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The Effects of Lexical and Grammatical Cues on Processing Past Temporal Reference in Second Language Input

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> In this article we examine the hypothesis that learners' focal attention when processing input for semantic information is on lexical items as opposed to grammatical items (e.g., morphology). We present the findings of an investigation in which university students of Spanish from three levels of instruction make tense assignments under two textual conditions: adverbs plus verb inflection and verb inflection only. Processing is measured via two tasks: reconstruction of propositional content and recognition of the tense in which a verb appeared in the passage. The results for both tasks show consistent level differences. Lexical cues significantly improved the reconstruction of the propositional content of the passage learners listened to. These lexical cues did not, however, significantly improve tense recognition.

In an extensive review of the literature on effects of input modifications on comprehension, Long and Ross (1993) question whether what is good for enhancing comprehension (that is, linguistically simplifying input) is also good for language learning (that is, building a second language linguistic system), especially if the modifications to the input remove the very forms that need to be acquired. They are not alone in questioning the role of comprehensible input in second language (L2) learning (Barasch & James, 1994; Gass & Madden, 1985; Leow, 1995; Loschky, 1994). Following on Krashen's (1982) declaration of the insufficiency of comprehensible input alone to move acquirers along to later stages of development, researchers have sought to uncover what else is necessary for language acquisition to take place (Ellis, 1985; Gass, 1988; Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991; Lightbown & Spada, 1993; Swain, 1985; VanPatten, 1992, 1996), Researchers began to problematize the relationship between comprehending the propositional content of input and utilizing the grammatical forms in the input to build linguistic systems. The clearest statement about these two phenomena is offered in Lee and VanPatten (1995).

Although related, comprehension and input processing are not the same phenomenon. We define comprehension as making or creating meaning from the informational content in the input [for the purpose of interpreting a message]. We define input processing as making form-meaning connections from the linguistic data in the input for the purposes of constructing a linguistic system. (p. 96)

Input processing has recently become the focus of research in second language acquisition (SLA) circles and has been concerned with the psycholinguistic aspects of input. That is, it has set out to examine issues such as how learners process L2 input data, that is, how learners make form-meaning connections during comprehension, what types of strategies are used by these learners when attending to linguistic data in the input, and how and what part of that input becomes intake. Input processing research examines what aspects of language learners attend to, notice, detect, and process so that they are somehow registered in working memory. From these grammatical features called intake, learners may engage in further processing in order to build and restructure their linguistic systems (Tomlin & Villa, 1994; VanPatten, 1996).

While Lee and VanPatten (1995) postulate that logically there must be some overlap between comprehension and input processing, the exact nature of the relationship between the two has yet to be explored. Typically, the two sets of processes are not brought into the same research design. Two examples should suffice to make this point. Lee (1987) examined the effects on comprehension of known versus unknown morphological forms in written input. He found that when the informational content of the unknown forms was extracted from the input; learners comprehended the meaning. Leow (1993)

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examined the effects of simplifying input on the recognition of linguistic forms from the input. He found that simplification did not affect recognition of forms after reading two passages. Whereas Lee can offer no evidence that the forms themselves were processed for use in building a linguistic system, Leow can offer no evidence that the recognized forms were comprehended or used to interpret the message.

In this article we examine both comprehension and input processing in the same design. We investigate the effects of lexical cues and grammatical cues on comprehension and input processing. We expose learners in one group to input characterized by morphological markings plus lexical cues and another group to the same input minus the lexical cues. We measure the effects of the exposure conditions via two tasks: reconstruction of propositional content and recognition that a piece of information from the text referred to the past.

Background

The Role of Attention

The role of attention in processing incoming linguistic data has been examined in both L1 and L2 research. In L1 acquisition, Slobin (1985) argued that the only linguistic material that can be acquired is the one that has attracted the child's attention, that is the one that has been noticed and held in memory. In other words, children must attend to language data for the data to become part of their linguistic system. With respect to SLA, Schmidt (1990, 1994) has concluded that learning without attention to what is to be learned is impossible and that, consequently, adult language learners must pay attention to form in order for that form to become intake. "You can't learn a foreign language (or anything else for that matter) through subliminal perception." (1990, p. 142)

In a recent article, Tomlin and Villa (1994) concluded that attention involves at least three separable components: alertness, which represents an overall and general readiness to deal with incoming stimuli; orientation, which is the specific aligning of attention on a stimulus, that is, actually attending to that stimulus; and detection, which is the process that selects or engages a particular bit of information. Detection is, then, a subprocess of attention that, according to Schmidt (1994), is close or identical to what is known as focal attention.

Three key ideas about detection are relevant for the present discussion. One of the key ideas proposed by Tomlin and Villa states that "detected information is available for other cognitive processing" (1994, p. 192). That is, particular data must be detected before other cognitive processing can occur. According to the authors, detection is of great interest to SLA because it constitutes the process by which particular exemplars are registered in memory and therefore can be made accessible to key processes for learning such as hypothesis formation and testing. Detected information then would be available for reconstructing propositional content as well as for other subsequent memory-based tasks such as identifying the temporal reference of an event described in a passage.

Two other key ideas about detection state that "information detected causes great interference with the processing of other information" and "information detected (cognitive registration) exhausts more attentional resources than orientation of attention" (Tomlin & Villa, 1994, p. 192). In other words, detecting one bit of information consumes attentional resources, and therefore may interfere with the detection of other bits of information. Both ideas refer to the limited-resource metaphor of attention, according to which the human attentional system is conceived as a limited mental resource or capacity,

In the field of applied linguistics, the conception of L2 learners as limited-capacity information processors is not novel. As McLaughlin, Rossman and McLeod (1983) have argued, humans are limited in what they can attend to at a given point in time, and in what they can handle on the basis of their current knowledge and expectations. In other words, attention is selectively focused when humans process incoming stimuli (James, 1890).

What Do L2 Learners Attend to in the Input?

Given this limited capacity that all humans have, one must wonder how L2 learners "choose" what to process from the input to which they are exposed. Since the input processing capacity of learners is limited, only certain features receive attention at any given time during the processing of a sentence. But which features do learners attend to and, is attention directed in a principled way?

VanPatten (1985, 1992, 1996) has addressed this question and has proposed a set of principles concerning what learners attend to in the input. The first principle is that learners process input for meaning before they process it for form. That is, learners are driven to look for the message in the input (propositional content) before looking for how that message is grammatically encoded. As VanPatten notes, this principle is consistent with the observations of other researchers in both L1 and L2 acquisition (Peters, 1985; Sharwood Smith, 1985, 1993) that state that both L1 children acquirers' and adult L2 learners' attention is directed toward meaning when processing input. In other words, when the learners' aim is to extract meaning from the input they will attend to those aspects of the input that aid them in this endeavor.

This principle has led VanPatten to postulate a second one stating that learners process content words in the input before anything else. More explicitly, since learners intuitively know that content words are the building blocks of meaning, their attentional resources will be directed toward the detection of these words for constructing the meaning of sentences. This principle is borne out in both L1 and L2 acquisition research in that learners in input-rich environments tend to pick out and start using single words and/or whole unanalyzed chunks of language, which they treat as content words. Mangubhai (1991) reports on subjects' introspection data gathered while they were learning Hindi via Total Physical Response. His learners report that they rely heavily on lexical cues and 'chunking' (parsing whole phrases and expressions as one lexical item) to comprehend the propositional content while ignoring grammatical cues.

Orienting Attention

Additional evidence for the primacy of learners' attentional focus on lexical content words when processing input for meaning comes from experimental studies in which subjects' attention is oriented toward detecting linguistic features in the input while simultaneously processing for propositional content. VanPatten (1990) showed that learners can be directed to attend to key lexical items without loss of propositional content when processing input but cannot be directed to attend to grammatical markers (articles, person, number, inflections on the verb) without loss of propositional content. Bransdorfer (1991) demonstrated the same phenomenon directing learners' attention toward lexical items versus the Spanish copular verb *estar*, In his study, learners were directed to attend to the lexical item *exámenes* (exams) without loss of propositional content but lost propositional content when

directed to attend to the copular verb and the propositional content at the same time. Hulstijn (1989) also provided learners directions orienting their attention to meaning and form. Learners were instructed to copy down interrogative sentences projected onto a screen. The form group copied the sentence and was given each sentence in eight fragments from which they were to reconstruct the original sentence. The meaning group copied the sentence and was directed to give their opinion of the question posed in the sentence. The *form* + *meaning* group was told to pay attention to both structure and meaning but they had no secondary task to perform. The dependent variable in this study was cued recall of the target sentences. The results demonstrated that all groups copied down the sentences equally well indicating equal ability across groups to register the input. The form group recalled the structure of the target sentences better than the other two groups but recalled the content of them worse than the others. Directing attention to form (via the scrambled sentence fragments) resulted in a loss of propositional content.

A third principle VanPatten proposes is that learners prefer processing lexical items to grammatical items (e.g., morphology) for semantic information. This hypothesis receives support from two kinds of evidence in L2 research. The first piece of evidence comes from research in the acquisition of tense. Tense can be encoded in lexical items and expressions (e.g., yesterday, two years ago, tomorrow) but can also be encoded grammatically (e.g., walked vs. will walk). What research shows (Bardovi-Harlig, 1992; Klein, 1986, 1994) is that learners typically mark time early in the acquisition of verb morphology through lexical items (yesterday, last week) and only later start adding past tense verb markings. The second piece of evidence comes from Musumeci's (1989) study of Italian, French, and Spanish learners who were asked to assign tense to input sentences, Learners indicated whether what they heard (and saw) referred to the present, past, or future. The input was delivered orally under four conditions. The first three conditions called for verb morphology accompanied by: (1) adverbials of time; (2) typical teacher physical gestures; 3) both adverbials of time and physical gestures. The fourth condition called for verb morphology as the only source of information about the tense of the sentence. Musumeci's results were quite clear: The significant factor determining correct tense assignment was the presence or absence of temporal adverbials in the input sentences. Thus, her results provide evidence for the precedence of L2 learners to lexical items when attending to meaning in the input.

The Present Study

In this article we continue the investigation of how learners process tense cues in the input using design features from the previous research materials as well as design features specific to this study. The result of manipulating the input data is that they often do not resemble "real world" language. Learners, both in and out of the classroom, are not exposed to decontextualized isolated sentences (cf. Hulstijn, 1989; Musumeci, 1989) but rather to sentences in context (cf. Bransdorfer, 1991; VanPatten, 1990). In our research design, we use a narrative of the type that learners might hear in the classroom as part of, for example, a listening comprehension activity. Our research paradigm also differs from previous research in another way. Rather than asking learners to indicate whether a sentence was coded for past, present, or future (Musumeci, 1989) or having them recall propositional content (Bransdorfer, 1991; VanPatten, 1990), we require both. We first ask learners to reconstruct the propositional content in order to determine what they actually have processed and stored as the tense of particular events in the narrative and then ask them to indicate the tense of particular events mentioned in the narrative. Previous research on discourse-level processing has not manipulated the characteristics of the input (Bransdorfer, 1991; Hulstijn, 1989; VanPatten, 1990), but research on sentence processing has (Musumeci, 1989). We decided, then, to manipulate the narrative to create two exposure conditions based on the presence or absence of lexical cues to tense. Contrary to previous research on discourse-level processing, we do not offer different orienting directions to the learners. They all listen as they naturally would to the meaning of the text (the caveat being how natural is any experiment). Learners from three levels of language experience were used in order to determine whether a developmental pattern would emerge.

Method

Subjects

University students enrolled in three different semester-level Spanish classes participated in the study. The levels represented were first, third, and fifth semester. Students enrolled in first and third semester levels were taught according to a communicative methodology modeled on the Natural Approach in the first semester and an expansion of Natural Approach in the third. In both these semesters all learners were taught using a common syllabus and were tested using common exams. First and third semester courses met four days a week. Students enrolled in the fifth semester level, on the other hand, were enrolled in an advanced grammar course where the formal learning of language structures was emphasized. This course met three days a week. Typically, students enrolled in the fifth semester. A questionnaire was used to help delineate the subject pool. Specifically, students who reported that they used Spanish outside the classroom or had difficulty in hearing were eliminated from inclusion in the experiment. The number of students on whom data was analyzed was 102.

Materials

Each learner received a packet containing a consent form, background questionnaire, blank sheets to write the recalls (reconstructions of propositional content), and the tense identification task. Learners listened to two narratives. Although they were not told so, the first narrative served merely as a warm up to acquaint learners with the voice on the tape and the experimental procedure. Data were gathered and analyzed only on the basis of the second narrative, a two-minute passage about the singer and actor, Rubén Blades.

Two different conditions were used for the passage. Under Condition 1 the narrative contained targeted sentences in which both cues to past temporal reference were present: lexical (i.e., adverbs) and grammatical (i.e., verb inflections). The seven targeted verbs were in the preterite tense; all other verbs in the passage were either in the present tense or in the periphrastic future. A variety of adverbs was used, ranging from concrete reference (*ayer*, " yesterday") to a more remote abstract time frame (*durante los años sesenta*, "during the 1960's"). Under Condition 2 the narrative was identical in content but all temporal adverbs were deleted. In order to process past temporal references, learners had to attend to the grammatical markers (i.e., verb inflections). (See Appendix A for the text of the two narratives.) The text with the lexical cues may seem a more natural

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sounding sample of connect discourse than the narrative without adverbials, although both versions are constructed of perfectly grammatical sentences. We decided, therefore, to examine the reconstructions of propositional content only for the presence of the seven targeted items and not to assess global comprehension. How well the total passage was comprehended is not the issue of concern; how *grammatical + lexical cues* versus *grammatical cues only* affect processing is.

One-half of the learners from each level listened to the narrative under Condition 1 while the other half listened to the narrative under Condition 2. In order to facilitate comprehension, the learners were informed that the narrative contained information on the singer and actor Rubén Blades. They were not told the type of information nor were they given any details of the narrative prior to listening. All information and instructions given to the learners were in English, their native language.

The experimentation was carried out in the learners' classrooms during their regular class sessions. In all classes one of the experimenters was present. The passage was recorded by a near-native speaker and played to the learners on a stereo-cassette recorder. It should be noted that while the speech style of the speaker attempted to imitate that of a typical radio talk-show personality giving a report similar to the passage used, in no instance was any targeted item given suprasegmental emphasis to enhance acoustical salience. Before listening to the passage, the learners were instructed to listen to the content of the narrative and were told that their comprehension of what was said would be assessed afterwards.

Assessment

Free Recall/Reconstruction of Content. After hearing the narrative, learners immediately performed a free recall by writing down in English, what they remembered about the passage. They were encouraged to write down any information that they could remember no matter how general or specific the information. Quantity was stressed as opposed to organizational quality. Full sentences were not required.

Tense Identification Test. Following the free recall, learners answered an eleven-item multiple-choice tense identification test, Each item required the learners to indicate whether specific information from the narrative was presented in the present, past, or future tense. An example follows (the entire test appears in Appendix B). The infinitive form of the verb was used because it is the citation form (that is, the lexical entry in a dictionary), and, being free of tense markings, the infinitive conveys only the lexical meaning of the verb,

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a. present

b. past

c. future

A potential confounding effect on learners' performance is the discourse frame of the passage. The grammatical subject of all seven targeted items is Rubén Blades. Four other sentences in the passage have him as their grammatical subject, three present tense and one periphrastic future tense. Learners might well have predicted during the test that if information referred to Blades, then they should simply indicate past, whether or not they had detected the lexical or the grammatical cue during processing. The mean scores on this test range from 42% to 68% to 80% for first, third and fifth semester learners, respectively, suggesting that such a discourse-based prediction strategy was not being employed. Had such a strategy been used, the scores should have been higher across all three levels of language learners. That kind of strategy would not be sensitive to linguistically-based developmental differences so that even first semester learners should have performed at the level of fifth semester learners had the strategy been employed.

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Scoring procedures. In scoring the recalls, the number of instances where the learners correctly recalled a past temporal reference was tallied. Since the narrative contained seven verbs in the preterite tense, a total score of seven was possible. In the tense identification task, four items served as distractors, leaving seven test items. The recalls were scored independently by two researchers. Interrater reliability was .96.

Analysis. The scores obtained from the two dependent variables were submitted to a 3 x 2 Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA). The independent variables were language experience and input condition. The dependent measures were the scores on the reconstruction of propositional content and the tense identification test. We selected the MANOVA procedure since the two dependent measures were scored for the same seven targeted items.

Results

The MANOVA generated two separate Analyses of Variances (ANOVA), one for each dependent variable. The two ANOVAs will be discussed separately.

Reconstructing Propositional Content

The means and other descriptive statistics for the number of targeted past tense references appearing in the recalls are presented in Table 1. The means increase as semester level advances with the greatest difference occurring between first and third semester. A difference is also noted between the means grouped by input condition. Three times the number of past tense references were reconstructed when learners had lexical cues to tense as when they did not. To determine if these differences were significant, the means were submitted to an ANOVA, the results of which are presented in Table 2.

The ANOVA conducted on the recall task yielded significant main effects for both language experience as well as for input condition. There was no significant interaction between the independent variables.

TABLE 1

Semester Level	Mean	Std. Dev.	Std. Error				
First	.289	.802	.130				
Third	1.286	1.250	.211				
Fifth	1.690	1.466	.272				
Input Condition	Input Condition						
With Adverbs	1.491	1.502	.206				
Without Adverbs	.531	.819	.117				

Means for Language Experience and Input Condition on the Reconstruction of Past Tense References

TABLE 2

ANOVA of the Free Written Recall Task

Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F-value	p-value
Language Experience	2	35.182	17.591	15.411	.0001
Input Condition	1	23.161	23.161	20.291	.0001
Language Experience X Narrative Condition	2	4.291	2.145	1.880	.1582

A post-hoc Scheffe's test revealed that both third and fifth semester learners reconstructed significantly more past temporal references than first semester learners (p = .0007 and p = .0001, respectively). However, there was no significant difference in the number of correct reconstructions of past temporal references between third and fifth semester learners (p = .3262). Another post-hoc Scheffe's test was performed on the means for input condition. This test demonstrated that those who listened to the narrative with lexical cues reconstructed significantly more past temporal references than those who only had grammatical cues in the input (p = .001).

Mean scores for the interaction between language experience and input condition are presented in Table 3. By looking at the numbers in the table of means, it is easy to see why no significant interaction was obtained for language experience and input condition: for all semester levels, learners who listened to a narrative containing both time adverbials and verb morphology did better than subjects who listened to a passage containing only verb morphology. However, the means obtained for third and fifth semester groups reveal a difference in scores much greater than the means for the first semester group. Given the extremely low mean scores of the first semester group (.550 for Condition 1 and .000 for Condition 2), we decided to probe the interaction even though it did not reach statistical significance. A means comparison contrast revealed that third and fifth semester learners recalled significantly more of the past instances under Condition 1 (adverbs and verb inflections) than under Condition 2 (verb inflections only). However, there was no effect for input condition for first semester learners. That is, they did not reconstruct significantly more past tense events under Condition 1 compared to Condition 2.

TABLE 3

Semester Level	Input Condition				
	With Adverbs	Without Adverbs			
First	.550	.000			
Third	2.059	.556			
Fifth	2.062	1.231			

Means for the Interaction Between Language Experience and Input Condition on the Free Written Recall Task

Tense Identification

The means and other descriptive statistics for the number of correct tense identifications of past temporal reference are presented in Table 4. The means increase as semester level increases with the greatest difference occurring between first and third semesters. A small difference is also noted between the means grouped by input condition. To determine if these differences were significant, means were submitted to an ANOVA, the results of which are presented in Table 5.

TABLE 4

Means and Other Descriptive Statistics for Language Experience and Input Condition on the Tense Identification Task

Semester Level	Mean	Std. Dev.	Std. Error
First	3.368	1.667	.270
Third	4.743	1.268	.214
Fifth	5.276	1.009	.204

Input Condition			
With Adverbs	4.623	1.643	.226
Without Adverbs	4.122	1.523	.218

TABLE 5

ANOVA of the Tense Identification Task

Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F-value	p-value
Language Experience	2	65.623	32.812	17.174	.0001
Input Condition	1	6.515	6.515	3.410	.0679
Language Experience X Narrative Condition	2	1.671	.836	.437	.6470

The ANOVA conducted on the tense identification task yielded a significant main effect for language experience. However, there was no significant main effect for input condition and there was no significant interaction between language experience and input condition.

A post-hoc Scheffe's test revealed a pattern similar to that on the reconstruction data. Both third and fifth semester learners identified significantly more past temporal references than first semester learners (p = .0003 and p = .0001, respectively). However, there was no significant difference in the number of correct identifications of past temporal references between third and fifth semester learners (p = .3120). In other words, learners with greater language experience (in this case third and fifth semester learners) identified significantly more of the past instances than lower level learners (first semester learners). Although input condition did not reach a level of statistical significance, a trend toward performance enhancement emerged when lexical cues were present (p = .0679).

Mean scores for the nonsignificant interaction between language experience and input condition are presented in Table 6. The means show a consistent pattern: learners at the three levels of language experience consistently identified more of the past references when they listened to a narrative that contained both adverbs and verb inflections. Unlike the probing conducted on the recall scores, however, a means comparison contrast did not reveal any significant differences on the tense identification task.

TABLE 6

Semester Level	Input Condition				
	With Adverbs	Without Adverbs			
First	3.650	3.056			
Third	4.824	4.667			
Fifth	5.625	4.846			

Means for the Interaction Between Language Experience and Input Condition on the Tense Identification Task

Discussion and Conclusion

This study was undertaken to examine the effects of lexical and grammatical cues on processing past temporal reference. It adds to the growing body of research on attention, input processing, and the construction of L2 linguistic systems through processing input by identifying formal features of the language that manage to get registered in memory. Once registered in memory, which features become available for other cognitive processing? Learners in this study listened to one of two versions of the input passage. One group heard a narrative that contained seven targeted past temporal references encoded

morphologically and with lexical cues to temporal reference. Another group heard the same narrative with the same targeted items. The lexical cues were, however, deleted from the sentences in which the targeted references occurred. After listening, subjects first had to reconstruct the propositional content in order to determine what they actually processed and stored as the tense of particular events in the narrative and then had to indicate the tense of particular events mentioned in the narrative. Subjects from three levels of language experience were used in order to determine whether a developmental pattern would emerge.

Previous research on discourse level processing indicates that orienting attention toward formal features of language yields a loss of propositional content whereas orienting attention toward a semantic element of the discourse yields no such loss (Bransdorfer, 1991; Hulstijn, 1989; VanPatten, 1990). Our study did not orient learners to one feature of the input or another but focused them to listen for meaning. Rather, we manipulated the characteristics of the input as has been done in research on sentence level processing (e.g., Musumeci, 1989). In the absence of differing orienting instructions, learners reconstructed more propositional content when the input contained lexical cues than when the input contained only grammatical cues to temporal reference. Learners aligned attention on the lexical cues and better utilized them to reconstruct propositional content. The grammatical cues obviously received some attention but were not as useful in reconstructing propositional content.

