts and internal battles result. Palmer asserts that, to the extent that we can acknowledge these areas of dissonance and create a wholeness that makes sense to us, we have integrity. Integrity means being connected to the varied elements within, which then enables us to connect to the world without.

Most of us carry out our teaching in environments that are indifferent or hostile to these inner realities. As a result, we feel the necessity to disconnect from ourselves to some extent when we go to work. Fear can

keep us disconnected: fear of losing our jobs, fear of tarnishing our images, fear of the unknown and the uncontrollable. Palmer asks us to reclaim our connectedness by talking with other teachers about our failures as well as our successes in the classroom. He believes that our liabilities are often the reverse side of our gifts, so we cannot rid ourselves of them without losing something vital. To put it another way, every gift carries with it a liability that we must become familiar with if we are to optimize our relationship with students. For me, the ability to acknowledge, even within myself, my failures in the classroom and my limitations as a teacher have allowed me to think more clearly about troubling situations. Those occasions on which I've had the courage to share these with a colleague have been doubly liberating.

Another approach to opening dialogue with each other is through group discussion of "critical moments" in teaching. Palmer defines a critical moment as a moment "in which a learning opportunity for students will open up, or shut down — depending, in part, on how the teacher handles it." For ESL teachers, this could be the first time a student makes a linguistic mistake, the first time another student laughs at a mistake, or the first time the teacher asks a question that no one wants to answer. Again, the point of discussing these together is not to fix things for each other, but to find out how much we have in common and to share how each of us, for better or worse, has responded to the moment. Out of this, according to Palmer, can and do come insights on what kinds of responses connect with our own identity and integrity and what kinds do not. I must say that I haven't attempted this type of group discussion at my workplace, but I think it would be difficult to accomplish without a skilled facilitator. Our temptation to solve things for each other is great.

In the first four chapters of *The Courage to Teach*, Palmer offers teachers the possibility of bringing greater insight and a more wholehearted presence to their work. These chapters are entitled "The Heart of a Teacher: Identity and Integrity in Teaching," "A Culture of Fear: Education and the Disconnected Life," "The Hidden Wholeness: Paradox on Teaching and Learning" and "Knowing in Community: Joined by the Grace of Great Things." In the second half of the 183-page book, the author discusses ways to increase our connection to the community of the classroom, the community of colleagues, and the community of educational institutions, with chapters titled "Teaching in Community: A Subject-Centered Education," "Learning in Community: The Conversation of Colleagues" and "Divided No More: Teaching from a Heart of Hope."

Palmer's description of the classroom as a "community of truth" resembles what many ESL teachers have been trying to create: a space in which the subject occupies the center of a circle of "knowers." Don't we strive to convince our students to bring their considerable knowledge-linguistic and otherwise—to bear on the subject at hand? Don't we recognize that engagement with the subject is the key to students' success? If the focus of the classroom is neither the teacher nor the students but the subject--what Palmer calls "the third thing," a community of truth can be built around it. Palmer says: "The subject-centered classroom is characterized by the fact that the third thing has a presence so vivid, so real, so vocal, that it can hold teacher and students alike accountable for what they say and do." The teacher's role in the subject-centered classroom is to give the subject an independent voice, allow it to speak for itself in terms that students can understand.

Building a community of colleagues is essential to our health as teachers. Our classrooms have been our castles, and we have guarded them anxiously against intrusion. But this independence has resulted in our isolation and alienation. Palmer prompts us to observe each other's classes and to talk with each other about our teaching. In doing so, he advises that we remember that "the human soul does not want to be fixed, it wants simply to be seen and heard,"

Finally, Palmer offers hope for institutional change. When it comes to "changing the world," it's easy for teachers to feel discouraged; we tend to view our educational institutions as static, impervious to change. Palmer, in contrast, conceives of all social institutions as dynamic entities which can and will change when movements evolve to the point that they can exert pressure on them. He outlines four stages in which institutional change is effected, beginning with a decision on the part of isolated individuals to do things differently.

The Courage to Teach is a wonderful book in part because it is directed to every teacher of every subject at every level. For those of us engaged in teaching ESL, it offers a perspective that cuts across traditional professional divisions to connect all of us, from kindergarten teacher to university professor, in the endeavor to teach more effectively, more creatively and more joyfully. I found that it deepened my appreciation for the difficulty and wonder of what I do, at the same time as it challenged me to look more deeply into who I am and how I teach.