Scores on the tense identification task were much higher than those on the reconstruction of content. Previous research on comprehension assessment supports this finding in that prompted response tasks yield higher scores than more open-ended tasks (Berne, 1992; Lee, 1987; Shohamy, 1984; Wolf, 1993). Whereas the first semester learners reconstructed almost no past temporal references, they did identify 42% of the past temporal references when prompted. If we had used only one measurement, the reconstructions, we would have had to conclude that first semester learners found the input incomprehensible. Based solely on the performance of first semester learners on the reconstruction tasks, we concluded that learners with less than sixty contact hours with the target language can not detect the temporal cues in the input, be they lexical or grammatical, in such a way that the cues become available for other cognitive processing. The combination of measurements allows us, however, to say that first semester learners are indeed noticing the forms in the input. They may not yet be able to utilize what they notice to express meaning, but the evidence suggests that they are detecting some features in the input. It may also be the case as Clarke (1979) suggests, that the first semester learners had not attained a sufficient level of L2 proficiency to perform well on the comprehension assessment; limited proficiency short-circuits comprehension. Similarly, VanPatten's principles maintain that as learners gain in proficiency they are more able to do one or the other.

The results of the tense identification task also showed that the effect of input condition was leveled out across all three levels of learners; independent of proficiency level, learners did not identify significantly more past temporal references when they had the lexical cues in the input than when they did not. The structure and prompted nature of the identification task may account for this finding. Lexical cues were not a part of the prompts for either group of learners; they all, despite the input condition to which they were assigned, took the same tense identification task consisting of the infinitive form of a verb plus other elements of the verb phrase,

Another account of this finding is that the tense identification task indicates that learners, especially the more advanced ones, do attend to and detect grammatical cues when they are processing for meaning (a notion consistent with VanPatten's principles). These grammatical cues may not, however, be that useful to the learners in reconstructing propositional content, hence the advantage lexical cues give learners in reconstructing content. When given a piece of information from the text as a prompt, more advanced learners can identify temporal reference. But when they have to access the meaning stored in memory, grammatical cues are less helpful than lexical ones.

The study revealed a consistent pattern of developmental differences. Across both dependent variables the first semester learners did not perform to the same level as the third and fifth semester groups; these latter two exhibited no quantitative differences between them.

Much is being written on consciousness (Ellis, 1994; Schmidt, 1993) and consciousness raising (Fotos, 1993; Harley, 1994; Sharwood Smith, 1993). The results of the present study also contribute to the discussion of directing learners' attention toward formal features of the input in instructed settings. We can certainly question whether learners who assign meaning to the lexical cue to past temporal reference ever then process and make use of the grammatical cue. Previous empirical research suggests strongly that they do not (Peters, 1985; Sharwood Smith, 1985, 1993; Tomlin & Villa, 1994; VanPatten, 1990). Since all learners in this experiment were focused on deriving meaning from the input, their processing strategies were self-directed

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toward features of the input that would aid them in creating meaning. As Tomlin and Villa's research on attention indicates, once the lexical cue is detected it would interfere with the detection of other information, such as a grammatical cue, since the lexical cue consumes attentional resources.

From a pedagogical perspective, we can ask then, how learners' attention might be directed toward formal features of the input so that they process them. That is, how can learners be directed both to make meaning and to make form-meaning connections? A type of grammatical instruction called processing instruction investigates the connection between input processing, comprehending input, and building linguistic systems. The research carried out to date, summarized in VanPatten (1996), consistently reports the benefits of grammatical instruction aimed at having learners attend to formal features of the input provided they attach meaning to the form (Cadierno, 1995; Cheng, 1995; VanPatten & Cadierno, 1993; VanPatten & Sanz, 1995). In these studies, learners not only gain in their ability to comprehend grammatical form during input processing, but they also gain in their ability to use the form in output. Both theory and pedagogy have something to gain by a continued investigation of how learners attend to input data.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Narrative with Lexical and Grammatical Cues

¡Hola amigos! Soy José Pérez del canal 8 de Radio Televisión Panameña. Hoy vamos a hablar de Rubén Blades, famoso cantante de salsa panameño. La semana pasada, yo conversé con él en su casa y él me habló de sus preocupaciones sociales y políticas. Por ejemplo, es importante mencionar su contribución al video y disco Sun City contra el Apartheid. También, una vez en el pasado, expresó la idea de traer la democracia a Panamá, Con respecto a su carrera musical, Rubén Blades participó en varias bandas de música latina durante los años 60. En 1976 trabajó con Willie Colón en una serie de discos. El más importante se llama Salsa. La canción más popular en este disco se llama Pedro Navaja. Esta canción cuenta la historia de un crimen en un barrio de una ciudad. Pero, querido público, Rubén Blades no es solamente músico. Hace cuatro años decidió volver a la universidad para hacer un Master en leyes y ahora va a trabajar en el cine también. Ayer me llamó para contarme esto. Tiene una oferta para trabajar en Hollywood. Como pueden ver, Rubén Blades es una persona con múltiples intereses. Obviamente, parece que su carrera va muy bien.

Narrative Without Adverbs

¡Hola amigos! Soy José Pérez del canal 8 de Radio Televisión Panameña. Hoy vamos a hablar de Rubén Blades, famoso cantante de salsa panameño. Yo conversé con él en su casa y él me habló de sus preocupaciones sociales y políticas. Por ejemplo, es importante mencionar su contribución al video y disco Sun City contra el Apartheid. También expresó la idea de traer la democracia a Panamá. Con respecto a su carrera musical, Rubén Blades participó en varias bandas de música latina. Trabajó con Willie Colón en una serie de discos. El más importante se llama Salsa. La canción más popular en este disco se llama Pedro Navaja. Esta canción cuenta la historia de un crimen en un barrio de una ciudad. Pero, querido público, Rubén Blades no es solamente músico. Decidió volver a la universidad para hacer un Master en leyes y ahora va a trabajar en el cine también. Me llamó para contarme esto. Tiene una oferta para trabajar en Hollywood. Como pueden ver, Rubén Blades es una persona con múltiples intereses. Obviamente, parece que su carrera va muy bien.

Appendix B

Tense Identification Test

Instructions: The following phrases refer to events in the passage you just heard. Indicate whether the action occurs (present), occurred (past) or will occur (future):

- *1. TENER una oferta de Hollywood
- a. present
- b. past
- c. future
- 2. PARTICIPAR en bandas de música latina
- a. present
- b. past
- c. future
- 3. CONVERSAR con José en su casa
- a. present
- b. past
- c. future

Lexical Cues

- 4. VOLVER a la universidad
- a. present
- b. past
- c. future
- 5. LLAMAR por teléfono
- a. present
- b. past
- c. future
- 6. HABLAR de sus preocupaciones políticas y sociales
- a. present
- b. past
- c. future

*7. HABLAR de Rubén Blades en la radio

- a. present
- b. past
- c. future
- 8. EXPRESAR la idea de traer la democracia a Panamá
- a. present
- b. past
- c. future
- 9. TRABAJAR con Willie Colón en una serie de discos
- a. present
- b. past
- c. future

*10. TRABAJAR en el cine

- a. present
- b. past
- c. future
- *11. IR su carrera muy bien
- a. present
- b. past
- c. future

* Indicates a distractor

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A Link Between Reading Proficiency and Native-Like Use of Pausing in Speaking

Ruth Johnson and Rita Moore Southern Illinois University

> The research reported in this article investigated whether there is a correlation between a nonnative English speaker's reading proficiency in English and the use of native-English-like pausing in reading aloud. Seventy-six English-as-a-Second-Language (ESL) students in high intermediate and advanced classes were given two tests, one a read-aloud passage and the other a reading test. The reading test consisted of the reading section of a Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) examination, whereas the read-aloud passage was a paragraph that included numerous complex sentences, words in series, and dependent clauses. Results indicate a statistically significant although moderate correlation between students' reading test scores and their native-like use of pausing in reading aloud. Further research is recommended to determine whether or not there exists a cause-and-effect relationship, with a view to making recommendations for what to teach in reading and speaking classes, vis-à-vis thought groups and breath groups.

Although speech contains many characteristics, when native speakers (NSs) react to nonnative pronunciation, they most often do so in terms of overall comprehensibility and acceptability (Ludwig, 1982; Johansson, 1978). Although NSs do not attempt to count or measure various types of errors, such as errors in the use of segmentals, deviance in prosody (suprasegmentals), and nonnative-like syllable structure errors, they are aware of their negative impact on the communication process. The question of the relative importance of these different components of nonnative pronunciation for both comprehensibility (Anderson-Hsieh, Koehler, & Johnson, 1992) and acceptability (Delamere, 1986; Johnson, 1993; Wang, 1994) has been explored. Many in applied linguistics have emphasized the importance of understanding the roles that elements of speech play in comprehensibility and acceptability. The prominence of the suprasegmentals, among them, pausing, in the intelligibility of speech (Hatch, 1983; Pennington & Richards, 1986; Wong, 1987; Acton, Gilbert, & Wong, 1991) has been stressed. The suprasegmentals are critical because, in a stress-timed language such as English, they direct the listener's attention to information the speaker regards as important (Gutknecht, 1991).

For an English NS listening to speech produced by a nonnative speaker (NNS), there is what can be called a "threshold of comprehensibility." At the level below this threshold, speech is incomprehensible or extremely difficult to comprehend (Anderson-Hsieh, et al., 1992; Johnson, 1990). The causes of difficulty in the speech signal are many. The speech signal may contain many segmental errors on both the phonetic and the phonemic levels (Flege, 1981; Beebe, 1987). Further, it may deviate from NS pausing, stress, intonation, and rhythm, so that, for example, the speech may have a pronounced sing-song intonation or syllable-timed rhythm (Dauer, 1983; Bolinger, 1986; Tarone, 1987a). Also, the speech signal may contain numerous syllable structure errors, usually in consonant deletion and vowel insertion (Broselow, 1987; Sato, 1987; Tarone, 1987b) or it may contain many grammatical errors (Delamere, 1986).

However, when the threshold of comprehensibility has been reached, research has shown that improvement in speech (accent reduction) is greater when the suprasegmentals are improved than when errors in segmentals are reduced (Anderson-Hsieh, et al., 1992; Hieke, 1988). The suprasegmentals, however, are difficult to teach and difficult for NNSs to master, and they traditionally have been given little attention in speaking or pronunciation classes. NNSs, numbering about 25, who have been students in an "Accent Reduction" class taught by these researchers (unrelated to the subjects and classes involved in this study), also have reported, in exit interviews for that class, that lessons in the use of the suprasegmentals for accent reduction lack face validity. In other words, they value pronunciation lessons that focus on segmental errors; for example, a lesson that would drill them in the difference in the "th" sound and the "d" or "t" sound is seen as useful. To focus on the "music" of the language, its prosody, the suprasegmentals, is viewed as a waste of time.

Some of the elements involved in teaching and learning the use of breath groups in English include the use of appropriate pausing. Chafe (1988) reports that "spoken language exhibits important prosodic units...(called) 'intonation units'" (p. 397). This looks remarkably like some of the elements that are taught when one teaches and learns reading in English, namely, the ability to organize one's reading into thought groups, using, for example, punctuation (written "pausing"). Long (cited in Chafe, 1988) describes the "auditory imagery," based upon mental pausing, that would be apparent as prosody if written

discourse were to be read aloud. Chafe (1988) maintains that there is a link between prosody and punctuation, although "people who read aloud nearly always produce intonation units whose length lies within the normal range for ordinary spoken language" (p. 424), that is, shorter than the processing length for reading.

Another issue involved in second language learning is acquiring the knowledge of immediate constituent grammar (Radford, 1981). This concept holds that, because a NS possesses intuitive knowledge of English syntax, the relationships between the parts of a sentence are known. Thus, the sentence, "The man ate the sandwich," can be divided into two groups: "The man..." and "...the sandwich" and cannot be divided into these two groups: "The man ate..." and "...the sandwich" because a rule in immediate constituent grammar is that the direct object is more closely tied to the verb than is the subject to the verb. Hence, "The man..." is considered to be a structural constituent because these two words go together in a group (Radford, 1981). The ability to recognize such constituent groups could play a part in the ability of the second-language learner (SLL) to read and speak in thought/breath groups because constituent groups can comprise thought/breath groups and constituent groups of words are not to be interrupted within the group.

Some research has addressed the issue of the reader's ability to read in thought groups. Alderson (cited in Alderson & Urquhart, 1984) hypothesizes that people learning a second language (L2) may have difficulty reading in the L2 because they employ "incorrect strategies for reading that foreign language" (p. 4); in other words, in the case of ESL, they may not know how to chunk properly. Alderson (cited in Alderson & Urquhart, 1984) says that there is evidence that "poor foreign language reading is due to incorrect strategies for reading that foreign language, strategies which differ from the strategies for reading the native language" (p. 4).

Just and Carpenter (1980) found that the reader's knowledge of the "topic, syntactic constraints, and semantic associates...plays a role in activating and selecting the appropriate concepts" (p. 352). Reading ability may depend on "the automaticity of basic reading processes such as encoding and lexical access" (p. 351), which are functions of one's proficiency in a language.

Related research has investigated the notion of chunking which is the surface characteristics of text that are used to aid comprehension and that are dependent upon sentence and phrase boundaries. Levelt (1993) has constructed a language processing model in which a speaker passes through a microplanning step in which "chunks" of language are assigned propositional shape and informational perspective. The speaker's ability to chunk language so that it is more readily accessible to the listener may have a parallel in one's ability to read language in chunks and process it more readily.

Kintsch and Van Dijk (1978) state that "a good speaker attempts to place his or her sentence boundaries in such a way that the listener can use them effectively for chunking purposes" (p. 368). Chunks are used to package information in a suitable size for short-term memory to realize a cyclical comprehension process; those with "low verbal abilities" cannot access information in short-term memory as readily as can those with better verbal abilities (Kintsch & Van Dijk, 1978). Higher reading abilities could also be dependent upon the ability to process chunks effectively; if SLLs do not chunk well, they may not be able to read as well.

Miccinati (1985) indicates that children learning to read in their first language (L1) rely heavily on prosodic cues. Children need to be trained to recognize prosodic features in language, becoming "aware of the predictable language patterns of syntax" as they become "sensitive to...prosodic signals" (Miccinati, 1985). Thus, learning to read by employing knowledge of the suprasegmentals of a language can help the reader comprehend the meaning of the text.

Meaning of text is also related to a reader's ability to use parsing skills: the ability to group sentences into meaningful phrases (thought groups), which aids language comprehension. Flippo (1984) found that children who have reading problems often lack such skills, When they are made sensitive to prosodic signals, then they are able to *predict* language patterns of syntax and, consequently, read better.

Other studies have looked at the relationships between second language oral proficiency and reading comprehension. Peregoy (1989) reported a correlation between L2 oral performance and reading performance on standardized texts, that is "reading for meaning." This "meaning" construct would include the ability to read in thought groups; that is, the ability to group sentences into meaningful phrases reported by Miccinati (1985). Beyond the correlational relationship, Peregoy (1989) found that oral proficiency limits L2 reading ability.

Preliminary results on qualitative research currently being conducted by the authors, using as subjects international teaching assistants who want to improve their speaking, suggests that a close relation exists between L2 speaking and L2 reading, coinciding in development over time. Also, one of the teaching assistants, Ballard, reported to these authors that an ESL student remarked to her teacher that when *she herself* noticed improvement in her use of the suprasegmentals that she realized her *reading ability* had improved (personal communication, 1994); she said that the language "in her head" was organized into phrases that matched, for example, the intonation contours that she had learned in pronunciation classes.

Reading should be done with correct phrasing and intonation (Dowhower, 1991). *Prosodic reading* is the ability to read in expressive rhythmic and melodic patterns. Fluent readers are able to organize text into meaningful units, including appropriate pausing, long phrasing and phrase-final lengthening, elimination of pausal intrusions, correct stress, and correct terminal intonation contours (Browne & Huckin, 1987). Fluent speakers are able to do the same (Anderson-Hsieh, et al., 1992). Oral reading, which combines the abilities to read with the abilities to speak, can be used to determine the ability of an SLL to read and speak using thought groups (Miccinati, 1985). In addition, Daneman and Carpenter (1983) found that "the similarities between silent and oral reading...are more striking than the differences" (p. 579). In both, immediate integration processes include the detection and resolution of inconsistency. Contradictions (or seeming contradictions) cause readers, both silent and oral, to pause; these pauses occur at boundaries (Daneman & Carpenter, 1983).

In oral skills, Taylor (1981) states that uneven, jerky rhythm results "from faulty division into sense and breath groups" (p. 237); that is, the point where the NNS of English takes a breath that does not coincide with what makes sense semantically to the NS listener. The NNS is not respecting "utterance units," those units of speech that occur between identifiable (to an NS) pauses or breaks in tempo (Maynard, 1986).

In speaking, if boundaries are marked inappropriately by the NNS, the result is difficulty on the part of the native speaker-listener to follow the thread of speech (Wennerstrom, 1994). The ability to pause properly is actually a mark of authentic-sounding speech (Scanlan, 1987). Gutknecht (1978) maintains that "the importance for communication lies primarily in the *attitudinal* function of intonation. That is, in conversation with a foreigner, an Englishman is prepared for grammatical and lexical mistakes, but in general automatically interprets mistakes in intonation as being a reflection of the wrong attitude (on the part of the NNS)" (emphasis added) (p. 259-260). The same can occur with errors in pausing.

The purpose of the present study is to investigate whether there is a correlation between NNSs reading proficiency in English, as measured by the score they obtain on the TOEFL exam, section III (reading comprehension section) and their use of correct pausing in English while reading aloud. Reasons for choosing a read-aloud passage rather than spontaneous speech are outlined below in the "Method" section.

Method

A sample of ESL students from an intensive English program were given two tasks, one a read-aloud passage and the other a standardized reading test (reading section of TOEFL). The subjects for this study were asked to read aloud a short passage which was recorded and analyzed for nonnative-like pausing.

The Read-Aloud Task

Such task was deemed appropriate for use in this study for several reasons. First, a read-aloud task allowed for control over the content of the speech and the predictability of the thought/breath groups. In the semester preceding the experiment, the passage was piloted on a Level 3 group of Southern Illinois University students in the ESL Center, who were comparable to the experimental group; the passage was determined to be easily readable. In other words, none of the vocabulary items was unknown, and sentence length and complexity were within the English-proficiency level of the subjects. Second, the passage was chosen for its predictability for pausing. It was written in sentences that contained short breath groups, ranging in number of words from three to twenty, with 17 of the 21 breath groups in the passage containing ten or fewer words (the other four contained 12, 13, 18, and 20 words).

To predetermine that the breath groups were "predictable," the passage was given to six native readers to read aloud. These native-reader controls were undergraduate students at Southern Illinois University at Carbondale, the same university where the NNSs were attending an intensive English program. None of the controls paused at a place other than that predetermined by the researchers to be a juncture between breath groups. Also, none of them broke the passage into 21 breath groups by breathing; instead, they relied on intonation contours to define breath groups. For the purposes of this study, however, the researchers accepted a pause between any two breath groups even if the NNS actually breathed 21 times while reading the

passage so long as the breath was taken at the breath-group junctures. A pause (breath) taken within the predetermined breath groups was defined as a "nonnative-like pause." Also, for the purposes of this study, the researchers accepted one compensation strategy which was evident in two of the NSs: They would pause at an inappropriate place but then, as they began speaking again, they would back up to the beginning of the thought/breath group and repeat the phrase with native-like pausing. This strategy we accepted as native-like when used by our subjects.

Subjects

A group of 76 Levels 3-4 (intermediate-advanced) students in the ESL Center at Southern Illinois University at Carbondale were asked to participate in this study as a part of their classroom instruction. There were 42 students in Level 3 and 34 students in Level 4; 40 were female and 36 were male; 20 different countries were represented and 10 languages: Thai (19), Chinese (13), Korean (12), Japanese (10), Spanish (10), Arabic (6), Indonesian (2), Greek (2), Turkish (1), and Portuguese (1).

Tasks: Type and Administration

The subjects were given the two tasks as a part of their regular classroom instruction. Both tasks were administered in the language media center, one after the other; the read-aloud test was audiotaped. The students were told that they were part of a research project investigating reading skills and speaking skills (while reading aloud) in English.

The first task was the reading portion of the TOEFL test, which was administered according to Educational Testing Service (ETS, Princeton, New Jersey) rules for that portion of the test. The second task was an individual read-aloud test in which the subjects were asked to read aloud a passage that they had not seen before; this reading was tape-recorded.

Variables

With reference to reading aloud, the specific variable that was investigated was the ability to speak using correct breath groups. The scores obtained on this test, which were measured as the number of times an *incorrect* (nonnative-like) pause was made, were correlated with the students' reading proficiency test scores. A correlation was deemed appropriate for this study because prior to this study no work had been done on the relationship between reading and organizing oneself in speaking using thought/breath groups. If a correlation would be established, then a study using an analysis of variance or a multiple regression test would be of interest to determine predictability of one variable on the other.

Scoring

The tape-recorded read-aloud passage was played for two NS scorers who counted the number of incorrect pauses made by each student. Inter-scorer agreement on the scores for the read-aloud passage was calculated by dividing the number of agreements by the number of agreements plus disagreements. An agreement was any inter-word or inter-sentence position at which both scorers scored a nonnative-like pause. Disagreements were those instances where one scorer scored a nonnative-like pause and the other did not. The average level of agreement was 91%.

Results and Discussion

Overall Relationship

The first analysis was conducted to reveal the relationship between reading proficiency in English and the students' ability to read aloud using native-like pausing. For purposes of this analysis, reading proficiency in English was operationally defined by the students' scores on the reading section of the TOEFL test. The students' read-aloud ability was operationally defined by the number of nonnative pauses they made while reading aloud a passage of approximately one minute in duration. Pearson product-moment correlations were computed to determine the strength of the relationship between reading measures and performance on reading aloud.

The means and standard deviations for the students' performance as an entire group on the reading test and the read-aloud task are presented in Table 1. The read-aloud mean scores given in Table 1 and Table 2 are the mean number of *incorrect* pauses (nonnative-like pauses) for the entire sample. Scores for the reading test are reported as standard scores for the reading section of the TOEFL exam.

Also given are the means and standard deviations for the students' performance by L1 writing system (Table 2). These data are provided because, as Bernhardt (1992) has suggested, grouping ESL students together when measuring reading or writing proficiency, without regard to a comparison of their writing systems with English, may be invalid. What is of interest in these numbers is the fact that native writers of Arabic, Chinese, and Japanese did differ from native writers of Spanish, the latters' scores being meaningfully different from the scores of the former groups, as would be expected since the Spanish writing system is the closest of all the groups. What is not so easily explainable is the performance of the Korean and Thai students who did almost as well as the Spanish students, all of whom performed above the mean in both the reading test and the read aloud test. However, what may explain this difference is exactly what the research question of this report is: that reading ability and reading aloud ability are closely linked and are more a function of one's interlanguage and L2 abilities than a function of L1 interference.

TABLE 1

Descriptive Statistics for Reading Proficiency Test and Read-Aloud Task for Entire Sample (N=76)

Test	Min	Max	Mean	Median	Mode	Std Dev
Reading	28	58	46.05	48.00	48.00	6.85
Reading Aloud	1	29	11.03*	10.00	5.00	7.73

*This number, as a mean, is reported as a positive number. However, its correlation with the mean of "Reading" will be negative because the "Reading" score measures proficiency in reading while the "Reading Aloud" score reflects errors made in pausing while reading aloud.

The primary question was the relationship of the students' reading ability in English, as measured by the standardized reading test, and their ability to use correct pauses (breath groups) when reading aloud. A correlation analysis was conducted; results indicated a moderate and statistically significant correlation of -0.3497 (p<.002). The negative correlation was expected because the scores were compared to a score on the standardized reading test (a positive integer), on the one hand, and a score indicating the number of *incorrect* pauses (a negative score) on the other hand. The moderate, significant correlation is important: NNSs' ability to read and their ability to process information into breath groups, as measured by pausing, were related somewhat.

TABLE 2

Descriptive Statistics for Reading Proficiency Test and Read-Aloud Task for Subgroups by Native Writing System

Test	Min	Max	Mean	Median	Mode	Std Dev
Arabic (N=8)						
Reading	28	48	40.12	41.50	43.00	5.90
Reading Aloud	5	29	18.75*	14.00	14.00	14.35
Chinese (N=13)						
Reading	29	51	39.62	40.00	40.00	6.55
Reading Aloud	5	24	14.46*	15.00	15.00	5.87
Japanese (N=10)						
Reading	35	52	42.60	42.50	40.00	5.78
					45.00	
					48.00	
Reading Aloud	5	19	13.50*	13.50	9.00	4.99

					17.00	
Korean (N=12)						
Reading	36	58	48.25	48.50	48.00	6.74
Reading Aloud	4	20	10.42*	8.50	7.00	5.33
<u>Spanish</u> (N=11)						
Reading	47	58	53.45	53.00	53.00	3.16
Reading Aloud	1	13	7.64*	7.00	5.00	3.67
					57.00	
<u>Thai</u> (N=19)						
Reading	43	55	49.21	48.00	48.00	2.90

*These numbers, as means, are reported as positive numbers. However, their correlation with the means of "Reading" will be negative because the "Reading" score measures proficiency in reading while the "Reading Aloud" score reflects errors made in pausing while reading aloud.

Additionally, the standardized regression analysis (R2) amounted to 0.12, indicating that 12% of the variation in the total of nonnative pauses (the dependent variable) can be associated with changes in the reading test score (the independent variable). Although this percentage may appear modest, it is meaningful because the analysis was done with errors in pausing on a holistic reading score. In other words, this figure would indicate that out of all the variables that contribute to or affect reading, errors in pausing account for 12% of that total.

Effect of Class Level on Relationship Between Reading Ability and Ability to Use Native-Like Pausing

A secondary analysis was conducted to reveal the effect that the students' class level within the intensive English program had on the relationship between reading proficiency in English and their ability to read aloud using native-like pausing. Pearson product-moment correlations were computed to determine the strength of the relationship between reading measures and performance on reading aloud when class level was controlled.

The question to be addressed was the effect of the students' attainment of English, as measured by their placement in an intensive English program (determined by a TOEFL score combined with teachers' recommendations), on the relationship of the students' reading ability in English, as measured by the standardized reading test, and their ability to use correct pauses (breath groups) when reading aloud. Correlation analyses were conducted using class level 3 (class size=42) and class level 4 (class size=34) as subgroups. A correlation analysis was conducted; results indicated a moderate and statistically significant correlation in each subgroup. For class level 3, the correlation was -0.3359 (p<0.032), and for class level 4, the correlation was -0.4672 (p<0.005). This finding is important: it shows that the effect of level of proficiency, as measured by class placement within an intensive English program, was significant vis-à-vis the relationship of the students' reading ability in English and their ability to read aloud in English using native-like pausing.

Relationship Between Reading Ability and Nonnative-Like Pausing Within Specific Environments

Another analysis was conducted to test the relationship between the students' reading ability and specific places at which they made nonnative-like pauses when reading aloud. For this analysis six "error environments" were selected; the criterion for choosing an error environment was determined by counting the potential number of times within the reading passage that that type of error could occur. For example, there were 16 instances within the passage in which a pause before a prepositional phrase would be nonnative-like; there were 24 instances in which pausing between an adjective and the noun it modified would be nonnative-like. The error environments are presented in Table 3 and their relationship with reading ability is given in Table 4.

TABLE 3

Error Environments and Average Number of Nonnative Pauses

	Total Envs	Total # Pauses	Average	# Ss Making Error
Between Subj. & Verb	7	16	2.3	14
At End of a Line	13	119	9.2	50
Between Verb & DO	10	63	6.3	35
Between Prep & Obj	15	60	4.0	38
Before Prep Phrase	16	136	8.5	55
Between Adj & Noun	24	124	5.2	61

Looking at specific environments, we expected that nonnative-like pausing would occur among lower-proficient readers as compared to higher-proficient readers to a significant degree in all of the selected environments:

- 1. at the end of a line
- 2. between an adjective and the noun it modified
- 3. between a preposition and its object
- 4. between a verb and its direct object
- 5. between the subject and the verb
- 6. before a prepositional phrase

TABLE 4

Correlation of Reading Ability with Nonnative-Like Pausing when Reading Aloud in Selected Groupings of the Sample

Grouping	Correlation Value**
Entire Sample	-0.3512
By Class Class 3 Class 4	-0.3259 -0.4925
By Error Environment Between Subj. & Verb Between Verb & DO Between Prep & Obj At the End of a Line Before Prep Phrase Between Adj & Noun	* -0.3421 * * -0.2759 *

**significant at p<0.05

*not significant at p<0.05

When we analyzed the number of students who made an error in a given environment, we observed that 61 (80.3%) of the students paused between an adjective and the noun it modified, 55 (72.4%) paused before a prepositional phrase, and 50 (65.8%) paused at the end of a line. Because in each case these pauses involved at least 2 of every 3 subjects, one could predict that the level of students' reading proficiency would not result in a significant difference for these three environments.

For two of these environments this hypothesis was true: Pausing between an adjective and the noun it modified and pausing at the end of a line were done even as reading proficiency increased; there was no significance when a correlation of higherand lower-proficient readers was done. On the other hand, there was a significant difference when reading ability was correlated with pausing before a prepositional phrase (the type in which the reader recognizes the beginning of a phrase which is integrally related to the phrase preceding it). On the whole, the correlation, however, was moderately weak: -0.2759. This type of error in pausing, that is, pausing at constituent boundaries, could very well become insignificant as reading proficiency increases, whereas pausing between an adjective and the noun it modifies and pausing at the end of a line, that is, within constituent pausing, persists despite the level of reading proficiency.

Correlations could be expected in those environments in which roughly half of the students made a nonnative pause that is, pausing within an infinitive phrase, pausing between a preposition and its object, and pausing between a verb and its direct object. However, again, pausing in only one of these environments, namely between a verb and its direct object, correlated with reading ability: -0.3421, a significant (at p<0.05 level) and moderate correlation. Readers of both lower- and higher-proficiency are learning not to pause within an infinitive phrase or within a prepositional phrase to the same degree. However, the ability to recognize the relationship between a verb and its direct object, especially when the direct object is an infinitive phrase, which occurred once in the passage, or a noun clause, which occurred four times, and not pause inappropriately between them is accomplished much more often by the good readers, although the numbers of instances of these cases are too small to draw a definitive conclusion.

Conclusion

As a result of this study, two areas have emerged for further research. One area would call for research on the relationship between reading with correct thought groups and *speaking* spontaneously (rather than reading aloud) with correct breath groups (pausing). This relationship is difficult to investigate because "correct" pausing is much less well-defined in spontaneous speech. A phenomenon that native speakers use to compensate for pausing at inappropriate breaks is phrase repetition, that is, repeating from the beginning the phrase (breath group) in which the speaker paused inappropriately due, say, to the speaker's need to get his/her thoughts together.

Another area would focus on the correlation of the specific phrases with lower reading proficiency, for example, the prepositional phrase or the verb phrase with the direct object, could be taught explicitly as breath groups and then speech could be elicited from the subjects or the subjects could read a passage aloud to determine if their pausing before and within such phrases had improved and, if so, whether or not this improvement correlated with a higher reading score.

These are complex language issues, ones involving thought and language skills such as reading and speaking. Specific teaching/learning approaches can be introduced to facilitate the measurement of the variables. Drawing upon Palincsar, David, Winn and Stevens' (1991) notion of reciprocal teaching, in which students are taught strategies for reading, including generating questions, summarizing, clarifying, and predicting, second language learners can be taught the strategy of mouthing the words as they read in order to help them emphasize the one-to-one link between reading in thought groups and speaking in breath groups. Correct pausing, then, would transfer to both their reading skills and their speaking skills.

Students' proficiency in reading and in speaking could be measured using standard tests such as the TOEFL and the Test of Spoken English (TSE). From these could be inferred an ability, say, to read in thought groups better than speaking in breath groups. This observation has been noted, for example, with Asian students who usually score higher on the reading portion of the TOEFL than they do on the listening portion or on a speaking test. The cause-and-effect relationship could be inferred, treatment could be given, and the effect measured.

Viewing language and second language learning holistically, taking into account thought, reading (receptive language), and speaking (productive language), and researching these relationships can provide insight into second language learning.

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A Gender-Related Analysis of Strategies Used to Process Written Input in the Native Language and a Foreign Language

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In this study, we examined the strategies used by native-English-speaking foreign language (FL) learners to read two Spanish texts and one English text. Our primary purpose was to investigate differences in FL reading strategies between males and females. We also posed the following questions: Were there significant gender differences in reading recall scores? Were there significant gender differences in self-reported levels of understanding and topic familiarity?

Forty-nine learners (26 females and 23 males) from a large southern university participated. After reading every passage, they conducted a think-aloud to report strategies they used. Think-aloud protocols were coded according to two strategy types: local and global. After this, subjects recalled the passage, that is, retold the story.

Results suggest that learners (whatever their level of language learning) processed the Spanish passage using primarily local strategies and the English passage using primarily global strategies. Results also indicate that males and females generally used similar strategies to process these passages, although there were specific strategies that were particular to males and females for each text type. There was also no significant difference in recall scores based on gender, although there were significant differences in recall scores based on the text type. Notably, though significant gender differences in self-reported levels of understanding and topic familiarity did not occur, there were significant differences among these variables according to text type. We offered a discussion of these results as related to previous gender-based research in strategy use. Finally, we provided implications for future work.

While a wealth of research exists on differences in language between males and females (Swann, 1992), the bulk of it examines language behavior as outwardly manifested in their speech. Only a limited amount of research has been conducted to determine whether there are differences in the way males and females process *input*, particularly in the FL context, and these few studies have produced somewhat conflicting results (Oxford, 1993, 1995). In addition, most of the research on input in language acquisition, irrespective of gender differences, has focused on auditory input (listening comprehension). This study examines whether differences exist in the strategies males and females use in processing written input in the native language (NL) and the FL.

Literature Review

NL Reading Strategy Research

A strategy is defined as a cognitive, metacognitive, social, or affective action plan used by a learner to learn material. Research in NL reading strategies suggests that poor readers tend to focus on reading as a decoding process, rather than a meaning-getting process (Baker & Brown, 1984). Golinkoff (1975-1976) offered a thorough comparison of reading comprehension processes of good and poor readers from first grade to college. According to Golinkoff, good comprehenders: (a) recognize words rapidly and accurately, (b) decode automatically, (c) read in phrase-like units, (d) are flexible in patterns of reading, (e) vary their eye movements, (f) shift the size of their processing units, (g) use supplementary contextual information efficiently, (h) pay attention to information relevant to their purpose and ignore irrelevant information, (i) read in the largest unit appropriate to the task, and (j) process the least amount of information compatible with the task (pp. 652-653). Poor NL comprehenders, by contrast, (a) are less able to organize texts, (b) decode texts slowly in a word-by-word manner with a minimum of text organization, and (c) are inflexible to variations in task demands (pp. 664-665). Golinkoff concluded that poor NL reading comprehension seems to be characterized by "being somewhat of a slave to the actual printed word and failing to

extract structure and organization from a text" (Golinkoff, 1975-76, p. 652). Thus, according to Golinkoff, poor NL readers laboriously and inflexibly use local strategies, rather than a combination of local and global strategies or a preponderance of global strategies.

FL Reading Strategy Research

The research on strategy use has also explored the basis for more successful and less successful reading comprehension in the FL or second language (L2) (e.g., Block, 1992; Hosenfeld, 1976; Munby, 1979; Pritchard, 1990; Sarig, 1987). This research, like research in the NL, frequently suggests that FL readers who approach reading as a "meaning-getting process" tend to be more successful than those who approach it as a "decoding process" (Carrell, 1992). With the exception of Pritchard and Sarig, however, the empirical data gathered in this research have been based on "small numbers of individual learners using think-aloud techniques" (Carrell, 1992, p. 121). Results often conflict (see Table 1). Wolff argued that "L2 learners who have just begun L2 acquisition will almost exclusively resort to top-down [global] processing when reading texts or trying to decode utterances" (p. 313). Furthermore, Wolff contended that "the more difficulties L2 comprehenders have in decoding the incoming stimuli, the more productive they will become in activating concept-driven schemata [top-down, global strategies]" (p. 313).

Wolff examined processing strategies of German learners of English. Using two English language stories, *Rupert the Bear* and *The Balloon Story*, he compared students' (a) accurate text propositions, (b) propositions unrelated to the text, and (c) inferences. The latter story was more difficult with regard to linguistic aspects, content, and structure. Wolff used product-based data (recall protocols) as opposed to process-oriented data (think-alouds) in this study.(1) Wolff found a significant correlation between text difficulty and text content recall. Content from the easy story was recalled in more detail. For the difficult text, however, nonrelated propositions increased. Wolff concluded:

Clearly, this difference points to the different processing strategies. The informant exposed to the more difficult text, whose bottom-up [local] processing was impeded by language deficiencies, used top-down [global] strategies instead. The high amount of inferences and nonrelated propositions in the *Balloon Story* protocols is a clear indication of an increased use of top-down strategies. (Wolff, 1987, p. 316)

TABLE 1

Study	NL Learners	FL or ESL Learners	Results
Baker and Brown (1984)	X		NL readers focused on local decoding, not meaning
Golinkoff (1975-1976)	X		Poor NL readers focus on local decoding inflexibly and laboriously
Wolff (1987)			Novice FL readers used global strategies, especially when encountering difficult material
Hammadou (1991)		$\mathbf{X}(2)$	Novice FL readers used global strategies, especially when encountering difficult material
Carrell (1983)	Х	Х	NL readers efficiently used global strategies; advanced high intermediate ESL readers often used local strategies, but not efficiently
Carrell (1989)		X	High proficiency ESL readers used global strategies efficiently; low proficiency Spanish readers used local strategies
Sarig (1987)	X	Х	NL and FL readers processed texts the same way; global strategies led to both successful and unsuccessful NL/FL reading comprehension, but emphasizing local strategies led to unsuccessful NL/FL reading comprehension

Results of NL and FL/ESL Reading Strategy Research

(1) German-speaking learners of English

Gender-Related Analysis of Strategies

(2) English-speaking learners of Italian and French

Hammadou (1991) found similar kinds of results in her examination of the relationships among content knowledge, inferencing strategies, and FL (Italian and French) reading comprehension of beginning and advanced (fourth-semester) learners. She discovered that the beginning readers' recall protocols tended to be longer than those of the advanced readers and that they contained more (global) inferences. Recall of the Italian passages had more illogical inferences than the French recalls. Hammadou explained that this difference might be due to the greater difficulty of the Italian texts. For both groups of students, linguistic proficiency was the significant factor and not content knowledge, thus offering support for Wolff's assumptions that novice learners rely primarily on concept-driven (top-down, global) processing when reading texts and that the more problems novices have, they more likely will resort to such top-down strategies.

Carrell (1983) examined several components of content knowledge as related to reading comprehension in the first and second language. Her subjects were native and non-native speakers of English. She found differences in processes between native English speakers and learners of English as a second language (ESL). The native speakers of English tended to use a top-down, global processing mode efficiently, while advanced and high intermediate ESL readers were neither efficient top-down nor bottom-up processors. These ESL readers seemed to be linguistically bound to the text, processing the "literal language of the text, but not making the necessary connections between the text and the appropriate background information" (p. 200). (2) Carrell (1988b) suggested that ESL readers seemed to engage primarily in text-bound or bottom-up (local) processes to the detriment of comprehension. She argued that "the most obvious cause of overreliance on the text in comprehension is the absence of relevant knowledge structures to utilize in top-down processing; if the schemata do not exist for the reader, they cannot be used" (p. 103).

In a later study, Carrell (1989) investigated ESL learners' perceptions of their metacognitive awareness regarding reading strategies. Using self-report questionnaires, she found that "the ESL group, at more advanced proficiency levels, tended to be more 'global' or top-down in their perceptions of effective and difficulty-causing reading strategies. The Spanish-as-a-foreign-language group, at lower proficiency levels, tended to be more local or bottom-up in their perceptions of effective and difficulty-causing reading strategies" (p. 128). She posited that language learners with lower proficiency levels might depend on local, word-oriented strategies when they read.

Yet Sarig (1987) suggested that readers do in fact process texts in the NL similarly to the way they process them in the FL. She analyzed readers' think-aloud protocols and found that the same strategies appeared to characterize processes in both languages. Top-down, global strategies led to both successful and unsuccessful reading comprehension. According to Sarig, an emphasis on more language-dependent, bottom-up, local strategies tended to impede comprehension in both NL and FL (p. 113).

Comparisons across these studies are problematic.(3) These studies, however, illustrate rather clearly the complex, sometimes conflicting nature of strategy use as related to comprehension.

General Gender-Based Research in the Foreign or the Second Language

As shown in Table 2, several studies found no differences between males and females in (a) foreign language skills (Feyten, 1991), (b) level of listening comprehension (Bacon, 1993; Markham, 1988 (4)) and (c) rote memorization (Nyikos, 1990). However, other studies (see Table 2) found significant differences between males and females on the basis of various language-related factors.

For example, Boyle (1987) found male Chinese learners of English in China were stronger on vocabulary recognition in a listening task than females. Females, however, were stronger in overall language ability.

In two studies females surpassed males in ESL listening tasks. Farhady (1982) reported that females outperformed males in listening comprehension, and Eisenstein (1982) discovered that the former could discriminate among dialects better than the latter. Females were, in addition, better able to recognize what constituted more or lesser prestigious dialects.

Ludwig (1983) examined attitudes of French, German, and Spanish language learners toward individual languages and found that females considered FL listening tasks to be easier than did the males. On the other hand, males, compared with females, indicated FL speaking tasks were easier.

Research on Gender Differences in FL Learning Strategies

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As displayed in Table 3 regarding research on gender differences in strategy use, females had a greater use of language learning strategies than males in most studies (see also Oxford, Nyikos, & Ehrman, 1988).

TABLE 2

Gender Differences in Language Learning

Study	Languages Learned	No Gender Differences In	Gender Differences In
Feyten(1991)	Spanish	General FL skills	
Bacon (1993)	Spanish	Listening comprehension ability	
Markham (1988)	ESL	Listening comprehension ability	
Nyikos (1990)	German	Rote memorization ability	
Boyle (1987)	English in China		Aural vocabulary recognition (M>F); overall language ability (F>M)
Farhady (1982)	ESL		Listening comprehension (F>M)
Eisenstein (1982)	ESL		Aural discrimination of dialects and prestige of dialects (F>M)
Ludwig (1983)	French, German, Spanish		Perception of ease of FL listening (F>M); perception of ease of FL speaking (M>F)

For example, Politzer (1983) examined language learning behavior and social behavior and found that female FL learners used more social strategies than their male counterparts. In his study, females expressed interest in gentler aspects of interpersonal relationships such as cooperativeness and less interest in competitiveness and aggression. Ehrman and Oxford (1989) discovered that FL learners at the Foreign Service Institute showed many gender differences in strategy use, with females surpassing males in the use of general study strategies, strategies for meaning, self-management strategies, and functional practice strategies. Oxford and Nyikos (1989) in a study of five FL's found that females used formal rule-based strategies, general study strategies, and conversational input-elicitational strategies more often than males. Nyikos (1987) examined the use of associative strategies for learning German noun clusters after strategy training and found significant differences between males and females.

TABLE 3

Gender Differences in Strategy Use of Native Speakers of English Learning Other Languages

Study	Languages Learned	Strategies Females Used More Than Males	Strategies Males Used More Than Females
Politzer (1983)	French, German, Spanish	Social strategies	None
Ehrman & Oxford (1989)	Many	General study strategies Strategies for meaning Self-management strategies Functional practice strategies	None
Oxford & Nyikos (1989)	French, German, Italian, Russian, Spanish	Formal rule-based strategies General study strategies Conversational input - elicitation strategies	None
Nyikos (1987)	German	After training: Color-only memory strategies	After training: Color-plus-picture memory strategies

Oxford, Park-Oh, Ito, & Sumrall (1993)	Japanese	Cognitive strategies Social strategies Affective strategies	None
Wildner-Bassett (1992)	German, Russian, French	Compensation strategies Social strategies	None
Bacon & Finemann (1990)	Spanish	Global listening strategies Making friends with Spanish speaker (social strategy)	Local listening strategies
Bacon (1993)	Spanish	Metacognitive strategies Cognitive strategies; (used formulaically)	Linear processing strategies; reference to native language
Brecht, Davidson & Ginsberg (1990)	Russian (in Russia)	None	Social strategies Affective strategies
Zoubir-Shaw & Oxford (1995)	French	Strategy types: Learning conjugations Learning grammar Learning from content Specific strategies: Using color-coded cards for gender; using pink/blue for gender; using other colors for gender; using flash cards; using organized lists; accepting rules at face value; reviewing textbook material	Strategy types: Learning from various activities Specific strategies: Concentrating more on oral communication than structures; being impeded by not knowing the meaning of a word (neg.); not comparing and accepting rules as a separate system (neg.); looking for the general meaning, idea or theme
Oxford et al. (1996)	Spanish	Strategy types:Cognitive strategiesMemory strategiesSocial strategiesAffective strategiesSpecific strategies:Trying out new vocabulary learningstrategies	Strategy types: None Specific strategies: Thinking about my progress: judging success of a given strategy

In a study of high school students learning Japanese, Oxford, Park-Oh, Ito, and Sumrall (1993) found that females tended to use cognitive strategies, social strategies, and affective strategies more often than males. Wildner-Bassett (1992) examined gender as related to FL learning strategies and found that unlike males, females reported "using more strategies for coping with missing knowledge in their language learning [compensation strategies] and generally preferred to learn with others [social strategies]" (p. 6). Bacon and Finemann (1990) also found a social

Gender-Related Analysis of Strategies

interaction variable in strategy use of men and women learning Spanish. In their study, women significantly more often than men expressed that they had friends who were Spanish speakers. In this same study, Bacon and Finemann found significant differences in learning and comprehension strategies in the self-reports of males and females. "Female subjects were more likely to report using global/synthetic strategies, whereas males were significantly more likely to report using [local] decoding/analytic strategies" (p. 468). Bacon and Finemann used the distinction between global and local strategies that we employ in our present study.

In another study on FL strategy use and gender among learners of Spanish, Bacon (1993) reported no significant difference in the listening comprehension levels of males and females, but did find some interesting results regarding strategy use. Those differences depended on the difficulty level of the passage and the order in which they heard the passage.

Women were more apt to report using metacognitive strategies, and were more likely to adjust that usage when passage difficulty demanded it. Women used cognitive strategies (both bottom-up and top-down) almost formulaically, as if they had rehearsed their listening procedures, and always applied the same outline. Men dealt with the difficult passage more aggressively, with strategies that depended on linear processing and reference to English. (pp. 171-172)

Zoubir-Shaw and Oxford (1995) studied gender differences in university students of French. They discovered that females used a number of general strategy categories (related to learning conjugations, learning grammar rules/structures, and learning from context) significantly more often than males. Females also employed a number of specific strategies more often than males: using color coding, flash cards, organized lists; accepting rules, and reviewing textbooks. On the other hand, males more often than females used the general strategy category of learning from various activities, and males also used certain specific strategies (especially "negative" ones) more often than females.