**Context and Culture in
Language Teaching**

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Context and Culture in Language Teaching. Claire Kramsch.
New York: Oxford University Press. Pp. 295. 1993.
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In *Context and Culture in Language Teaching* (1993), Claire Kramsch asserts that language teachers are teachers of culture as well. In this densely-packed theoretical volume, Kramsch suggests that learning to speak another language goes beyond merely using another set of codes for the same or similar meanings; rather, language learning includes assimilating elements of another worldview. When a student encounters this experience, the reaction is a complex one: "The realization of difference, not only between oneself and others, but between one's personal and one's social self, indeed between different perceptions of oneself can be at once an elating and a deeply troubling experience" (p. 234). For Kramsch, then, teachers have an ethical responsibility to confront cultural context within the confines of the classroom. Kramsch provides frameworks applicable to all areas of language teaching in order to give teachers a pedagogical "way in" to structure cultural learning contexts within the classroom. While Kramsch's primary audience is most likely academic, the variety of classroom examples, including a range of ages, target languages, and settings, given throughout suggest that this volume is applicable to any language teaching setting.

Kramsch divides her volume into six chapters. The first two chapters address the challenge of context in the classroom. These two chapters also establish a framework for the following discussions of teaching spoken language (Chapter 3), teaching stories and discourse (Chapter 4), working with literary texts (Chapter 5), and finally, using other authentic texts in the classroom (Chapter 6). Kramsch concludes, in her final two chapters, by illustrating her own model of culture learning and advocating that the classroom is a "third cultural space,"

Before confronting issues relating to culture within the elements of language teaching—speaking, listening, reading, and writing—Kramsch establishes that context is at the fundamental center of all language teaching. Kramsch portrays context as a slippery concept with multilevel meanings and applications. She points to obvious examples of context, such as choosing the correct lexical item to convey meaning in a translation. She explains that languages also have situational contexts, in which meaning is found on many linguistic levels, including who is speaking, who is listening, what body language is used, etc. However, Kramsch contends, and rightly so, that culture is an even more tenuous form of context. She defines cultural contrast as a sociological construction between two speakers of a language. While this construction is generally thought of as the culture from the target language, Kramsch allows for the overlap of cultural spheres as well as the interchange between the two cultures. Furthermore, she takes issue with

language teaching that discourages the use of cultural behaviors from the learner's native language and culture. Rather, she advocates explaining the cultural reaction in the target culture to the student's action, then allowing the student to decide what her subsequent action will be. For example, Kramersch describes a situation in which Japanese student insisted upon being called by Mr. and his last name. The teacher told the student that his choice was not appropriate--that he should *use* his first name instead. Kramersch suggests explaining the target culture's response to the student's action, then allowing the student to be responsible for changing or continuing with his choice of using his last name. By giving the student freedom to make such cultural decisions, the teacher is providing additional culture learning opportunities as well as encouraging cultural exchange.

While Kramersch addresses cultural context issues in relation to all areas of language teaching, her discussion of literature as a cultural tool is most dynamic. Kramersch argues that while there are many reasons to use a literary text in the classroom, the main one is "literature's ability to represent the particular voice of a writer among the many voices of his or her community and thus to appeal to the particular in the reader" (p. 131). Communicative language teaching presents both potential as well as limitation in terms of teaching literature in the language classroom, yet Kramersch inspires pedagogical "reorientations." One significant limitation is that language teachers may feel inadequately trained to approach a literary text from a communicative methodology. To address this issue, Kramersch advocates that teachers must conceive of themselves as readers, and then teach their students to be readers too. To facilitate this process, Kramersch offers many practical and clever teaching techniques which address various elements of literature learning. In working with genre, she suggests that students might rewrite a poem as a newspaper article or short story. Or, students may compare structures of poetry from two different cultures, such as Japanese haiku and America's Robert Frost. These are some examples from Kramersch's chapter on literature; she provides similar ideas for other teaching contexts throughout the book.

Finally, Kramersch conceives of the classroom as a kind of third culture—the overlapping space between the two cultures. In this space, Kramersch acknowledges that students can feel uneasy about their recognition of the difference—both the differences in the two cultures as well as the ongoing difference in themselves as they progress in their language learning.

While Kramersch opposes minimizing the effects of this for the student, she also recognizes that a language teacher has a responsibility to the parents and to school administrators. Ultimately, Kramersch advocates balance. A language teacher, according to Kramersch, should facilitate the student's process of creating his or her own individual culture.

While *Context and Culture in Language Teaching* may prove to be a challenging read initially due to Kramersch's academic prose and immediate discussion of tough theoretical concepts, her consistent follow-up with authentic examples from the classroom makes this volume accessible to a wide audience. Kramersch's sensitivity to the challenges of teaching culture within the classroom works simultaneously with her insistence that teachers must recognize that they are conveyors of culture. Perhaps the most important message Kramersch offers is that teachers must be continually aware that teaching language is teaching culture; teachers must guide students toward not just language competence, but intercultural competence as well. Claire Kramersch's *Context and Culture in Language Teaching* is an excellent combination of cultural context theory as well as application—a must read for all language teachers!

INFORMATION FOR CONTRIBUTORS

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