Oxford, Lavine, Hollaway, Felkins, and Saleh (1996) found gender differences in learning strategy use via diaries of university-level Spanish language students. Several of the general strategy-category differences favored females, and none favored males. For instance, significantly more females than males used cognitive, memory, social, and affective strategies. In terms of specific strategies rather than overall categories, the strategy of trying out new techniques for vocabulary learning was used significantly more often by females than males. However, some gender differences favoring males were seen for two specific evaluation-related strategies (thinking about progress and judging success of a given strategy).

Interestingly, in the only research conducted in informal language development of American students in the target country, Brecht, Davidson, and Ginsberg (1990, 1991) discovered some of the expected gender differences to be reversed. American male college students in study-abroad programs in Russia (learning Russian as an L2) were more likely to improve their proficiency, more likely to use social and affective strategies, and more likely to employ a broader range of strategies than females. Brecht et al. (1990, 1991) at first suggested that the greater aggression of male college students allowed them greater access to the foreign culture and to strategy-using opportunities, but these investigators subsequently found that males had more opportunity because of the male-oriented society in Russia.

In addition to these FL studies of native English speakers learning an additional language, a whole set of studies exists involving English as a second or foreign language, revealing gender differences in language learning strategy use (see detailed reviews in Oxford, 1993, 1995; Zoubir-Shaw & Oxford, 1995). These studies typically followed along the same lines as most of the studies of native English speakers learning an additional language, with females using strategies significantly more often than males in most investigations.

Oxford (1993) summarized the gender-based research in learning strategies in the following way:

Whenever strategy research has considered gender, it has usually demonstrated gender differences in strategy frequency, with females choosing to use particular sets of strategies more often than males. Females especially tended to use general study strategies, social strategies, affective strategies, and certain conversational or functional practice strategies more frequently than males across a number of studies, usually showing a greater range of frequently used strategy categories. (p. 83)

To date, no study has examined strategies used by males and females in processing written input in both their NL and their FL. This study is an attempt to begin to fill that void in the hope of contributing to gender-based research in FL learning.

Method

Research Questions

1. Are there significant differences in the types of strategies learners use to process texts in the FL and the NL?

2. Are there significant differences in the types of strategies male learners and female learners use to process FL and NL texts?

3. Are there significant differences in FL and NL recall scores?

4. Are there significant differences in FL and NL recall scores between males and females?

5. Are there significant differences in self-reported levels of understanding and familiarity with passage topics between males and females?

Participants

A total of 49 native-English-speaking students (26 females and 23 males) participated in the study: 14 first-year, 14 second-year, 9 third-year, and 12 fourth-year students of Spanish. Students in the first year were in their second semester of Spanish, and second-year students were in their fourth semester. Students in the third-year courses were in their sixth semester of Spanish. One of the third-year courses was a conversation class, and the other a literature reading class. Students in the fourth-year courses had completed at least seven semesters of Spanish or the equivalent. One of the senior-level courses was in Spanish civilization and the other in applied linguistics. They all participated in three separate think-aloud procedures, one in English and two in Spanish, and a corresponding reading recall task for each passage.

Materials

Students read three different kinds of passages. Two were in Spanish, and one was in their native language, English. Three samples of Spanish-edited passages were taken from textbooks used at the course levels of the students. (5) For first- and second-year students, passages were selected from chapters they had not yet read in their Spanish textbook. The passage for first-year students was 388 words in length, and the second-year passage was 391 words, including the title and captions. One passage of 481 words was selected for third- and fourth-year students. This passage was taken from the Spanish civilization textbook, which was used by both third- and fourth-year students. All three of these passages had been written and edited for students at particular levels of language learning, and all three had cultural themes. (6) None had been previously read by the participants. These passages were linguistically and culturally challenging. They included newly-acquired vocabulary and newly-learned structures. In addition, students had little background knowledge about the topics of these passages.

The topic of the first-year Spanish-edited passage was Hispanic- American economics of the past and the future. The topic for the second-year Spanish-edited passage was the presence of foreign cultures in work and leisure of the Hispanic world. The topic for the other Spanish-edited passage dealt with Hispanic historical themes.

The second Spanish passage, completely authentic, was taken from a popular Spanish magazine similar to *Good Housekeeping*, and it focused on myths and American medical findings about chocolate. This passage was linguistically and conceptually accessible for students because of its (a) content familiarity, (b) use of visual cues, and (c) consistent use of contrast in its rhetorical organization.

The English passage, taken from *Scientific American*, was about the scanning tunneling microscope. This authentic text was selected because of its challenging content. Students did not have much knowledge about this topic, thus they had to use strategies in their native language.

Instruments

To determine content knowledge, students rated their familiarity with the passage topic on a scale from 1 (very familiar) to 3 (not familiar). To account for self-assessment of their comprehension of the passages, students rated their understanding of the passage on a scale from 1 to 5 (1 = all of it, 2 = most of it, 3 = about half of it, 4 = some of it, 5 = none of it).

Think-aloud protocols assessed learners' reading strategies. These protocols were coded using standard classifications employed in previous studies (Anderson, 1991; Block, 1986; Carrell, 1989; Kletzien, 1991; Pritchard, 1990). The classification scheme used in this study divided strategies into two rubrics. The first rubric contained strategies which focused on reading

Gender-Related Analysis of Strategies

as a decoding process (i.e., those strategies pertaining to "sound-letter, word-meaning, sentence syntax, and text details") (Carrell, 1989, p. 126) such as skipping specific unknown words, breaking lexical items into parts, translating a word or a phrase, and paraphrasing. The second rubric contained strategies which focused on reading as a meaning-getting process (strategies pertaining to "background knowledge, text gist, and textual organization") (Carrell, 1989, p. 126), such as anticipating content, integrating information, recognizing text structure, and using background knowledge (see Table 4 for strategy classifications).

TABLE 4

Strategy Classification Scheme

Strategy	Definition	Sample Responses
Local Strategies:		
States understanding of words/vocabulary	The reader acknowledges comprehension based on knowing all the words.	"Oh, this was easy to read 'cause the vocabulary was easy. I didn't have a problem. I seemed to know most of the words."
Skips specific unknown words.	The reader states that he/she skipped a word that was not known.	"I just kept on reading and if I didn't know a word I did not stop, I just skipped it."
Expresses use of gloss.	The reader voices use of word glosses or a need for a gloss.	"I read the gloss for this word because I didn't know what it meant."
Breaks lexical items into parts.	The reader breaks up words or phrases into smaller units to figure out the word/phase.	"Meaningless. Mean is significado but less is bajo significado."
Uses cognates between NL and FL to comprehend	The reader expresses ease of understanding because of words that look and mean the same in NL/FL.	" <i>Conservar</i> was easy 'cause it looks like what it is in English."
Solves vocabulary problems.	The reader uses context, a synonym, or some other word-solving behavior to understand a particular word.	"Straight-forward grammar, means easy grammar."
Translates a word or phrase into FL.	The reader expresses meaning of word or phase in FL.	"I just put the words in Spanish."
Questions meaning of a word.	The reader does not understand a particular word.	"I don't understand this word."
Identifies, through circling, underlining, or placing an arrow, words/phrases not understood	The reader states that he/she circled, underlined, etc., a word or phrase not understood	"I circled words I didn't know and went back to figure them out if I could."
Questions meaning of a clause or sentence.	The reader indicates that he/she does not understand the meaning of a portion of the text.	"What's this sentence mean?"
Uses knowledge of syntax and punctuation or other grammar.	The reader expresses awareness of grammar, syntax, and parts of speech or punctuation.	"I put <i>taking</i> because I knew it had to be a verb. I figure x because there was a comma there. The word order here, Spanish is kind of reverse order."

Monitors reading pace and reading behavior.	The reader makes reference to slowing down, rereading, or perhaps reading on in spite of not understanding some things. The reader mentions specifically that he/she went back and read	"I just slowed down if I didn't something." "Even though I wasn't getting everything, I just kept reading."
Paraphrases	Something again, or the reader indicates using The reader rewords the original wording of the information which is more than a sentence away.	"Reading through the first paragraph, talking about the smallness of the world and how international commerce and tourism and media and the arts show other cultures are around."
Global Strategies:		
Skims, reads headings, subtitles; looks at pictures.	The reader previews text to get a general idea of what the article is about before actually reading the text.	"Well, I just looked it over quickly before I read it to get an idea of what it was going to be."
Anticipates content	The reader predicts what content will occur in succeeding portions of text.	"I guess the story will be about how you go about talking to babies."
Recognizes text structure	The reader distinguishes between main points and supporting details or discusses the purpose of information or notes how the information is presented.	"This article just compares the myths and realities of chocolate."
Integrates information	This reader connects new information with previously stated content.	"Oh, this connected with the sentence just before it."
Reacts to the text	The reader reacts emotionally to information in the text.	"I love chocolate." "It was all pretty easy."
Speculates beyond the information in the text	The reader shares a thought that goes beyond the information contained in the text.	"I was thinking about my roommate who loves chocolate. She needs to read this."
Acknowledges lack of background knowledge	The reader states lack of familiarity with or knowledge about text topic.	"I just don't know much about chemistry, biology, etc., so this was hard to understand."
Reads ahead	The reader specifically mentions reading ahead as he/she reads.	"I looked at the next subtitle cholesterol y cafeina and got the idea that that's where they were ending up."
Visualizes	The reader indicates that he/she had a mental image.	"I picture the needle like an airplane going over ridges."
Identifies main idea	The reader related major points of paragraph or passage.	"This whole thing was talking about how Africa was trying to get independence so they have to have control of the government."

Uses inference or draws conclusions	The reader indicates that he/she guesses based	"I wasn't familiar with either of
	on information in text and own knowledge.	these names, so I simply used
		the fact that Charles
		Arden-Clarke was not African,
		and Nkrumah, who was the
		Gold Coast Prime Minister, he
		was getting advice, so I would
		assume that Clarke was an
		advisor. I knew he wasn't an
		African because of his name."
Uses background knowledge	The reader states a familiarity or knowledge about	"I just thought about the
	text topic.	things I learned in Food and
		Nutrition." "I thought about
		what I experienced from
		Pasajes."

In scoring the think-alouds, interrater reliability was established by the random recoding of a 20% sample of the tapescripts by the first author and an independent rater. Interrater reliability was assessed for all three texts (Spanish-authentic, Spanish-edited, and English passages). Thus, for all three passages, coefficients of .80 to .85 were achieved for the number of strategies used. For all 25 strategy types, interater reliability ranged from moderate to strong.

Recall tasks assessed reading comprehension. This investigation used Bernhardt's (1988) procedure for the development and scoring of the recall protocols because of its high reliability and validity. While other recall procedures exist, such as the Meyers system, Bernhardt illustrated several advantages of the propositional and weighted scoring system used in this study. The first step in setting up the recall protocol scoring templates consisted of identifying pausal units. A pausal unit is a natural break or breath group under a normal oral reading of a text. Pausal units were identified by a total of six fluent readers of Spanish (three native and three non-native speakers). Whenever there were differences, the narrower units were selected as defined in Bernhardt (1988). Second, weights were assigned to the pausal units from 3 (most significant) to 1 (least significant) in terms of the unit's importance to the message of the passage. In cases of disagreement, a consensus determined the weight of the unit in question.

In scoring the recall protocols, interrater reliability was established by the random recoding of a 20% sample of the tapescripts by the researcher and an independent rater. Interrater reliability coefficients of .89 (for level 3 propositions), .81 (for level 2 propositions) and .58 (for level 1 propositions), p < .01, were achieved. The low reliability coefficient for level 1 propositions may be due to the few identifications of level 1 propositions (which are the least significant to text comprehension), thereby making any differences appear greater.

Procedure

Students read the two Spanish (edited and authentic) passages first, followed by the English passage. The order of the Spanish passages was varied to control for possible ordering effects. For each passage, student reading time was documented. Immediately after each reading, students recounted in their native language (English) everything they thought about during the reading that helped them understand what they were reading. (7) The resulting think-aloud protocols formed the data base for strategy analyses. Then students were asked to "recall everything you remember from this text" in English. (8) The resulting oral recall protocols served to assess reading comprehension. After all passage tasks had been completed, students rated the content familiarity they brought to the passage before reading it and their understanding of the passage. All data were recorded on tape and transcribed.

Analysis and Results

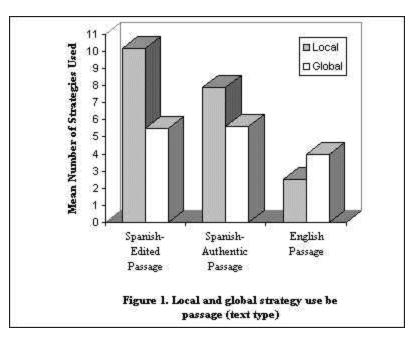
Findings by Research Questions

This study proposed several research questions that will now be addressed.

Gender-Related Analysis of Strategies

1. Are there significant differences in the types of strategies learners use to process texts in the FL and the NL? To address this question, the think-alouds for each passage were analyzed for number of local strategies (strategies involving "sound letter, word-meaning, sentence syntax, and text details," Carrell, 1989) as compared to global strategies (strategies pertaining to "background knowledge, text gist, and textual organization," Carrell, 1989). Students used almost twice as many strategies to process the FL Spanish passages (the edited passage mean was 15.61; the authentic passage mean was 13.08) than to process the NL English passage (mean was 7.78). Students used a similar number of global strategies for all three passages (see Figure 1). They used the most local strategies for the Spanish-edited passage, somewhat fewer for the FL Spanish-authentic passage, and even fewer for the NL English passage. A t-test measured the difference between means of local and global strategies versus local strategies used by the participants to process the FL Spanish-edited passages (p<.001), the FL Spanish-authentic passage on myths about chocolate (p<.003), and the NL English passage (p<.004). In other words, not only was there a significant difference in strategy use between the two FL text types (the Spanish-edited passage and the Spanish-authentic passage).

Further analysis of strategy-type frequency by level and text type indicated that only in second-year Spanish was strategy use significantly different for the Spanish-edited passage and for the Spanish-authentic passage. The difference in strategy-type frequency between these two text types was due to an extensive use of local strategies by students in second-year Spanish to process the Spanish-edited passage.



2. Are there any significant differences in the types of strategies male learners and female learners use to process FL and NL texts? Means are shown in Table 5. A t-test examined the difference between male and female mean frequencies of types of strategies for each text.

There were no significant differences between the means of the types of strategies males and females used to process the passages in the FL or the NL. In other words, there was no difference in mean use of strategy-type (local versus global strategies) by gender.

However, through the use of chi-square tests, significant differences between males and females were found regarding the frequency of use of specific strategies. Males more often than females used the following specific strategies: strategy 12 - monitors reading pace and reading behavior (chi-square = 4.93, df = 1, p < .026, for the FL Spanish-edited passage); strategy 13 - paraphrases (chi-square = 5.52, df = 1, p < .019, for the FL Spanish-authentic passage); and strategy 1 - states understanding of words (chi-square = 4.93, df = 1, p < .026, for the NL English passage). Females more often than males employed the following specific strategies: strategy 6 - solves vocabulary problems (chi-square = 4.47, df = 1, p < .035, for the Spanish-authentic passage); and strategy 20 - acknowledges lack of background knowledge (chi-square = 5.85, df = 1, p < .016, for the NL English passage).

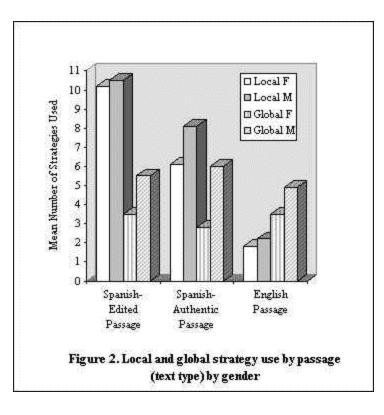


TABLE 5

Means of Local and Global Strategies by Text Type and by Gender

Gender	Strategy Type	Means for Spanish - Edited Passage	Means for Spanish - Authentic Passage	Means for English Passage
Females				
	Local	10.19	6.96	2.65
	Global	4.34	3.73	4.30
Males				
	Local	10.52	8.90	2.95
	Global	6.30	6.80	5.73

3. Are there significant differences in the FL and NL recall scores? Recall scores were 9 points higher for the FL Spanish-authentic passages (mean 24%) than the Spanish-edited passages (mean 15%). (9) The recall scores for the NL English passage were higher than for the Spanish-edited passages but lower than the FL Spanish-authentic passage (mean 16%). T-tests on recall scores for these passages indicated that there was a significant difference in recall scores for the Spanish-authentic and Spanish-edited passages (t = 5.50, p < .0001), indicating that students recalled more from the authentic passage than the edited passages, which had been purposely written and edited for language textbooks! There was no significant difference, however, in recall scores of the FL Spanish-authentic passage and the NL English passage (t = 6.00, p < .0001).

4. Are there significant differences in FL and NL recall scores between males and females? Results of a t-test of recall scores by gender indicated that there were no significant differences in recall scores by gender for any of the three text types.

5. Are there significant differences in self-reported levels of understanding and familiarity with passage topics between males and females? Results of t-tests indicated that there were no significant differences by gender in reported levels of understanding the passages or in ratings of familiarity with passage topics for any of the three passages. In other words, there was no difference between males and females in the background information (or lack thereof) the readers brought to each text. There was also no difference between males and females in how well they thought they understood each passage.

Discussion

In this study, the strategies learners used to process the NL (English) and FL (Spanish) passages were slightly different. Learners used significantly more local strategies to process the FL passages and predominantly global strategies to process the NL passage. Furthermore, regarding the two FL passages, learners used more local strategies to process the edited passages compared to the authentic ones. This suggests that the perceived difficulty of the text and whether the text is NL or FL might be related to the general kinds of strategies readers employ. Carrell (1983) showed that readers used global strategies efficiently with NL texts but that ESL learners were not consistently effective with local strategies. The use of global strategies with difficult FL or ESL material was shown by Wolff (1987) and Hammadou (1991) but not by Carrell (1989) and not in our present study. Sarig's (1987) finding that FL and NL readers processed reading passages the same way was obviously not replicated in our study.

When learners' use of strategy type (global vs. local) was examined by gender, there were no significant differences, though an interesting tendency occurred. Females tended to use global strategies slightly more often than males, though this result did not reach full significance. In Bacon and Finemann's (1990) study of strategies used for FL listening comprehension, females also more frequently than males used global strategies, and males mor often than females used local strategies.

Previous research has sometimes found differences in strategy use as a function of the difficulty level of a passage. For example, in Bacon (1993), females but not males adjusted their strategies according to the difficulty level of the FL passages. In our study, students of both genders tended to use more local strategies with the more difficult FL Spanish text type, the edited cultural passages. Students in second-year Spanish used significantly more local strategies to process their Spanish-edited passage than students used at other instructional levels. This suggests that the Spanish- edited passages for the second year might have been even more difficult that the Spanish-edited passages for the first and third/four years. In any event, because both male and female strategy use, even for second-year Spanish, was not significantly different, strategy adjustments based on text difficulty in this study were not related to gender.

In looking at the specific strategies in the present study, there were some interesting gender-related results. We found gender differences in the use of specific strategies. Here is how these strategies related to each of the passages and to previous research on gender differences in strategy use:

a. With the *FL Spanish-edited cultural passage*, males more often than females reported monitoring the reading pace and reading behavior (strategy 12). This is similar to the monitoring/evaluative behavior shown more often by males than females in the study of university Spanish students conducted by Oxford et al. (1996).

b. With the *FL Spanish authentic passage*, females tried more often than males to solve vocabulary problems (strategy 6). This is completely in line with the Oxford et al. (1996) finding that female university learners of Spanish tried out new techniques for vocabulary learning more often than their male counterparts. In the present study with the Spanish authentic passage, men more frequently than women reported the use of paraphrasing (strategy 13). Similarly, Zoubir-Shaw and Oxford (1995) found that male university students of French looked for general meanings, ideas, and themes; a strategy that frequently involves or leads to paraphrasing.

c. With the *NL English passage*, some differences occurred by gender. Males significantly more often than females expressed understanding the words in this passage (strategy 1), and females more often than males acknowledged their lack of background knowledge about the passage topic (strategy 20), which was scanning of tunneling microscopes. Males might be more likely to be interested in this topic than females would; however, there was no expressed significant difference in topic familiarity with any of the three passages by gender. Overall, we might say that this particular passage topic was more male-friendly than female-friendly. Nevertheless, females understood just as much of the general meaning of the NL English passage as did the males, as the lack of any significant difference in recall scores suggests.

Earlier research has indicated the superiority of females over males in many aspects of language performance (Oxford, 1993, 1995). However, in the current study, females did not outperform males in the reading recall tasks. Both males and females performed similarly.

What do the results of the present investigation, taken together, suggest about FL reading strategies and gender-based differences in reading strategies? This research indicates that although there are indeed some contrasts in the way males and females process reading passages, these differences might not occur in overall, general categories of strategy use such as global versus local. The more meaningful contrasts might reside at the level of specific strategies, the identifiable behaviors that learners use to aid them in reading comprehension. Even at that highly specific strategy level, the similarities in reading strategies across males and females are greater in number than the differences.

Thus, there may be few inherently "male" or "female" reading strategies. Should we therefore ignore the gender differences that we do find? No, we definitely should not. There seem to be some recurring patterns in the ways that males and females go about learning a foreign language, at least at the level of specific strategies. The practical significance of these findings is that teachers need to watch for and understand such gender differences. For example, if future research shows that males need to improve specific strategies, such as solving vocabulary problems, teachers can provide this kind of assistance. If further studies show that females could benefit from developing strategies in self-monitoring and self-evaluation, teachers can help them as well. Moreover, teachers must try to help all learners, female and male, to use appropriate strategies. We need to help everyone develop optimal language learning strategies that go beyond gender boundaries. All students, male and female, can learn to compensate for many current weaknesses in strategy use and can develop a larger strategy repertoire, one that fits with the requirements of the language task and with the learning style and personality of the student.

Our study of gender differences raises additional issues for future research. First, investigators need to consider the differences in strategy issues that occur at various reading difficulty levels. The difficulty level of a text is determined by a number of variables and is often dependent on what the reader brings to a text, such as the reader's proficiency level, background knowledge, and strategy preferences. In a text, language complexity and text type can also help determine a text's level of difficulty. As FL reading researchers, we constantly ask how these variables interact and which ones seem to play the key roles in FL reading comprehension. In this study, for example, the FL Spanish-edited passages were more difficult for students because, unlike the FL Spanish- authentic passage, (a) the topics in these texts were unfamiliar to the learners, (b) these passages were more linguistically dense, and (c) they did not use obvious rhetorical formats to organize the content. Thus, students used many more local strategies than global to process these passages. To what extent did the rhetorical features of the FL Spanish- authentic passage enhance reading comprehension? If the FL Spanish-edited passages had been formatted like an authentic text, and if they had used obvious rhetorical structures to organize the content, would learners have used fewer local strategies than they did in this study? We need more research into what determines text difficulty and how text difficulty relates to specific-strategy frequency and strategy-type frequency.

Second, researchers should examine the relationship between strategies and reading competence. The use of certain strategies might be an indicator of reading competence. Third, investigations are needed concerning the amount of cognitive energy consumed by local versus global processing. If local strategies can become automated, readers might not need to make a conscious effort to use such strategies, thus freeing up cognitive resources for global or conceptually-driven processing. Finally, scientists should carefully consider different classifications of language learning strategies, particularly in the area of reading (global versus local, cognitive versus metacognitive versus affective/social). Classification schemes could be evaluated by their usefulness and the insights they yield depending upon the purpose for which they are used.

Conclusion

Research on gender differences in specific-strategy frequency and strategy-type frequency could offer insights into the similarities and differences between male and female cognitive processes in language acquisition. This research could also contribute to our understanding of the reading comprehension process. This study examined strategies of males and females in processing written input in both the learner's native language, English, and a foreign language, Spanish, in an attempt to expand gender-related research in language acquisition and contribute further data to research in FL reading. The general lack of significant gender differences in frequency of specific-strategy use and strategy-type (local versus global) use should spark queries by researchers who study gender differences in language acquisition. However, the observed differences in the use of some specific strategies by gender should also generate questions about those differences for future researchers and should emphasize the need to look at particular strategies rather than just at more general strategy types. Finally, the strategy differences in the NL and FL text types and instructional levels also contribute to our evolving understanding of processes in FL reading.

Notes

1 Recall protocols are transcribed descriptions of the contents of the passage, and think-alouds are oral descriptions of cognitive processes while reading. (8) Lee (1986) suggested that assessing comprehension in the target language does not give an accurate measure of reading proficiency because students can comprehend better than they can articulate.

2 This study did not distinguish good readers from poor readers.

3 See Bernhardt's chapter "The Data Base in Second Language Reading" in her book Developing Reading (1991).

4 Interestingly, Markham (1988) found that EFL listeners attended to male speakers more than female speakers. Markham concluded that "gender bias is a pervasive factor that exerts an influence on ESL students' recall of orally presented material" (p. 404).

5 Both first-year and second-year passages were from McGraw-Hill publications: T. Dorwick, M. Marks, M. Knorr, B. VanPatten, & T. Higgs (1987), *?Qué Tal?*, 2nd ed., New York: Random House, p. 399; and M. L. Bretz, T. Dvorak, & C. Kirschner (1987), *Pasajes*, 2nd ed., New York: Random House, pp. 235-236. The third passage was from V. Cantarino (1988), *Civilización y cultura de España*, 2nd ed., New York: Macmillan, pp. 109-110.

6 Thalia Dorwick, Publisher, Foreign Language College Division, confirmed that the first-year and second-year passages were created for language learners who were at a particular level of instruction.

7 The first author preferred retrospective versus concurrent think-alouds to avoid interruptions in the reading process.

8 Lee (1986) suggests that assessing comprehension in the target language does not give an accurate measure of reading proficiency because students can comprehend better than they can articulate.

9 Bernhardt and Everson (1988) reported an average recall score of 20% (30% for upper levels) for learners in their study. They pointed out that even a native speaker would not recall more than 80%. They cite 20% to 30% recall as quite remarkable for an edited text.

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Pedagogical Intervention and Pragmatic Competence Development

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> The purpose of this exploratory case-study is to investigate the extent to which pedagogical intervention can facilitate the development of the pragmatic competence in English among foreign language learners. First-year university students enrolled in an intensive English-language program in Japan tape-recorded group discussions at the beginning and end of a nine-week term during which attempts were made to increase their level of awareness of and expand their ability to use markers of politeness in English. Utilizing a discourse/pragmatic analysis perspective, the data were analyzed for possible effects of the lessons. The results did not indicate the anticipated positive change in the learners' language behavior. Discussion focuses on the linguistic resources the learners did use to construct the speech event and on suggestions for the absence of linguistic politeness in the data examined.

Cross-cultural contact situations are frequently sites of negotiation, not only of propositional meaning of utterances but also of pragmatic meaning. Conventional as well as conversational implicatures give rise to the production of and reinforcement of stereotypes and possibly negative generalizations by the participants of each other's cultural identities.

One common concern in such interactional settings centers on politeness, or the lack thereof, defined as situationally appropriate behavior, a showing of attention to one's conversational partner's face needs.

In Japan, anecdotal evidence reports that Japanese hold the belief that "Westerners prefer directness." From the perspective of a speaker of Japanese, where linguistic politeness, or its absence, is obligatorily encoded, it is not unreasonable to mistake the fewer formal correlates of politeness in English-language discourse for a lack of the phenomenon. Both informal observation and the research literature (see, for example, Takahashi and Beebe, 1993) report that Japanese speakers are perceived by native speakers of the language as not being appropriately polite when using English.

Drawing on the work of Goffman (1963), who explored the disturbing effect on the social order when expected, "normal" reactions are violated or absent in interactions, a major assumption underlying this paper is that pragmatic competence development in language education should not be ignored. Linguistic politeness is only one constituent of pragmatic competence, yet a major one and inherently implicated in achieving successful communication in intercultural contact situations.

LoCastro (1994) has reported elsewhere on a study of textbooks used in senior high school English classes in the Japanese public school system, examined for evidence of attention to the teaching of politeness markers in junior and senior high schools. The Ministry of Education-approved textbooks provided few indications that Japanese learners of English are directly taught about politeness. Since reading and writing have been heavily emphasized over oral skills in Japanese English-language teaching (ELT), and, moreover, because few students have had role models of fluent speakers of English in their classes, it is not unreasonable that Japanese learners and speakers of English find it difficult to achieve their communicative needs of using situationally appropriate language.

The aim of the study reported on in this paper is to assess the results of an attempt to intervene in the acquisition of pragmatic competence by explicitly teaching about politeness 1 and conventionally polite forms during a nine-week term of an intensive language program. As it appears to be the case that linguistic etiquette is taught in first language acquisition contexts (Blum-Kulka, 1990; Snow et al., 1990), it seems reasonable to claim that the direct teaching of this aspect of pragmatic competence is needed (Ellis, 1992) in second or foreign language learning environments.

This is a study of naturally occurring talk; rather than explicitly eliciting language use which would include politeness markers, the task devised for the group discussions was assumed to lead to naturalistic use of such language behavior. While acknowledging that structured classroom group discussions are not an ideal sociocultural environment for collecting samples of language use which show a range of politeness features, this is a limitation of classroom-centered research in general and, despite the caution that must be used in generalizing from this study, useful insights may be achieved. Before proceeding to the study itself, it is necessary to (1) define politeness, (2) consider transfer of training, and (3) describe the analytic perspective to be taken.

Politeness is defined as the use of situationally appropriate language; specifically, it is viewed "as a strategy (or set of strategies) employed by a speaker to achieve a variety of goals, such as promoting or maintaining harmonious relations" (Thomas, 1995, pp. 157-158). One set of such strategies is the use of conventional politeness strategies (Thomas, 1995, p. 158); others include those proposed in Brown and Levinson (1987) and Leech (1983). Therefore, following Thomas (1995) and Green (1989), I adopt the view that politeness is to be understood as a "pragmatic/communicative phenomenon" (Thomas, 1995, p. 178) related to strategic, communicative goals of the participants. Researchers utilize various terms to label politeness phenomena, although none are without problems; nevertheless, these terms, in particular "linguistic etiquette," "linguistic politeness," and "politeness" shall be used as synonyms throughout this paper.

The present study explores what linguistic resources the participants in a particular speech event use to convey politeness. While in Japanese linguistic etiquette is obligatorily encoded in the language, in English the enactment of politeness is much less grammaticalized and prosodic features play a prominent role. Consequently, there are major structural and typological differences between Japanese and English with regard to linguistic politeness (see Niyekawa, 1991). This would presumably lead to difficulties in the enactment of politeness, precluding heavy reliance on transfer from the first language to the second language. Nevertheless, this study presupposes that the value attached to the need to communicate politeness would remain the same; irrespective of the language, of the sociocultural background of the participants, or of the speech event under observation, there is an underlying communicative need of human beings to achieve comity (Leech, 1983; Aston, 1993) in interpersonal contexts.

In order to address the learners' presumed need to use their second language effectively in communicative contexts, the present study tries to evaluate the effect of instruction by homing in on one type of transfer, namely, transfer of training between classes within an intensive English-language program. In the literature on transfer, Kasper locates this particular type of transfer under the category of "non-instructional factors" (1992, p. 219) and states:

instruction can be assumed to have a major role in shaping learners' perceptions of what is and is not transferable at the pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic level, and hence have an impact on pragmatic transfer in learners' communicative behavior.

As these comments demonstrate, Kasper's emphasis is on transfer from learners' other languages, whereas I wish to examine the extent to which instruction can improve the learners' pragmatic competence —in effect, to enable them to improve their linguistic proficiency so that they can comprehend and produce situationally appropriate target-language behavior (Odlin, 1989, pp. 76-68). Rather than attempting to assess transfer from the classroom setting to non-instructional contexts, this study examines the informants' ability to utilize instructed linguistic behavior from a skills-training class in a skills-using class within an intensive language program.

Language educators regularly confront one of the major questions underlying much research in second language acquisition (SLA); i.e., can second or foreign languages be taught? Clearly, teachers of language hope to see positive transfer of training from the classroom to communicative situations in non-instruction environments. The literature on SLA (see Larsen-Freeman and Long, 1991 and Ellis, 1994 for overviews of SLA research) documents the work which has been carried out specifically on this kind of transfer of training and how to increase the chances of it from occurring, particularly in predictable ways. Nevertheless, Ellis (1987, p. 179) asserts that the results of pedagogical intervention are "far from straightforward."

The type of transfer of training which is the current concern is limited to the carry-over from one type of class to another within the same intensive language program. It is not uncommon to find examples of negative transfer of training where learners exhibit forms in their interlanguage which derive from teachers having incorrectly understood and then taught a particular linguistic item. White (1993) cites the overuse of "please" taught as the translation equivalent of *doozo* in ELT classes in junior and senior high schools in Japan, resulting in mismatches of the illocutionary force of some speech acts and the linguistic form. Larsen-Freeman and Long (1991, p. 325) make the point that "it is reasonable to expect that formal instruction may trigger such processes as transfer, transfer of training and (over) generalization, depending on the choices teachers and materials writers make in this area." In the case of the present study, the focus is on positive transfer of the teaching of linguistic politeness items which constitute part of a learner's pragmatic competence of the target language across different classes within one language program. A language program must explore just how that can be done—that is, the kind of pedagogical intervention needs to be clarified and facilitated—and it is to that end that the present study was undertaken.

With regard to the analytical perspective, the data collected of classroom group discussions are analyzed for evidence of an increase in the ability to use designated speech acts and co-occurring redressive behavior by Japanese learners of English.

Specifically, this study looks at language use in three environments: (a) requesting answers from group members to questions on the task sheets; (b) directing the talk; and (c) seeking agreement/disagreement. 2 It was decided to limit the analysis to these three language functions on the rationale that they are more likely to engage the speakers in using face-threatening acts (FTAs). All three speech acts are potentially face-threatening to both speaker (S) and hearer (H). Given the definition of politeness suggested above, it is predictable that the speakers will attempt to use situationally appropriate (i.e., polite) linguistic forms, in order to achieve the perceived communicative goals of this speech event (i.e., carrying out a review and discussion in English of a reading assignment) using questions on task sheets as prompts. Acquiring the ability to use a greater variety of speech acts is not directly related to linguistic politeness. Nevertheless, the possibility of being able to choose and select from a variety of formal means to carry out linguistic action appropriate to the context of situation (e.g., suggest a contribution to the discussion rather than make a request) increases the learners' resources and awareness of and control over their own language behavior.

Method

In one type of lesson (Speaking or Sp) in the intensive language-training program, conventionally polite expressions and alternatives were explicitly taught. In those lessons, the intention was to raise awareness and to expand the learners' pragmatic competence. It was anticipated that there would be indications of an increase in awareness of politeness in a related type of lesson (Reading and Discussion skills or RD), in which an increase in the use of politeness markers in the interlanguage of the informants is considered to indicate an increase in awareness of the need for politeness, at least in the context of the speech event in question. While an increase in the use of politeness markers does not necessarily indicate greater awareness of linguistic politeness, it is assumed that there is more than a random possibility that such a correlation will occur.

Following Brown and Levinson (1987, p. 22) and Schegloff (1993), I decided against statistical analysis as quantitative measures of politeness markers are intrinsically difficult for a number of reasons. According to Schegloff, quantitative analysis of talk-in-interaction fails to address such questions as what constitutes the occurrence of a linguistic behavior, how the counting takes into consideration the relevant linguistic and non-linguistic environments, and how quantitative analysis can characterize "the domain or universe from which our data are drawn" (1993, p. 110).

Further, the fact that the data of the present study consist of learner language (which raises the issue of defining consistently identifiable units in ungrammatical, disfluent talk) led to the conclusion that qualitative analysis would result in an admittedly different but, in my view, equally rich picture of the learner language being observed to that which a quantitative perspective would provide. Consequently, as my intention is to look only for a relative increase in awareness of politeness as a component of pragmatic competence, my analysis does not focus on statistically significant carry-over from one type of lesson to the other. Rather, the goal prioritizes insights to inform and motivate further studies of learners' pragmatic competence development.

The research question for this study is:

Is there transfer of training from one class to another of explicitly taught linguistic aspects of politeness?

The answer to the question entails an examination of the data for the speech act realizations as well as the means to maximize the efforts to achieve perceived communicative goals within the context of the speech event. As the program is an intensive, integrated one, one of the premises of the curriculum is that carry-over from one type of class to another is expected and to be facilitated. Therefore, it was judged that data collection in another class within the program, which specifically focuses on RD skills development, a likely locus of transfer from the Sp class lessons on communicative strategies, would be an appropriate site to learn about the effect of the treatment on the learners' pragmatic competence development.

In order to evaluate the effect of the pedagogical intervention, I examine the interlanguage performance of Japanese learners of English in the speech event of group discussions in an EFL classroom in Japan. Specifically, in the analysis of the data, focus was on speech acts and redressive linguistic action utilized by the informants. Drawing basic notions from the coding scheme in the Coding Manual of the CCSARP (Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Project) project of Blum-Kulka, House, and Kasper (1989, pp. 273-294), my analysis focuses on the linguistic means, i.e. the surface forms of illocutionary acts, used by the learners to handle FTAs of requesting answers to questions on the task sheets, directing the discussion, and seeking agreement/disagreement. Note that, while the CCSARP coding scheme was developed for quantitative data analysis, the motivation for a modified use of the scheme in the present study derives from the need for a principled analysis of the

audio-taped data without adopting the analytic perspective of the CCSARP. My rationale is that a study of how the informants carry out these three functions, examples of local phenomena, provides an indication of their ability to vary their language use more generally according to the weight of the imposition and the speaker-hearer relationship.

This is the unit of analysis:

HEAD ACT (+ alerters) (+ supportive moves)

The Head Act is the minimal unit; here is an example from Blum-Kulka, et al. (1989, p. 275):

John, get me a beer, please. I'm terribly thirsty.

The Head Act consists of the requesting speech act: get me a beer. Alerters, which tend to occur before the Head Act, include such elements as some formulaic expressions (e.g., "excuse me"), titles, names, address forms, etc. They are designed to get the attention of the addressee. Supportive moves, which can precede or follow the Head Act, are viewed as either external to the actual speech act, functioning as means to aggravate or mitigate the illocutionary force, such as giving a reason. There are also elements which act as internal modification devices, such as the use of conventional politeness markers like "please."

In addition, according to Blum-Kulka et al., a certain type of supportive move, hinting behavior, in the absence of a Head Act, can actually substitute for it. That is, as a nonconventional means to signal speaker intent, a hint can be regarded as functioning as a speech act of requesting. For example, in "The temperature has really dropped; it's getting awfully cold in here," the conversational implicature may be that of a request that a heater be turned on,3 the specific illocutionary force assigned to it by the hearer being dependent on the speaker-hearer relationship as well as contextual information relevant to that particular occurrence.

Although the coding scheme of Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) was designed for their cross-cultural study of the speech acts of requesting and apologizing, and they examined degrees of directness and indirectness as well as politeness features, I have adopted, with some modification, their basic framework for analysis of the interlanguage data of the group discussions. Instances of requesting answers of other group members will be examined for the kind of language used (i.e., declarative, imperative, or interrogative sentence forms) in the Head Act, and then any alerters and/or supportive moves are added to the minimal unit. An unmodified (i.e., no alerter or supportive move) speech act of requesting in the imperative form will be considered for the purposes of this study to be lacking as situationally appropriate language, following Brown and Levinson's (1987, p. 24) basic claim that "the kernel idea of our politeness theory (is) that some acts are intrinsically threatening to face and thus require 'softening.'" If the face threat of the request is not modified by any forms of redressive action, the hearer may withhold cooperation.

In sum, in order to operationalize the construct of situationally appropriate behavior, I regard alerters and supportive moves (including hints) as means to carry out redressive action. Clearly, although politeness does not necessarily correlate with linguistic form (see also Thomas, 1995, p. 157), it cannot be denied that the linguistic form of a speech act has a role to play as part of a complex of factors, summarized by the equation, linguistic form + context of utterance + speaker-hearer relationship, as suggested by Thomas (1995, p. 157).

Subjects

The informants in the study were all Japanese first-year university students at a liberal arts college in Tokyo. The average TOEFL score of entering freshmen is 490, with an average exit score after two years of 540. Within the context of the intensive English program, they participated in an intermediate RD skills class, which meets three times a week for 70 minutes each session. In addition, they had a communicative strategies or Sp class once a week, also 70 minutes long.

The two groups of informants (Groups A and B) had 21 students each (n=42). They were all between 18 and 23 (average 19) years of age when they participated in the project. Their responses to a background questionnaire they completed indicate that most had their previous training in the English language in Japan. Only five of them had spent one year or more outside of Japan for other than a short vacation or homestay experience. In two cases, they had spent one academic year abroad as exchange students in American high schools and three had lived abroad for 2.5 to 5 years. However, they had attended Japanese schools and lived with their own families, presumably therefore functioning in Japanese most of the time.

Two teachers were responsible for the RD classes, with two others for the Sp classes for the two groups. Group A started out with 21 and 18 remained at the end of the term. There were seven men and 14 women at the beginning of the term, with six men and 12 women at the end. Group B remained intact with the 21 students until the end of the term; six of them were men and 15 of them were women.4

Materials

The procedure to collect the data for this study consisted of two 30-minute audio-taping sessions, one at the beginning of the term (thus a "pre-test") to provide a baseline for the purpose of comparison, and a second taping at the end of the term (a "post-test") to check for evidence of transfer of training and an increase in awareness of linguistic politeness in English. During the nine-week term, the treatment (i.e., the explicit teaching of linguistic politeness) was carried out. Specifically, in the first week of the nine-week term, on the second day of classes and before the first speaking class had met, group discussions were audio-taped in the context of the RD classes. The students were asked to form groups of four or five and to answer and discuss questions on a prepared handout related to a homework reading assignment they had been given (see Appendix A). The topic was "educational values," something about which it was felt they should all have something to contribute, even if they had not carefully done the reading assignment. The questions were designed to review the content of their reading assignment and to provoke discussion on the topic in general.

The informants were asked to choose a group leader to elicit answers and to ascertain that every member of the group had a chance to participate. In addition, each group was asked to rotate the role of group leader among members. An argument was made that more politeness markers would be present in the speech of the group leaders, given the speech acts they would be using in the interaction. Due to the nature of the role of group leader, that person is likely to have to use such speech acts as requesting answers, directing the talk, and seeking agreement, all of which are potentially FTAs.

In addition, rotating the group leader is not uncommon as a pedagogical practice. Each group leader was asked to be responsible for soliciting answers to two or three of the 10 questions on the handout. The same data-collecting procedure was conducted during the last week of the term. The same task type was set. This time, however, the list of questions centered on two short stories which the students had read, thus again asking them to review the assignment and to discuss related topics (see Appendix B).

At both data-collecting times, each group included not more than one or two men and the informants were asked to avoid having "friends" in the same group. In both sessions, the students were asked if they minded being taped. They were told I was interested in learning to what extent they use the formulaic expressions they are taught in the speaking classes. Politeness markers were not mentioned explicitly. Due to the learner-centered, cooperative learning ethos of the language program, strong intervention in directing the make-up of groups was avoided. Note that tape-recording was judged to be the least intrusive and most likely methodology to provide natural speech samples of learner talk. The teachers did not participate in the discussions and were present in the classroom only to monitor the activity. The average length of taped discussions was 26 minutes, five seconds (total amount: 487.35 minutes). The recordings of nine of the 10 groups were used because one group did not record its discussion due to a technical failure during the first data collection session.

This was the apparatus of the study. I did not control for other possible variables, as I was interested in an aggregate or composite picture of progress in the use of linguistic markers of politeness in the learners' speech.

Procedure

During the nine-week term, the two Sp teachers explicitly addressed linguistic politeness in their lessons. This was done in several ways: by stressing the polite phrases in the list of useful expressions which the students received for each lesson (see Appendix C), by having the students highlight the relevant formal markers; by drawing their attention to intonation contours, facial expressions, gestures, and eye contact; by focusing on vocabulary choices; and by suggesting levels of politeness for addressing friends, teachers, etc.

The teachers commented on polite and impolite ways of expressing ideas, opinions, etc., and they emphasized these by saying: "A polite way to say/ask would be ..."

Examples of two particularly important lessons for this research project were those which focused on learning how to lead a discussion and give opinions and on language behavior when visiting a teacher's office. In Appendix D, the Sp lesson for the second week of the term, titled "Leading a discussion," is given. Below are one teacher's notes, directly quoted, for the lesson.

Lesson Two: Leading a Discussion and Giving Opinions

Emphasized being polite and letting everyone have a turn, trying to help those who can't express themselves (e.g., "maybe you mean," "if you don't mind, I think you mean...")

Tried to show what would be rude: "that's wrong," "I don't understand you"—or ignoring the person when he/she speaks.

Emphasized the need to try to get everyone to speak by asking "would anyone else like to ...?"

Discussed agreeing - intonation, eye contact, and vocabulary-"Yes, you're right," "I agree."

Further comments from the Sp teachers' notes indicate they focused in particular on speech acts for asking for clarification, showing agreement/disagreement, eliciting another's opinion, and making suggestions. The learners practiced using "maybe" and eliciting an explanation for a statement of agreement.

In addition, the teachers worked on "asking for permission" or making "interruptions" as well as other speech acts as they came up in lessons.

Lastly, they would comment on cultural differences in language and other behaviors associated with politeness.

Results

A comparison of both sets of tape-recorded data indicates that the answer to the research question concerning transfer of training appears not to be clear. That is, evidence of transfer from the teaching of politeness in the speaking lessons to the group discussions in the reading-discussion classes was found, but not to the anticipated degree. The aim of this section then is to provide a comparison of the pre-test and post-test data to describe any changes in the use of surface level politeness phenomena.

In the data labeled "pre-test," the Head Act for the requesting for answers frequently found was the inclusive imperative:

OK, let's start. Let's discuss ... Let's move to ... Let's move on to ... Let's go to the next one.

As for the most common Head Act in the context of directing the talk, there also tends to be one form, the interrogative, with little variation:

How about your opinion?

How about you?

What do you think (about that)?

When there was a noticeable silence signaling no group member was willing to talk, one person, typically the group leader, might say:

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Does someone have an idea?

Do you have any ideas?

As for seeking agreement/disagreement, there were many more examples of ascertaining that the group members were in agreement than attempts to provoke disagreement. The speech act tended to consist of a Head Act without any alerters or supportive moves, as seen above with requesting and directing behaviors. 5

No. 1

F2: Do you agree with him?

F3: Yes, I hope so.

M: Me, too.

F2: Shall we go back to No. 5? We couldn't discuss enough the question.

No. 2

F: Anything that you think ... but the answer is what he said ... everyone thinks in your way, everyone agree with him, yes?

No. 3

M: So learning how to think is intellectual way of thinking, right? So...

Note that the linguistic form for seeking agreement shows some variation; in No. 1 interrogatives are used and in No. 2 and No. 3 there are summary statements followed by agreement-seeking tags. The relatively higher frequency of agreement is partially due to the pattern of the group leader's seeking consent from the other members that they all accept that the discussion can move on to the next question, a conversational management strategy not uncommon in talk in Japanese-language group discussions (Watanabe, 1993).

No. 4

M1: Finished? I agree with you.

M1: Do you?

M2: Agree.

M1: Let's speak.

F1: Please go ahead.

M1: Go ahead.

F2: OK, may I read off? (Reads next question on the task sheet)

As for disagreement, generally a dispreferred second-pair part of an adjacent pair (Pomerantz, 1984), there are predictably few tokens in the data. Here are two examples of showing disagreement with the previous speaker's talk:

No. 5

F1: *Do you agree with him?*

F2: So do you mean you agree with him?

M: Partly I agree with you.

F2: I see.

F1: What point do you ...? (unclear)

M: By the way, please, some more saying about your opinion ...

No. 6

M: ... (deleted) ... so it is good for him

F2: I don't think so.

M: What? Why?

F2: ... (deleted) ...

M: Objection.

F2: OK.

In these two examples the disagreement is on-record (Brown and Levinson, 1987), with the addition in No. 5 of a form to mitigate the force (partly). However, there are some examples of utterances in which the likely conversational implicature is that the speaker disagrees in some way with what the previous speaker said.

No. 7

M: I hear you don't have personal goals. Why did you take exam for ICU?

No. 8

M: You are leader. (Three utterances deleted.)

Discussion is what effects should be changed to make college life more successful, so we must discuss about what should be changed.

The picture of the learner language at the start of the first term consequently suggests the following generalizations:

A. With regard to requesting behavior, the most commonly used form is "Let's" + verb. Thus, a minimal unit only—that is, a Head Act — is employed to realize a request for group participation in the speech event. There is speaker-hearer dominance—that is, both the speaker and hearer are included—by using "Let's ..." (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989, p. 278). There are no alerters or supportive moves; only the first person plural imperative form is used.

B. As for the linguistic means to direct the talk, again there is adherence to one means to elicit talk: an interrogative sentence form, asking for the participants' opinion or ideas about the propositional content of the previous speaker's talk. The interrogative tends to be a WH question ("what" or "how"), with a yes-no question type a less frequently used variation.

C. Seeking agreement in the two environments in which it occurred tends to be composed of a single Head Act as well, with no alerters or supportive moves. The syntactic forms showed more variation; declarative, interrogative, and imperative forms are found as realizations of seeking agreement. However, there are examples in the data I examined of what I will label a supportive move — specifically, a kind of grounder in which the speaker gives an explanation or summary of the previous talk, adding a tag question ("Yes?" "Right?") as a means to attend to the hearer's face needs, a bid for cooperation.

D. As for disagreement, this speech act predictably involves more language, given its nature of being a dispreferred act. In No. 5, M mitigates the FTA by choosing to say "I partly agree with you," using an adverbial modality marker and the positive form of the verb, rather than stating "I disagree with you." The second example also avoids the face threat such a statement would

incur; "I don't think so" places full responsibility on the speaker, thereby lessening the possible negative impact. This interpretation could also be said of the speaker's use of the word "objection." Although it is lacking in any form of linguistic mitigation of the speaker and not the hearer is not mentioned makes this a speaker-dominant utterance, thereby implicating the speaker and not the hearer. In this example, the pragmatic meaning or conversational implicature makes the speech acts of disagreement less impolite than analysis of the linguistic form alone would give.

In general, all of the linguistic realizations of the speech acts in question tend to be composed of the Head Act alone, without alerters or supportive moves—i.e., without the linguistic forms which serve to carry out redressive action of the FTAs.

It is necessary to compare this picture of the learners' use of language in these three contexts with that in the data in the post-test. Again, using the sequence of Head Act (+ alerters) (+ supportive moves), the analysis focuses on evidence that the explicit awareness-raising and teaching of politeness had an effect and then at the characteristics of the observed effects. Some changes can be observed.

At the time of the post-test, in the first category of requesting behavior, the basic unit, the Head Act, is modified by more language in the form of alerters and supportive moves. There are numerous examples of some form of address term: surname, first name, or nickname, sometimes with a Japanese suffix, either + san or (rarely) + chan.

Aki-san, what would you use to describe him?

How about you, Okura-san?

I'm sorry I can't discuss. Kyoko?

The other observed change with requests is that the solicits are longer, incorporating lexis used in the task sheet. Rather than the more general requests ("What do you think?" or "Let's start.") found in the pre-test data, now the request realizations are more focused, thereby providing a non-conventional means of, in my view, more situationally appropriate language.

And what support do you/did you find in this story?

Do you have another possible scene?

What adjectives would you use to describe him?

These utterances cannot be said to include alerters or supportive moves. Nevertheless, they do attend to the hearer's face needs by attempting to be more explicit in communicating the propositional content.

As for the language used to direct the discussion, the following is noticeable:

A. There is more frequent use of modal auxiliaries with interrogatives, all conventionally signaling redressive action:

Can you answer this question?

What adjectives would you use to describe him?

Can you provide evidence?

Shall we go on?

B. The solicits may be longer and more specific:

So what do you think about his last action?

So how how can it be suspense for you?

So No.6 (reads question from the task sheet),

it's a interesting point, I think.

C. Greater use of supportive moves can be found:

Yeah, it's same, but that's a point, a good point, how about you, Midori?

Let's go to next question (reads from the task sheet). Are you ready to answer this question, Eiko? How about Mutsumi?

In the first example here, the speaker gives a reason for agreeing. In the second, the hearer is given the option to refuse a turn at Sp. Both can be labeled supportive moves.

Similar modifications in seeking agreement/disagreement are also present in the data examined.

A. The language used to seek agreement, i.e., to check that all the group members are ready to move on to the next question, can be observed in the following example:

No. 9

F: I agree with her.

M: Yes, I agree.

S: Yes, everyone think in that way.

M: That's a kind of common opinion.

S: Yes, that's we have a usual opinion.

F: What is the ... (unclear)?

S: Say yes. OK, let's move on.

This is an excellent example of the joint creation of talk, where the three participants contribute until S establishes at the end of this sequence that they can move on to discussion of the next question. Had S stated that wish at the beginning before F and M had had time to talk, S's behavior would have been viewed as less than polite by her conversational partners. It is possible to claim that this joint creation of talk can be labeled situationally appropriate talk, with each turn at talk contributing a supportive move to the Head Act in the final turn of S in this sequence.

B. There appear to be more frequent challenges of the previous speaker's talk and more supportive moves are used. These speech acts of disagreement take the following forms:

No. 10

Naoko: He confident he has confidence on his ability.

Kumi: But which part shows that same opinion that he ... (unclear).

No. 11

H: OK, what is your opinion?

N: I, I agree with he—um—I can imagine it easily

H: Really? Why, why can you imagine it easily?

N: Because ... um.

No. 12

M: So the need for oral and written stories is decreased, uh, decreasing.

A: Why do you agree?

The second speakers' utterances in these examples, given on record with no mitigation, suggest attempts to apply one of the principles of critical thinking, a salient aspect of the curriculum of the English-language program. The informants sought to push the discussion beyond simply having each person present his/her own comments without any development of the topic, consequently producing situationally appropriate language behavior

In summary, several changes in the learners' interlanguage with regard to the use of situationally appropriate language can be found:

- 1. The linguistic forms of the Head Acts show more variation.
- 2. Alerters are observed, specifically forms of address.
- 3. Internal modification by means of modal auxiliaries is present.

4. More details are added to make the propositional content, as well as the illocutionary force, more focused, i.e., more supportive language behavior, although interpretation of speaker meaning is dependent on inferring from essentially non-conventional means to convey consideration of the co-participants' face wants.

Discussion

In the previous section, the analysis of the data provided a view of the extent to which the informants used linguistic markers of politeness in their enactment of the speech event in three specified environments. It has to be acknowledged that the data I examined did not provide evidence that the pedagogical intervention had a noticeable effect on the learners' ability to use linguistic etiquette. Consequently, the research question concerning evidence of transfer of training from one class to another has to be answered negatively. As the studies reported on in Lightbown and Spada (1993, pp. 90-96) indicate, efforts to intervene in instructed SLA can go wrong for any number of reasons, including poor teaching, insufficient time for the effect to become noticeable within the context of an empirical study, and the influence of developmental stages according to the learnability hypothesis (see Pienemann, 1984), which could lead to a claim that there may be constraints on the learning of such features of language as those which correlate with linguistic etiquette (see Kasper, 1979). In this section, some reasons for the lack of evidence of transfer are discussed, followed by comments on aspects of the sociocultural context, often ignored in similar studies, as it is my view that it is unwise to avoid attention to influences from the context in which the learning setting is embedded. Speech acts are highly sensitive to situational variables (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989).

First of all, the data may reflect the learning which derives from materials and instruction in junior high school English classes where students typically memorize formulaic expressions as unexamined chunks of language, limiting the possible range and creativity of their expressions. In senior high school, most of the time is spent on reading and translation skills development, with little or no attention to pragmatic competence development. Japanese informants claim that they only learn "thank you" and "please," to be used in any and all situations where there is a need to signal politeness. The formulaic chunks of language tend to be used as politeness markers in any or all contexts, an example of overgeneralization as a communication strategy.

Consequently, given the lack of attention to pragmatic competence development in their previous language-learning experiences and, in addition, the fostering of dependence on formulaic expressions, slotted-in as needed without regard to the pragmatic equivalent of the phrase or item, it is not unreasonable to find the first-year university learners in this study resorting to overuse of the expressions on class handouts at the beginning of the first term. The transcription of the pre-test data does indicate dependence on class materials (see Appendix F for one example from a Sp lesson).

Nevertheless, as the analysis in the Results section shows, some traces of transfer of training from actual instruction can be seen. In particular, there are several instances where the students seem to have understood the need to mitigate their utterances, yet the politeness markers had not been learned with accuracy. That is, they had not achieved mastery or full control over use of the form.

M: I was also surprised ... same opinion.

E: I also think, I, I also don't agree ... (deleted) ... so I don't agree that.

These two contributions, which are second-pair parts of adjacency pairs, provide evidence in the repetition, especially of "also," of some effort to go beyond a formulaic, agreement speech act response, yet both attempts are abandoned. The teaching in the Sp classes may not have resulted in learning to the level of accuracy and automaticity. Retrieving knowledge and making it accessible for use in communicative contexts is problematic for learners in EFL contexts (Bialystok, 1993). The one clear indication of learning is the increase in the use of using one's conversational partner's name—direct address—before asking for an opinion, for example. Including the interlocutor's name can be a politeness marker and there is evidence that the learners had noticed use of that behavior in the classroom context by the teachers and were able to use it.

It may be that a nine-week term is not long enough for transfer of training to be observed to a significant level. A longitudinal study of some duration might generate sufficient evidence to enable researchers and teachers to begin to predict when intervention could occur to facilitate learning of certain aspects of pragmatic competence. Note, furthermore, that the students knew that they would not be tested on what they had learned in the Sp lessons; needless to say, knowledge of being tested on the language content of the Sp lessons might have resulted in more transfer of training to the RD classes.

Aspects of the particular sociocultural context are addressed which need to be considered in order to develop a more inclusive model of the variables influencing the foreign language learners' pragmatic competence. In my view, formal or instructed SLA settings cannot be studied without regard to the broader societal environment in which they are embedded. I would suggest this is particularly the case for pragmatic competence assessment as it inherently engages the participants in interactive, interpersonal events, which are grounded in the social enactment of meaning.

With regard to sociocultural dimensions, one consideration is the extent to which the data reflect the informants' attempts to achieve comity (Aston, 1993) within the context of this speech event. A salient social variable of the group discussions is the fact that the learners are first year university students who would all be in the same group for the entire academic year for their English classes. As peers, that is, of about the same age and in the same year at their university, they might not have felt the need to use politeness. Wolfson (1986) claims that an established, clear social contact situation leads to less negotiation and presumably less of a need to engage in complex linguistic etiquette behavior. In addition, Ellis (1992) suggests that, as a result of his study of requesting behavior of two young learners in a classroom environment, basic, but not elaborated forms of requesting behavior are likely due to the routineness of the classroom tasks and interactions, and to the lack of a strong communicative need to motivate more complex requests. This interpretation appears highly plausible. However, no baseline data is available of what native speakers would do in similar classroom situations.

Yet another interpretation concerns the speech act of requesting. Although for the purpose of data analysis, three different language functions were distinguished—that is, requesting opinions, directing the talk, and seeking agreement/disagreement. It seems possible to argue that all three are subcategories of requesting behavior. Tsui (1994, see pp. 91-95) reviews the literature on such speech acts and claims that a salient feature to distinguish a request from an order or a command is the possibility that the addressee can opt out of carrying out the designated behavior. In addition, according to Tsui, the lack of optionality as well as the presence of a context in which cooperation is assumed from the co-participants of an interaction results in "I want you to do X" type statements ("wants and needs" statements, in Tsui terminology) being used without mitigation. As the data I examined were collected in a classroom environment where learners typically are expected to do as the teacher wishes, or the teacher's surrogate, in the form of the discussion group leader, redressive action would be less likely to appear in such a speech act environment and conventionally direct requests would be the unmarked form. Consequently, if all the speech acts analyzed above are viewed as subcategories of requesting behavior, and if the informant group leader presupposed cooperation from the others, there being little social distance between them (such as in families), it is reasonable that there would be few linguistic politeness markers. In their study of indirectness, a feature of talk which tends to co-occur with politeness phenomena, Blum-Kulka and House (1989) found variation in requests according to such features as likelihood of compliance, degree of difficulty in complying, and perceived social distance. Thus, the relative lack of linguistic etiquette in the data from the group discussions may be explained on the same grounds, reflecting the findings of other studies.

Finally, despite the fact that at the time of the first taping the informants had been in class together for only one day, thus making it difficult to argue that they were "friends," recent literature as well as anecdotal evidence indicates that directness in such a setting is more tolerated by Japanese than by American or Canadian speakers of English (see Rose, 1992, among others). University students tend to be considered a separate sub-culture in many areas of the world and it is possible that the language behavior of the informants reflects practices of their sub-culture in Japan and elsewhere. Politeness enactment

indicates a sensitivity to hierarchy between and among conversational participants (Hinkel, 1994). Consequently, the informants may have also been unwilling to use politeness markers frequently with others who are their direct peers, as a pro-active means to build solidarity among the group members. There is also the influence of the *uchi* (in-group) vs. *soto* (out-group) dichotomy, which is viewed as playing a strong role in interpreting Japanese interpersonal behavior (Lebra, 1976; Bachnik, 1994). Cross-linguistic influences may be operating and, despite the fact that the informants had only relatively recently become in-group members of the English class and of the university community as a whole, it is possible that they are perceived by each other as being in-group members and therefore the use of informal language between and among members of the groups commonly found in Japanese-language use (Niyekawa, 1991) is being transferred into the English language context.

Conclusions

This paper has reported on a study of positive transfer of training of linguistic markers of politeness. The pedagogical intervention seemed to have had little effect on the learners' ability to produce situationally appropriate language behavior more frequently in the context of the speech event of group discussion. It had been hoped that the direct teaching about politeness and of linguistic means to enact politeness would contribute to resolving the problem stated at the beginning of this paper, that is, that Japanese learners and speakers of English tend to be perceived as less than appropriately polite by native speakers of English. Therefore, the original problem remains.

From the point of view of theoretical implications, it appears that pragmatic competence, specifically linguistic etiquette, remains a fuzzy category not yet clearly enough understood to be taken on board by classroom practitioners. This is not surprising as the notion of politeness itself continues to be problematic even in discussions of its enactment in one language, English or Japanese. Communicative language teaching has been popular for over a decade, although only officially acknowledged by the Japanese Ministry of Education more recently; the term "pragmatic competence" has appeared in the discussions about what classroom practitioners are to do to facilitate development of communicative ability. However, because situationally appropriate language use taps into unexamined, unconscious values and beliefs, it is difficult to contemplate how teachers and learners are to navigate between the two poles, one being focus on form for accuracy and the other using language in communicative, information-gap type tasks with little or no teacher input on which conversational gambit to use when and with whom. If models of SLA are to be of use, they must go beyond the continued focus on sentence-level of grammar, specifically on phonological and grammatical aspects, to account for pragmatic meaning and for creative language use, producing cohesive, appropriate texts in a second/foreign language.

Some conclusions, nevertheless, can be drawn from the study so far.

First, pragmatic competence development is a complex phenomenon involving values and beliefs, level of language proficiency, and social norms and practices, all of which interact with and constrain each other.

Second, learners and speakers of a second/foreign language are not free of the influences of their previous language learning environments, which reflect societal attitudes towards language, their mother tongue, and foreign languages.

Third, SL development, particularly of psycholinguistically problematic aspects, requires more time than anticipated as well as more extensive exposure to and experience with naturalistic target language input (see Bouton, 1994).

The task for language educators is not a small one; yet the ability to achieve comity, and avoid conflict, in cross-cultural contact situations may depend on it.

Further Research

Clearly, further research is called for in order to address the question of whether pragmatic competence can be taught. The focus should not be on any one language community as in this case study. Rather, researchers should broaden the scope to include pragmatic competence development—that is, the ability to use language in situationally appropriate ways, in the first language as well as in second languages of other groups, and in both second- as well as foreign-language environments. Projects could require tape-recording of classroom lessons on politeness, collecting input from the teacher as well as output of the learners. In addition, retrospective interviews and informant diaries, as well as other accounts of learners asked to introspect about their communicative strategies and to notice contextual features of the instances when they use linguistic etiquette, would provide invaluable information.

It should also be noted that studies of this sort need to be done at the secondary school level, in the form of collaborative research with teachers, learners, and applied linguists working together from the start of language education in school systems wherever second/foreign languages are taught. Further, there is a need for comparison, baseline data of learners interacting in their mother tongues and in second/foreign languages in the same speech event and context.

Both quantitative and qualitative studies are needed. However, until researchers have come closer to solving the questions mentioned above, posed by Schegloff (1993), microanalysis of single speech events of talk-in-interaction are needed to inform language educators, teacher trainers, and materials and curriculum designers without delay.6

Notes

This is a revision of a paper given at the Second Language Research Forum 1994 in Montreal, Quebec, Canada. The author wishes to thank Tandy Bailey, Brenda Bushell, and Ged O'Connell for their invaluable help in collecting the data, transcribing the discussions, and in teaching the informants in the Sp and RD classes. This study would not have been possible without their cooperation and contributions. I would also like to thank three anonymous reviewers for their helpful comments and suggestions. It goes without saying that the remaining shortcomings are no one's responsibility but my own.

1. It is to be acknowledged that there may be no universal system of situationally appropriate language use, commonly termed "politeness," even for native speakers of English. Although this study does not focus on a particular native speaker (NS) system, as the author was raised in the United States, it can be claimed that the Japanese informants' language use is being compared to a generalized American system of positive politeness, following Scollon and Scollon (1983).

2. The learners are instructed in the English program to seek and express disagreement or to challenge rather than accept the ideas or opinions of other participants as one element in the critical thinking goals of the curriculum. Also note that with regard to speech acts of agreement and disagreement, in this case I am interested in the linguistic efforts made to solicit or seek agreement or disagreement in the first-pair part of an adjacency pair, not in any response in the second-pair part.

3. In the Discussion section, I comment further on definitions of requesting behavior.

4. The possibility of gender differences in the use of formal markers of politeness should ideally be considered. However, due to the small sample size (seven men and 14 women) it was decided a composite of language behavior of all the informants was appropriate.

- 5. Transcription Note:
- ... = hesitation/silence
- () = inaudible or unclear
- F = female participant
- M = male participant
- F1, F2, etc. = female informant 1, female informant 2

Note that in some of the examples, first name initials or actual names are used, although they have been changed to protect anonymity. The deleted utterances were judged unnecessary for the current study. I use the definition of utterance of Crookes and Rulon (1985, p.9): "an utterance [is] defined as a stream of speech with at least one of the following characteristics: (1) under one intonation contour, (2) bounded by pauses, and (3) constituting one semantic unit."

6. LoCastro and Netsu are currently engaged in a research project to secure relevant baseline data.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Pre-test Task Worksheet College Thinking*

Introduction, Discussion, Questions

In small groups, discuss the following questions.

1. In the author's opinion, what aspects of college orientation should be changed to make college life more successful?

2. Discuss the orientation you have had at ICU. What aspects have been most useful and least useful for your future at ICU?

3. Why, according the author, are professors at many colleges disappointed by the standards of student writing?

4a. What does the author mean by "developing a framework in which to place the courses that you take in college?

4b. Why is it important to understand the framework of a college program? Do you think this is also true of a Japanese university?

5. Do you think it is important to establish personal goals for yourself as you begin your university career? Give reasons for your answer.

6a. Professors emphasize that although learning the content is important, learning intellectual skills and attitudes is far more important. What does this mean?

6b. Is this philosophy different from what high school teachers tell you?

7. "Learning how to think in college will help you later in life." What does the author mean by this?

8. What is meant by "critical thinking"?

9. The author encourages students to challenge the instructor/professor and classmates. What must we do in order to feel confident in challenging our teachers and peers? (What steps must we take?)

10. How can we challenge each other and still show respect for one another?

* Meiland, J.W. (1981). College thinking: How to get the best out of college. New York: Mentor.

Appendix B

Post-test Task Worksheet Under the Banyan Tree**

Discussion Questions

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1. Nambi is the main character (who are the others?) of this story. Who is he? What adjectives would you use to describe him?

2. Why did he do what he did at the end of the story? Provide evidence from the story to support your point of view.

3. Compare Vera and Nambi. Both of them tell stories, but there are differences. What are they?

4. What happens in the story? Is there a building up of suspense? Were you surprised by the ending? Why/why not?

5. Describe the village. Can you imagine it easily? Why/why not?

6. What are the themes in this story? For example, is "growing old" a possible theme?

7. If you look at this story from a cross cultural point of view, what aspects of the story do you notice?

8. "The cinema, and more recently television, have completely replaced the need of oral and written stories." Do you agree?

9. Is there a tradition of oral story telling in Japan? What is it? Are there similarities or differences between the tradition in Japan and what you can see in the Nambi story?

10. What was your reaction to the story? Give reasons for your opinion.

** "Under the Banyan Tree," by R.K. Narayan and "The Open Window," by "Saki" (H.H. Munro). (1992). In Alice Martin and Robert Hill (Eds.), *Modern short stories*. Hemel-Hempstead, UK: Prentice-Hall International.

Appendix C

List of Useful Expressions from a Speaking Lesson

Focus of Lesson

Visiting a Teacher's Office

Active Listening Skills

Useful Expressions

Opening a conversation

Excuse me, but do you have a minute?

I'm sorry to bother you, but do you have a minute?

Excuse me for interrupting

Stating your business

I'd like to talk with you about...

I have a small problem I'd like to discuss with you.

I'd like to ask your advice on something.

Closing a conversation

Well, thank you very much for your time.

Well, I know you're busy. Thanks for your time.

Active listening skills

Nodding the head.

Saying, Uh huh. Oh really? I see.

Making eye contact.

Taking notes.

Appendix D

Speaking Lesson

Leading a Discussion

Focus of Lesson

How to Be a Small Group Discussion Leader

Useful Expressions

1. Opening a Discussion	5. Giving an Opinion
Today we need to decide/discuss/prepare Let's begin with	I think It seems to me As far as I'm concerned
2. Eliciting an Opinion	6. Agreeing

What about? What do you think [name]? Does anybody have anything else to add? Would anybody like to add to what [name] has just said?	I agree. I think so too. Yes, that's a good point
3. Responding & Summarizing	7. Disagreeing
Okay, so far we've said Okay, to sum up, we've said	I see your point, but
4. Closing a Discussion	
Okay, so we all agree?/Do we all agree? Let's move on to the next point. Well, that's all we have time for.	

Activity Two Worksheet (Student A)

Role One: Group Leader	Useful Expressions		
You are the group leader. The topic for discussion is whether or	Opening a Discussion		
not women should work outside the home. Your responsibility is	Today we need to decide/discuss/prepare		
to keep the conversation going and to make sure that the other group members speak for an equal amount of time. Try to bring	Let's begin with		
the discussion to a conclusion. Be sure to use the expressions	Eliciting an Opinion		
on the right hand side of this page.	What about?		
	What do you think [name]?		
	Does anybody have anything else to add?		
	Would anybody like to add to what [name] has just said?		
	Responding & Summarizing		
	Yes, that's a good point.		
	Okay, so far we've said		
	Okay, to sum up, we've said		
	Closing a Discussion		
	Okay, so we all agree?		
	Do we all agree?		
	Let's move on the next point.		
Role Two: Participant	Useful Expressions		
You believe that all university students should be required to	Giving an Opinion		
wear uniforms because - it increases morale	I think		
- it increases morale - provides a sense of school identity	It seems to me		
- helps students focus on their schoolwork rather than on their	As far as I'm concerned		
appearances	Agreeing		
- is less distracting for teachers	I agree.		
- keeps costs down	Disagreeing		
Be sure to use the expressions on the right hand side of this			
page.	I see your point,but		
Role Three: Participant	Useful Expressions		

You believe that cigarette smoking should not be banned in	Giving an Opinion I think		
public places. It should be a matter of choice because - cigarette smoking allows for human individuality			
other things which are more harmful are not banned	It seems to me As far as I'm concerned		
 cigarette smoking reduces stress cigarette sales increase tax revenue 	Agreeing		
	I agree.		
	Disagreeing		
	I see your point, but		

Appendix E

RD Class Handout On How to Do a Discussion

How to Do a Discussion

First of all, choose a discussion leader and, if asked to do so, a secretary, who will take notes and then use those notes to give an oral report on your group's discussion to the whole class.

You can choose these two people in various ways. But it is important to remember that the same people should not always be the leader or the secretary.

The role of the leader is to (1) make sure everyone in the group has a chance to talk and express his/her opinions and (2) be non-judgmental, that is, not express his/her opinions and control the group. The leader needs to invite others to talk and not be too quick to say what he/she thinks.

Some examples of the language you can use.

Anyone:

Okay, who wants to be the leader today? And the secretary? How about you, Hiroshi? Let's junken. All right. Keiko is the leader. (Toshinori is the secretary.)

Keiko:

Let's get started. We're going to discuss... (state the topic/read the question, etc.). Shall we just go around the circle and each person can say what he or she thinks?

Or

Mariko, would you like to start? (Then Keiko has to ask each person to talk.)

If there is some disagreement/if the leader wants to get people to discuss different points of view:

Keiko:

Mariko thinks XXX. Kaoru, do you agree with her?

If there are several questions to discuss:

All right. Let's move on to the next question/the next topic.

Just before time is up, then the group needs to check with the secretary to see that the main points have been listed. You need to help the secretary be ready to report to the class.

Free Voluntary Reading as a Predictor of TOEFL Scores

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Forty-three international university students, currently living in the United States, filled out a questionnaire probing years of English study, length of residence (LOR) in the US, free reading habits in the first and second language, and TV watching. Despite the fact that subjects reported little reading in English, this variable was a significant predictor of TOEFL test performance. In addition, English study in the home country and length of residence in the US were also related to TOEFL scores.

Hanania and Gradman (1991) reported that the best predictor of TOEFL scores among international students who took the exam before coming to the United States was "extracurricular reading." Constantino (1995), in a case study of four international students in the United States, also reported that increased pleasure reading had a very positive effect on TOEFL performance among the three who did extensive pleasure reading; her subject who did only formal study did not do well on the exam. These results are in agreement with a large number of studies showing a clear relationship between pleasure reading and several aspects of literacy development, including reading comprehension, writing style, spelling, grammatical competence, and vocabulary (reviewed by Krashen, 1993). In this study, we investigate the relationship between pleasure reading and TOEFL scores for international students currently living the United States.

Procedure

Subjects: 43 international students (17 female, 26 male) from 14 different countries (South Korea, China, Taiwan, Saudi Arabia, India, Switzerland, Spain, Japan, Brazil, Indonesia, Thailand, Lebanon, Ukraine, and Hong Kong) participated in the study. All subjects were currently university students in the United States, and some are still enrolled in English as a Second Language classes. All had taken the TOEFL examination.

Instrument: Subjects filled out a 13-item questionnaire, which included questions about their TOEFL score, the frequency and amount of reading done in their first language and in English, TV viewing in English, frequency of visits to the library and bookstore, and the number of books they read in English before taking the TOEFL examination. Subjects required a maximum of ten minutes to fill out the questionnaire.

Results

Table 1 presents the results of the questionnaire.

Table 2 indicates that TOEFL scores were correlated with amount of English study done in the home country (r = .367), the composite measure of free reading (r = .39), and the number of books read (r = .447). Additional study done in the US was not a significant predictor of TOEFL scores, but the mean amount of study done in the US was only 1.35 years. The correlation between length of residence in the US and TOEFL scores was positive but did not reach statistical significance.

Reading as a Predictor

Table 3 presents the results of a simultaneous multiple regression analysis. Only three variables were entered into the analysis, because of the relatively small number of subjects used. The variables used were those that were of the most theoretical interest, and that showed modest to high correlations with TOEFL scores. "Books read" and "free reading" were combined into one predictor, as they were highly correlated (r = .714).

TABLE 1

Descriptive Statistics

Item	Mean	s.d.
1. Age	25.79	4.03
2. Score on TOEFL examination	564.55	49.35
3. Years of English study in home country	8.60	3.54
4. Years of English study in US before taking TOEFL	1.35	3.39
5. Length of residence in US (months)	18.74	22.06
 6. Amount of English TV watched each day before taking TOEFL 1 = never 2 = less than one hour/day 3 = 1-3 hours/day 4 = more than 3 hours/day 	2.09	.78
 7. Frequency of English newspaper reading before taking TOEFL 1 = never 2 = less than one hour/day 3 = 1-3 hours/day 4 = more than 3 hours/day 	1.70	.599
 8. Amount of free reading done in English before taking TOEFL 1 = none 2 = 1-3 months 3 = 4-6 months 4 = 7-12 months 5 = 1-2 years 6 = more than 2 years 	2.84	1.70
 9. Frequency of reading books for fun in English before taking TOEFL 1 = none 2 = 1-2 times a year 3 = 3-6 times a year 4 = 1-2 times a month 5 = 1-2 times a week 6 = more than 2 times a week 	3.02	1.73
 10. Number of books read in English before taking TOEFL 1 = none 2 = 1-5 books 3=6-10books 4 = 11-50 books 5 = more than 50 books 	2.28	1.12
 11. Frequency of visiting bookstores or libraries since coming to the US for pleasure reading 1 = none 2 = 1-3 times a month 3 = 1-2 times a week 4 = more than 2 times a week 	1.81	.732

12. Frequency of pleasure reading in home country in native language		
1 = none		
2 = 1-3 times a month		
3 = 1-2 times a week		
4 = more than 2 times a week		
13. Frequency of current pleasure reading in native language		
1 = none		
2 = 1-3 times a month		
3 = 1-2 times a week		
4 = more than 2 times a week		

For purposes of analysis, responses to questions 7, 8, and 9 were summed to form one variable, labelled "free reading," and 12 and 13 were combined to form the variable "read in L1."

Parametic statistics were applied to the data, assuming that any violations from interval equality were not large enough to distort the results (for discussion, see Kerlinger, 1976, pp. 402-403).

TABLE 2

Intercorrelations Among Variables

Item	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
TOEFL								
English Study/Home	.367							
English Study/US	.003	403**						
LOR/US	.232	343	.496**					
TV	133	099	.019	104				
Free Reading	.390*	.043	.018	070	115			
Books Read	.447**	.151	.423**	.021	216	.714**		
Bookstores/Libraries	.084	.007	.423**	.220	216	.319*	.212	
Read in L1	174	159	294	049	259	.048	125	056

* p < .05 ** p < .01

TABLE 3

Multiple Regression Analysis: Predictors of TOEFL Scores

Predictor	b	beta	t	р
Free Reading/Books	4.996	.41	3.42	.002
English Study/Home	6.738	.48	3.73	.001
LOR/US	.937	.42	3.24	.003

r2 = .45; adjusted r2 = .41F = 10.33. p < .001

All three predictors made strong showings in the multiple regression analysis.

Discussion

English Study

In our analysis, years of study of English in the home country was a significant predictor. Gradman and Hanania (1991) also investigated this variable, but found no relationship to TOEFL performance. Their variable "months of intensive/special English" was significantly correlated with TOEFL scores, but correlations were modest (r = .26) and this variable did not survive their multivariate analysis. Previous research has shown a positive relationship between years of study and proficiency (Krashen, 1982). It seems reasonable to hypothesize, however, that study will affect performance only up to a certain level of proficiency, because of the limits of the classroom. Thus, it would not be surprising to see positive but weak and inconsistent correlations between years of study and TOEFL performance. Years of English study, however, did surprisingly well in the regression analysis, slightly outperforming the other predictors.

Length of Residence

LOR was only modestly correlated with TOEFL scores, but emerged as a substantial predictor in the multiple regression analysis. In the case of these subjects, LOR probably represented some academic experience in an English-speaking university, an important source of comprehensible input of academic language.

Free Reading in English

In Gradman and Hanania (1991), "extracurricular reading" was the strongest predictor of TOEFL scores, and free reading clearly had a very positive effect in Constantino's case history (Constantino, 1995). In this study, free reading also did well. It can be argued, however, that free reading is potentially a much stronger factor than our results indicate: Our subjects were clearly not pleasure readers, averaging fewer than 10 books read before taking the examination, and reporting reading for pleasure only three to six times per year!

We present below a separate analysis of responses to question 10 (Table 4). This analysis needs to be interpreted cautiously, because of the small number of subjects in some of the categories. Nevertheless, it suggests that free reading counts a great deal.

TABLE 4

Number of Books	Mean	s.d.	Number of Subjects
None	543.10	43.03	10
1-5 Books	555.15	42.88	20
6-10 Books	583.71	63.90	7
11-50 Books	605.33	18.58	3
Over 50 Books	613.00	47.62	3

TOEFL Scores and Number of Books Read in English

Reading in the First Language

Reading in the L1 was not a predictor of TOEFL scores. There is evidence that reading competence in the first language is a predictor of reading ability in the second language in children (Cummins, 1989). Our results may be due to the fact that our subjects, all university students, were all good readers in their primary language; there was thus insufficient variability in the sample to show a relationship between L1 and L2 competence. This explanation may also help explain Janapolous' findings of no relationship between L1 reading and L2 writing (Janapolous, 1986).

Our results have both theoretical and practical implications. They provide additional support for the Reading Hypothesis (Krashen, 1993) as well as the more general Input Hypothesis (Krashen, 1985). In addition, they confirm that preparation for the TOEFL "doesn't have to hurt" (Constantino, 1995, p. 15).

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The Current State of Interlanguage: Studies in Honor of William Rutherford. (1995). By Lynn Eubank, Larry Selinker, and Michael Sharwood Smith, Eds. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, Pp. 293.

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Of principal interest to researchers in second language acquisition (SLA), this volume presents a range of "state-of-the-art" essays, research summaries, and squibs that address the interlanguage (IL) construct from a predominantly formal perspective. The volume, dedicated to the career of William Rutherford, comprises chapters contributed by North American and European scholars whose contributions were selected for their connections to Rutherford's work in linguistic theory, typology, language acquisition, and/or pedagogy (e.g., Rutherford, 1975/1977, 1982, 1983, 1984a, 1984b, 1987, 1988; Rutherford & Sharwood Smith, 1987). Although several of the chapters address topics whose relevance to the study of IL (and to Rutherford's research) is questionable, this collection offers interesting and valuable contributions to empirical and theoretical debates among SLA scholars (cf. Davies, Criper, & Howatt, 1984; Selinker, 1992).

Following the volume's introduction by Lynn Eubank, Larry Selinker, and Michael Sharwood Smith, the first chapter examines the influence of primary language typological features on learner IL. In this brief essay, Peter Jordens re-examines Rutherford's (1983) developmental data on the English IL of speakers of Mandarin, a topic-prominent language. Whereas in Rutherford's analysis, two parallel developmental processes underlie the acquisition of subject-predicate strings and presentative sentences in English, Jordens maintains that the acquisition of subject prominence in L2 English is influenced directly by the prior incorporation of presentatives into the emerging IL. Rather than contradicting it, Jordens' re-interpretation complements Rutherford's initial claims by explaining why presentative sentences appear in Chinese learners' ILs before nominal and why Mandarin-speaking learners' presentative serial-verb strings never contain both a topic and a subject.

Virginia Yip and Stephen Matthews likewise address topic prominence, although from a Universal Grammar (UG) (as opposed to a typological) perspective. The authors focus specifically on pseudo-passives (e.g., "These ways can classify two types") and periphrastic topic constructions (e.g., "For Japanese speakers, they may think more positively about this claim [than English speakers]") found in the L2 English compositions of Cantonese speakers. Their data on periphrastic topic constructions suggest that learners transfer L1 discourse function to L2 forms, but that underlyingly, these IL forms realize this discursive function by assigning a preposition as a case marker for the topic NP (as in "For Japanese speakers ..."). Acknowledging that Rutherford's typological interpretation of IL phenomena "help to reveal properties of interlanguage" (p. 19), Yip and Matthews maintain that IL phenomena should be characterized in terms if learners' internalized grammars, or *I-language* (Chomsky, 1986).

In contradistinction to Yip and Matthews, Susan Gass argues in her squib that learners' noticing of typological cross-linguistic differences offers a more convincing account of SLA than does the operation of abstract UG principles (cf. Gass & Ard, 1984). Based on empirical studies of the acquisition of (1) *pro*-drop, (2), verb raising, and (3) reflexive binding phenomena in a variety of target languages, Gass claims that IL grammars can gradually conform to universal clusterings of properties where learners are able to perceive "structural and/or functional relatedness" (p. 32); in cases where structural and functional relationships are not apparent on the basis of surface similarity, learning is not affected. In keeping with the spirit of much of Rutherford's work, Gass offers not only a theoretical but also a practical implication, namely, that L2 instruction will positively affect learning "in just those areas where learners are able to notice the relationships among structures" (p. 38).

The author of the volume's next entry, David Birdsong, takes readers in a decidedly practical direction by explaining how the game "Master Mind" can assist students of SLA to understand abstract, theory-dependent constructs such as learnability, pre-emption, and domain specificity. Although such a contribution in a volume on IL may seem to be somewhat of a thematic oddity, Birdsong's chapter connects very neatly to Rutherford's contributions to the training of future SLA researchers (cf. Rutherford, 1996). Birdsong presents a "tutorial" exemplifying the ways in which this strategic game engages its players in narrowing broad hypotheses, broadening overly narrow hypotheses, and rejecting inaccurate hypotheses.

Returning to the theoretical domain, Ellen Bialystok highlights the dangers of overgeneralization in SLA by pointing out the errors caused by theory-building that overlooks the "accumulated wisdom of the specialists" (p. 56). Specifically, Bialystok's essay makes a strong case for the centrality of linguistics in the search for a comprehensive IL theory— an interesting twist

Rutherford

for a well-known cognitivist. Bialystok's view that linguistic structure constitutes a powerful determinant of cognitive processing supports Rutherford's recent arguments that any and all theorizing about language learning must be solidly grounded in the structural properties of language and learners' knowledge of it (cf. Rutherford, 1994, 1996).

Lydia White's essay complements Bialystok's by amplifying a persistent appeal made by UG proponents, namely, that a theory of language acquisition *must* be informed by (and derived directly from) a theory of language (White, 1989, 1994). Focusing specifically on Chomsky's "Minimalist" program (Chomsky, 1991, 1993, 1994), White holds that productive empirical research in SLA is not only stimulated by, but dependent on, advances in linguistic theory. Although caution is necessary when applying new theories to empirical findings, White makes the controversial assertion that "adjustments have to be made in the area of L2 acquisition theories...when a linguistic theory is discarded or outgrown" (p. 68).

Turning to a more specific empirical problem in IL research, Susanne Carroll examines aspects of verbal linguistic feedback that make interactional L2 data usable for learners. Drawing on Sperber and Wilson's (1986) theory of relevance, Carroll maintains that, because negative input (i.e., information concerning allowable strings, forms, patterns, and constraints in the L2) requires metalinguistic mastery on the part of learners, it is "comparatively useless" (p. 85) in the L2 development of most learners. Like Gass, Carroll thus holds that learners must perceive formal aspects of the L2 grammar before they can successfully incorporate this information into their ILs.

One of the few wholly data-based chapters in this volume is that of India Plough, who tests the prediction that inductive inferencing plays a positive role in adult L2 (specifically, foreign language) learning. Plough adopts a view in which inductive inferencing results in "probably true" hypotheses about L2 patterns derived from a multi-stage comprehension process. Her study of university-level anglophone learners of French is one of the first serious attempts to define indirect negative data and to test for its usefulness in L2 learning. Although her investigation does not offer longitudinal findings, Plough's experimental results show that inferencing input can be a predictor of L2 learning outcomes and possibly a correlate of language aptitude.

Attacking the overlooked variable of L2 phonological attainment, Martha Young-Scholten offers a critical appraisal of research suggesting that incomplete mastery of L2 phonological patterns supports the view that UG is not fully accessible to adult L2 learners. Young-Scholten proposes an alternative, transfer-based interpretation in which she makes the unique and initially counter-intuitive claim that orthographic input may, in fact, be detrimental to the development of target-like L2 phonology. This can occur, she argues, when learners are not yet psycholinguistically ready to incorporate orthographic knowledge into their IL systems (cf. Corder, 1981).

Harald Clahsen's chapter, which summarizes select findings from the ZISA (*Zweitsprachenerwerb Italienischer und Spanischer Arbeiter*, "Acquisition of Second Language by Italian and Spanish Workers") project (Clahsen, 1984), is situated within the ongoing controversy surrounding the psycholinguistic representation of regular and irregular morphology among adult language learners whose ILs appear to have fossilized. Focusing specifically on the system of noun plurals in L2 German, Clahsen's results indicate that learners who "overregularize" inflectional forms have two qualitatively distinct types of plural forms in their IL grammars: irregular forms that only occur in compounds and overregularized default plurals that do not occur in plurals. These outcomes support a dual-mechanism model of psycholinguistic representation in which rule-based patterns coexist with rote-based knowledge systems (Pinker & Prince, 1988).

Sascha Felix returns to the UG domain by addressing one of the central problems of the principles and parameters paradigm: Adult learners' access to UG principles and the likelihood that parameters can be re-set in L2 acquisition. Felix presents a meticulous analysis of Schachter's (1996) strong claim that UG is in no way accessible to adult L2 learners. Indeed, Felix demonstrates that Schachter's recent investigation of the Incompleteness Hypothesis in fact provides evidence that L2 learners have UG information available to them thanks to a type of knowledge that instantiates parameterized principles. Felix argues forcefully that the Incompleteness Hypothesis is untenable "because it crucially relies on the assumption that natural languages may instantiate only a subset of UG principles, an assumption which does not seem to be compatible with what we currently know about [UG]" (p. 149).

Based on a series of empirical studies, Antonella Sorace's contribution examines in some depth the acquisition of the unaccusative-unergative distinction in a set of intransitive verbs in L2 Italian. Her analysis of the results of acceptability judgment tests is unique in that she explains learner IL development in terms of linking rules that bind lexical-semantic representations to argument structure (cf. Baker, 1983). Specifically, her findings suggest that unaccusative-unergative distinctions develop gradually, though often asymmetrically, along developmental paths governed by lexical-semantic hierarchies that subdivide intransitive verbs. This work expands on existing findings that reveal the close interrelationships between lexical and syntactic knowledge in adult L2 learning.

Maria Beck, Bonnie Schwartz, and Lynn Eubank contribute to another ongoing debate among UG researchers in their three-part paper titled "Data, evidence, and rules." Following a survey of input data types that are eligible for integration into IL grammar, they assert that not all available L2 data are actually used by learners. They refer to that subset of linguistic data that are actually perceived and used by learners as "evidence." Relying largely on exemplification, the authors strongly hint that explicit evidence and "instructional therapy" may actually play a minor role in adult L2 acquisition because it "cannot engage UG" (p. 191). The outcome of instruction, they claim, amounts to "Learned Linguistic Knowledge" (p. 192)—an interpretation that competes with the view that UG parameters can be activated by awareness-raising and input enhancement procedures (e.g., Rutherford, 1987; Sharwood Smith, 1991).

Helmut Zobl's squib again directs the reader's attention to formal L2 properties, in this case, lexical vs. pronominal subjects in the English IL of adult francophone learners and the German IL of an adult Turkish-speaking learner. Zobl asks why, despite abundant grammatical L2 data, structural government for nominative case-marking in the respective target languages does not emerge in learner IL. Instead, IL evinces a pattern of incorporation (Baker, 1988) in which pronominals but not lexical NPs appear in target-like L2 structures. Zobl holds that structural government for nominative-case-marking is marked for L2 learners, thereby requiring checking across finite IP boundaries. Zobl thus concludes that incorporation serves as a default procedure for L2 learners, such that "recourse to default options for dealing with computational complexity may be an acquisitional universal" (p. 202).

Returning more directly to the construct of interlingual transfer, Gita Martohardjono and Suzanne Flynn summarize data showing that Japanese-, Chinese-, and Spanish-speaking L2 learners of English may completely ignore available L1-based data as they acquire control structures, in terms of both the lexicon and surface-level grammar. Their empirical results lead them to conclude that these learners "resort to a principle of UG, minimality." Based on this bold conclusion, the authors further contend that "L2 learners do not assume that the L2 is like the L1" (p. 216) and that the Transfer Hypothesis does not hold. Unfortunately, the authors fail to qualify these controversial and disputable interpretations.

Eric Kellerman revisits still-unresolved questions related to fossilization in SLA. Invoking such variables as age, cross-linguistic

transfer, typology, exposure, metalinguistic knowledge, and comparative linguistic difficulty, the author re-examines the work of Johnson and Newport (1989), which he claims is highly problematic for methodological and theoretical reasons. Crucially, this essay details the reasons for which responses to grammaticality judgment tasks fail to characterize IL knowledge at a given point in time, let alone longitudinally. Kellerman concludes with a compelling appeal to undertake extended and careful empirical research on the variable difficulty of particular linguistic patterns and to approach the Critical Period Hypothesis with a healthy skepticism.

Jean-Marc Dewaele's squib, which proposes explicit procedures for distinguishing between different styles in IL speech, extends the domain of IL somewhat by making a case for the role of context in SLA research. The author suggests that attention to speech dimensions (*viz.*, formal/informal, explicit/implicit) is important in IL studies not only because of the insights into formal variation provided by these constructs, but also because of the differential cognitive demands associated with these multiple dimensions.

Of questionable relevance to the major themes of this volume is the chapter by Susana Blanco-Iglesias, Joaquina Broner, and Elaine Tarone. In this piece, the authors seem to address purposes whose connection to IL in general and to Rutherford's work in particular is difficult to discern. For example, considerable space is devoted to an evaluative description of note-taking as a data collection tool in classroom research. This methodological discussion is somewhat of a red herring, given the chapter's other major focus, changes in language choice and vernacular language use in kindergarten through grade five Spanish immersion classrooms. Readers might be disappointed to read the authors' rather obvious conclusion that older anglophone children revert to using English because "they need to use a vernacular 'kid-speak' with each other [*sic*], and they do not have such a vernacular in the L2Ñonly an L1 vernacular" (p. 252).

Marjorie Perlman Lorch also addresses the topic of variation, although with a particular emphasis on bilingual aphasia and neurolinguistic research. In her predominantly context-dependent view, Lorch highlights the importance of environmental cues in learners' establishment of context-specific fossilized IL forms. Based on an overview of experimental research on aphasia and language switching (e.g., Paradis, 1989), Lorch challenges traditional modular views of language, arguing that IL talk that is contextually sensitive must depend not only on evolving IL phonology, lexicon, morphology, and syntax, but also on knowledge and cognitive skills that lie outside the so-called language modules.

Like the Blanco-Iglesias et al. chapter described above and the paper by Ross that follows it, Batia Laufer's paper on L2 lexical acquisition bears only a sketchy connection to Rutherford's research and to the major issues addressed elsewhere in this book. In addition to summarizing several investigations of methods aimed at characterizing the size of L2 learners' lexicons, Laufer describes "Beyond 2000," a computerized metric whose accuracy outstrips that of its predecessors. Her central theses are that (1) growth in vocabulary size is the most appropriate indicator of lexical acquisition, and (2) the "Beyond 2000" measure is a valuable and reliable means of undertaking future research on L2 vocabulary development.

The final paper in the volume, authored by Háj Ross, promises a "first look" at *paths*, defined as "those macro-constituents which specify the route through spaces of various sorts which is traversed by the Theme of a sentence" (p. 272; cf. Gruber, 1976). The author does, indeed, provide a first look at paths (later described as "constituents") and their parts (called "legs"). Ross's cross-linguistic analysis compares end and medial "legs" in English to their structural equivalents in both Brazilian Portuguese and German; he concludes that, in all three languages, end-prepositions have more degrees of freedom than do medial prepositions. Invoking markedness theory, Ross proposes that if the expression of certain legs is less marked than adpositional expressions, then a learner whose L1 exhibits marked patterns and who learns an L2 with unmarked patterns should find L2 acquisition easier than the learner for whom the situation is reversed. Whereas the author proposes an intriguing approach to syntactic and thematic relations, the relevance of this work to SLA remains speculative and unclear.

As one might expect in a volume of this type, the papers in *The Current State of Interlanguage: Studies in Honor of William Rutherford* vary in scope, depth of analysis, and thematic coherence. Notwithstanding its flaws (i.e., a discernible principles and parameters bias, "empirical" papers that contain very little data, chapters whose contents go somewhat far afield of the book's topical focus, incomplete and/or erroneous bibliographical entries, and a noticeable number of typos), the majority of its chapters offer provocative treatments of theoretical, empirical, and methodological issues of ongoing concern to SLA researchers of various orientations. Taken together, the papers constitute a worthy tribute to a researcher whose influence as a teacher, scholar, and advocate of the field deserves recognition and praise.

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Writing and Literacy in Chinese, Korean, and Japanese (1996)

By Insup Taylor with M. Martin Taylor. Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins.

Reviewed by JANE KUO and SUGURU AKUTSU The American Graduate School of International Management

Writing and Literacy in Chinese, Korean, and Japanese by Insup and M. Martin Taylor comes at a time when the world is hungering to learn more about the people and the cultures that have created the "Asian economic miracle." Since people and their culture can be understood through the study of their language, this book provides an alternative means of gaining insight into three Asian cultures: Chinese, Korean, and Japanese. The authors' knowledge of these languages is profound, making possible a thorough, interesting, and enlightening examination of the languages of Asia. This investigation then leads to posing and answering broad questions about the advantages and disadvantages of each of the languages with regard to the attainment of literacy and technical thinking in Asia.

The book is organized by the chronological development of the three languages: Chinese, Korean, and Japanese. The authors begin with an introductory chapter discussing the basic elements that make these three languages distinct from others. In this chapter, readers are also informed about the organization of the book and the inclusion of particular issues with regard to writing and literacy in each part. Each section begins with a general history of the three Asian languages, and then moves on to discuss and draw conclusions on each language separately.

The sections on linguistic units and terms such as morphemes and phonemes are especially interesting. They deepen the reader's comprehension of some of the challenges that face both students and teachers of each language. Scholars, educators, and students of East Asian Studies will find useful information about the influence of written language on the cultural development. This is particularly true of the section titled "History of Education and Literacy," which discusses the influence of Confucianism and the ancient civil service examination system on contemporary Asian cultures. Educators working to bridge linguistic gaps between East and West will find that this book allows students to broaden their learning experiences. The bibliography provided at the end of each section is most useful to the reader. It not only lists references, but also gives a brief description of the content of each source, allowing the reader to find further information on a topic of interest.

In each part (Chinese, Korean, and Japanese), the authors set out to address six fundamental questions:

- 1. How do the Chinese, Korean, and Japanese writing systems differ?
- 2. How are these differences reflected in each country's literacy rate?
- 3. Are Chinese characters a hindrance to high levels of literacy?
- 4. Do the writing systems in these nations provide a suitable foundation for the pursuit of innovative and technical thinking?
- 5. Are these writing systems appropriate in the information age?
- 6. What alterations, if any, should or could be made?

Indeed, the authors specifically cite some of these questions in their preface and throughout the text. However, in the main body of this text the authors devote a great deal of attention to other issues, leaving these central questions to the summaries and general conclusions. For example, the text goes into great detail regarding the phonetic pronunciation of each language. Without previous formal training, though, the reader has no way to comprehend these complex phonetic systems. Therefore, it is difficult to agree with the authors' contention that this book is written for the general public.

Part one includes ten chapters on the written Chinese that clearly demonstrate the authors' command of the language. The structure of the language is described in detail. In fact, the authors go too deeply into these details. Although the structure of the language, the origin and classification of characters, and phonetic systems are all important elements of the text, they should not be focused on at the expense of broader issues. The authors discuss such topics as the creation of characters, the evolution of script styles, and the six principles of categorizing Chinese characters.

Consequently, readers gain insight about how Chinese served as the forerunner of the written forms of Korean and Japanese as well as about characters that tell stories, and so forth. For those interested in the "vertical" (historical development within a language) and "horizontal" (mutual influence between languages) aspects of these three languages, and the impact written characters have had on the education systems and literacy in these countries, this book is invaluable. In addition, a

substantial chapter on the reform of spoken and written Chinese in the People's Republic of China explains how the characters used in mainland China differ from those used in Taiwan. The general public will be fascinated by Mao Zedong's radical views on the reform of written Chinese.

The authors discuss the peculiarities of the Korean language in part two of the study. The bulk of this section effectively deals with the central questions raised by the authors, particularly in chapters 13 through 16. The reader learns about the unique characteristics of the Korean writing system. The ability of this writing system to seemingly combine a phoneme system with a morpheme system in what are called "syllable blocks" is fascinating. One interesting tool that helps the reader answer the central questions suggested by the title is the graph of the declining use of Hancha over the years. In the section "Rational Hancha Use in the Present," the reader learns of the decline of the use of Hancha. In the following section, "Misguided Attempts to Abolish Hancha," the reader learns why the trend has leveled out-that Hancha is still a valuable communication tool even if mixed in with the Han' gul writing system. Points such as these are valuable to the reader in trying to understand such complex writing systems and the challenges inherent in attempts to achieve high literacy rates in Asian nations. In addition, the authors' comparisons of the strengths and weaknesses of the Hancha and Han' gul systems are thoroughly presented and very informative. Yet, even in these sections, the authors' presentation demonstrates their failure to focus on a particular audience. Even readers with a knowledge of Asian linguistics may be unable to develop a clear understanding of the authors' descriptions. We believe that in certain circumstances the authors assume the reader possesses technical linguistic knowledge that the general public or an average student simply does not have. For instance, in the section headed "Instruction in Han' gul Spelling" the authors explain two rules for spelling. After reading this section, we were disappointed that we were still quite unable to understand the Han' gul examples written throughout the remainder of the text. If the authors had included some simple examples of building a syllable block we would grasp additional new points as the authors bring them forth. Thus we might have been able to decipher the examples in succeeding chapters and sections.

In the third and final section of the book the authors attempt to answer the central questions in terms of the Japanese language. As in the previous sections, the authors' discussion progresses from a basic linguistic background toward a detailed examination of the writing and literacy of the Japanese. The introduction of the speech element called mora, explaining the rhythmic sound of Japanese speech, should be very interesting to some readers. Additionally, the demonstration of moras as the unit of measure in Haiku poetry will be enlightening to Haiku lovers. Chapters 18 through 22 involve the reader in an analysis of the virting systems of the Japanese language. These chapters are useful in preparation for the more direct discussion of the central questions raised by the text. However, at this point in the book, the reader could easily have grown weary of the discussion of Kanji (Chinese characters). In previous sections of the book similar points were made about Hanzi and Hancha, and few, if any, new ideas are brought forth in the analysis of Kanji in Chapter 18. Writing and literacy become the central topics in chapters 22 through 24, in which the authors examine learning processes, educational systems, and educational philosophy. In these sections the authors also discuss the success of Japanese primary and secondary education and identify problems of universities and higher-education.

In both the second and third parts of the text, the examination of the Korean and Japanese writing systems clearly demonstrates the conflict between phoneme-based and morpheme-based systems. The authors properly address whether or not the Hancha or Kanji should be kept or abolished. The challenges presented by the information age are more directly addressed in this section as well. From these sections the reader gains a more thorough understanding of the Korean and Japanese written languages, but gains few ideas addressing the central issue of promoting literacy in Asia.

In summary, we believe that the authors went too far in trying to teach the languages to the readers. Before introducing the writing systems, the authors go into too much depth by introducing the speech sounds, words, and sentences of the languages. Without real instruction, it is difficult to grasp the speech sounds from mere description. Thus as a result, the description of the speech sounds, particularly in chapter 13 of part two is unnecessary. Therefore, we do believe that due to the intense focus on East Asian linguistics, a reader who does not know of at least one of the languages might have difficulty understanding some of the more complex nuances of these languages.

In addition, the bulk of this text describes in great detail the complex writing system of these languages. Although such background is essential for any worthwhile discussion of writing and literacy, we found some information fragmented, difficult to understand, and excessive. The authors' organizational approach was to divide the text using national-linguistic lines. This is a natural approach and it works well in many circumstances, but we found ourselves frequently turning back to previous sections to compare and contrast the different languages.

Our approach would divide the book into sections dedicated to elements of the written languages. The first section would discuss the Chinese writing system in which the history, development, advantages, disadvantages, complexity, adoption and rejection of characters would be examined in terms of all three countries. The following sections would compare and contrast the phonetic sytems used, educational systems employed and literacy rates achieved by each nation. A final section would be devoted to the authors' conclusions on advantageous elements of each written language. Organized in this way, the text could achieve a more direct comparison of the three languages and keep the reader engaged in the examination.

Literate Apprenticeships: The Emergence of Language and Literacy in the Preschool Years. (1996). By Kenneth Reeder, John Shapiro, Rita Watson, and Hillel Goelman. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Reviewed by LIA PLAKANS Iowa State University

This volume, in the series *Advances in Discourse Processes*, deals with the emergence of literacy in preschool-aged children. Four researchers—Kenneth Reeder, Jon Shapiro, Rita Watson, and Hillel Goelman—collected data for three years at the Child Study Centre at the University of British Columbia. The results of their efforts answer the general question, "What are the relationships amongst children's earliest literate environments, their emerging knowledge about literacy, and some specific aspects of their growing communicative competence" (p.14). In the introduction Anthony D. Pellegrini places the study within the current research on emergent literacy and gives the reader insight into the theoretical orientation of the researchers (developmental psycholinguistics). Then, the researchers themselves explain their goals and further ground their study in the current literature. One important goal is to provide information about emergent literacy to preschool teachers and parents. The subsequent four chapters describe the four studies conducted by the researcher, and a final chapter summarizes the findings and suggests what can be learned from them.

In the first study, Jon Shapiro measured the acquisition of literacy of a group of children and investigated the relation between this development and the children's home literacy environment. By administering a survey called the *Home Literacy Environment Index (HLEI)* to the parents of the children, Shapiro established which children were from environments with a higher or lower literate biases. Repeated testing of the childrens' knowledge and metaliterate awareness was done through a battery of tests given annually. From these data, Shapiro drew several conclusions: (1) metaliterate awareness is developmental, (2) metaliterate awareness has many layers and is not a single unit, and (3) there is a relationship between home literate environments and the emergence of metaliterate awareness.

The second study, by Kenneth Reeder, investigated whether children from higher literacy environments connect pragmatic understanding to an utterance based on its linguistics cues, while those from a lower literacy environment tend to use context as a clue to meaning. The results of this study showed a possible developmental trend in speech act comprehension. Reeder found that at the younger age, high literacy children focused more on linguistic cues, but, by the third year of the study, the same group had switched to using both context and linguistic cues. On the other hand, the low literacy children began focusing on context cues, and in the third year had shifted to more linguistic cues. According to Reeder this reveals a development process in which the high literate group may have focused on context cues earlier than the beginning of the study, while the low literacy group would proceed to the level of using both context and linguistic cues to determine pragmatics after the study .

The third study, by Rita Watson, explores the literate discourse of preschool-age children to discover whether certain forms of discourse which are experienced by children in early literacy activity can predict future metaliterate skills. After collecting data from parent-child interactions during book-reading sessions, Watson coded their discourse for certain features: questions and responses, labeling, propositional attitudes, and the textuality (discourse specifically related to the text). Through analysis of these categories and the results of the assessment of the children's metaliteracy and literacy related skills (e.g., word and label identification), Watson found that a correlation exists between early literate discourse and metaliterate skills of the children. The correlation, however, fluctuated over the three years. The results also suggested that negative parental responses and direct teaching were less effective in increasing metaliterate skills than parental interaction, which is less controlled and contains more open responses to children's utterances.

In the fourth study, Hillel Goelman studied the oral discourse of parent-children interactions in terms of two issues: (1) whether certain features of oral discourse already established by other researchers to have a literate bias (psychological verbs, cohesion, cognitive demands) can be found in his sample, and (2) what the relationship is between such discourse features and other kinds of literacy. The assumption behind this study is that literate does not exist only in written texts but also in oral discourse through its organizational pattern and word choice. By collecting data in parent-child play sessions and coding the resulting discourse, the author determined that the features were indeed evident in discourse during play sessions and that there does seem to be a correlation between such features and three aspects of early literacy: understanding of symbolic concepts, print concepts, and story concepts.

Literate Apprenticeships:

This collaborative project adds a great deal to our understanding of emergent literacy. The longitudinally collected data results in very rich and deep source for information. A few limitations in the study are acknowledged by the authors, however. One of these concerns is the population studied. Because the children were all in the same university child- care center, the socio-economic and educational level of their families did not vary greatly. Therefore, readers should be cautious in generalizing the results. Also, the measure *Home Literacy Environment Index*, used in the study to determine the level of literacy in the children's home environment, might be limited in application. As the authors mention, some information sought by this survey could be missing or misinterpreted. Interviews and home-observations would possibly have given a more accurate picture of the home environment. Nonetheless, this project generated much useful information about children's early literacy environments, their emerging knowledge about literacy, and their emergent communicative competence. There is much in these studies that could be useful to preschool teachers and parents, as well as to others interested in the development of children's literacy .

Calendar of Events

1997

20 July-1 August, Taos Institute for Language Teachers (French, German, Russian, Spanish), East Lansing. Information George F. Peters, CLEAR, A-126 Wells Hall, Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI 48824-1027; (517) 432-2286, Fax (517) 432-0473, Email clear@pilot.msu.edu

5-7 August, Problems of Teaching Modern Hebrew, Jerusalem. Informa- tion Ben-Zion Fischler, Council on the Teaching of Hebrew, P.O.B. 7413, Jerusalem 91073, Israel.

12-16 August, IALL/Language Laboratory Association of Japan, Victoria, BC, Canada. Information (604) 721-8294, Fax (604) 721-8778, Email fleatIII@call.uvic.ca, URL http://web.uvic.ca/hrd/fleat3

20-22 August, OPI Training Workshop (French, German, Spanish), Lisle, IL. Information ACTFL, 6 Executive Plaza, Yonkers, NY 10701-6801; (914) 963-8830, Fax (914) 963-1275, URL http://www.infi.net/~actfl

4 September, Association of Literary Semantics, Freiburg. Information Monika Fludernik, English Department, University of Freiburg, D-79085, Germany.

24-27 September, OPI Training Workshop (English-LCT, French, German, Japanese, Russian, Spanish), Madison, WI. Information ACTFL, 6 Executive Plaza, Yonkers, NY 10701-6801; (914) 963-8830, Fax (914) 963-1275, URL http://www.infi.net/~actfl

25-28 September, German Studies Association, Washington, D.C. Information German Studies Association, Arizona State University, Tempe, AZ 85287-3204.

4-5 October, Carolinas Symposium on British Studies, Augusta. Information William S. Brockington, Department of History, University of South Carolina at Aiken, Aiken, SC 29801.

7-11 October, Foreign Language Association of North Carolina, location to be announced. Information Mary Lynn Redmond, 6 Sun Oak Court, Greensboro, NC 27410; Fax (910) 759-4591, Email redmond@wfu.edu

17-20 November, OPI Training Workshop (Chinese, French, German, Italian, Japanese, Russian, Spanish), Nashville. Information ACTFL, 6 Executive Plaza, Yonkers, NY 10701-6801; (914) 963-8830, Fax (914) 963-1275, URL http://www.infi.net/~actfl

18-20 November, Educational Exchange, Barcelona. Information CIEE, 205 East 42nd St., New York, NY 10017-5706; (212) 822-2699, Email conference@ciee.org

19-20 November, National Association of District Supervisors of Foreign Languages, Nashville. Information Sharon M. Watts, 607 S. 123 St., Omaha, NE 68154; (402) 557-2440, Email swatts@ops.esu19.k12.ne.us

20-22 November, European Association for International Education, Barcelona. Information Conference Director, EAIE, Van Diemenstraat 344, 1013 CR Amsterdam, The Netherlands; Fax (31) (20) 620-9406; Email eaie@eaie.nl

21-23 November, American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Lan guages, Nashville. Information ACTFL, 6 Executive Plaza, Yonkers, NY 10701-6801; (914) 963-8830, Fax (914) 963-1275, URL http://www.infi.net/~actfl

21-23 November, American Association of Teachers of French, Nashville. Information AATF,57 E.Armory Dr., Champaign, IL 61820; (217) 333-2842, Fax (217) 333-5850, Email fmajatf@vmd.cso.uiuc.edu

21-23 November, American Association of Teachers of Spanish & Portu- guese, Nashville. Information AATSP, Frasier Hall #8, University of Northern Colorado, Greeley, CO 80639; (970) 351-1090, Fax (970) 351-1095, Email seelsandste@bentley.univnorthco.edu

21-23 November, American Association of Teachers of German, Nashville. Information AATG, 112 Haddontowne Court #104, Cherry Hill, NJ 08034; (609) 795-5553, Fax (609) 795-9398, Email 73740.3231@compuserve.com

27-30 December, Modern Language Association of America, Toronto. Information MLA, 10 Astor Place, New York, NY 10003-6981; Fax (212) 477-9863, Email convention@mla.org

27-30 December, American Association of Teachers of Slavic & E. European Languages, Toronto. Information AATSEEL, 1933 N. Fountain Park Dr., Tucson, AZ 85715; Fax (520) 885-2663, Email 76703.2063@compuserve.com

1998

26-28 February, Southern Conference on Language Teaching with Foreign Language Association of Georgia, Savannah. Information Lee Bradley, Valdosta State University, Valdosta, GA 31698; (912) 333-7358, Fax (912) 333-7389, Email Ibradley@grits.valdosta.peachnet.edu

14-17 March, American Association of Applied Linguistics, Seattle. Information AAAL, 7630 West 145th Street, Suite 202, Apple Valley, MN 55124; (612) 953-0805, Fax (612) 891-1800, Email howe@mr.net

17-21 March, Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages, Seattle. Information TESOL, 1600 Cameron St., Suite 300, Alexandria, VA 22314-2751; (703) 836-0774, Fax (703) 836-7864, Email conv@tesol.edu

26-29 March, Central States Conference on the Teaching of Foreign Languages, Milwaukee. Information CSCTFL, Rosalie Cheatham, University of Arkansas-Little Rock, 2801 S. University Avenue, Little Rock, AR 72204; (501) 569-8159, Fax (501) 569-3220, Email rmcheatham@ualr.edu

16-19 April, Northeast Conference on the Teaching of Foreign Languages, New York. Information Northeast Conference, Dickinson College, PO Box 1773, Carlisle, PA 17013-2896; (717) 245-1977, Fax (717) 245-1976, Email neconf@dickinson.edu

24-26 April, Pacific Northwest Council for Languages, Boise. Information PNCFL, Foreign Languages and Literatures, Oregon State University, 210 Kidder Hall, Corvallis, OR 97331-4603; Fax (541) 737-3563, Email verzascr@cla.orst.edu

23-26 July, American Association of Teachers of French, Montreal. Information Jayne Abrate, Executive Director, AATF, Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures, Southern Illinois Univer- sity, Carbondale, IL 62901.

September dates to be announced, International Congress of Slavists, Cracow. Information Robert Rothstein, Department of Slavic Languages, Herter Hall, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA 01003-3940.

27-31 October, Foreign Language Association of North Carolina, location to be announced. Information Mary Lynn Redmond, 6 Sun Oak Court, Greensboro, NC 27410; Fax (910) 759-4591, Email redmond@wfu.edu

20-22 November, American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Lan- guages, Chicago. Information ACTFL, 6 Executive Plaza, Yonkers, NY 10701-6801; (914) 963-8830, Fax (914) 963-1275, URL http://www.infi.net/~actfl

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8-14 March, Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages, New York. Information TESOL, 1600 Cameron St., Suite 300, Alexandria, VA 22314-2751; (703) 836-0774, Fax (703) 836-7864, Email conv@tesol.edu

11-13 March, Southern Conference on Language Teaching, Virginia Beach. Information Lee Bradley, Valdosta State University, Valdosta, GA 31698; (912)333-7358, Fax (912)333-7389, Email lbradley@grits.valdosta.peachnet.edu

7-10 April, Pacific Northwest Council for Languages, Tacoma. Information PNCFL, Foreign Languages and Literatures, Oregon State Univer- sity, 210 Kidder Hall, Corvallis, OR 97331-4603; Fax (541) 737- 3563, Email verzascr@cla.orst.edu

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2001

16-18 November, American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages, Washington, D.C. Information ACTFL, 6 Executive Plaza, Yon kers, NY 10701-6801; (914) 963-8830, Fax (914) 963-1275, URL http://www.infi.net/~actfl

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Information for Contributors

Statement of Purpose

The purpose of Applied Language Learning (ALL) is to increase and promote professional communication within the Defense Foreign Language Program and academic communities. ALL publishes research and review articles, research reports as well as reviews on adult language learning for functional purposes. The editor encourages the submission of research and review manuscripts from such disciplines as: (1) instructional methods and techniques; (2) curriculum and materials development; (3) testing and evaluation; (4) implications and applications of research from related fields such as linguistics, education, communication, psychology, and social sciences; (5) assessment of needs within the profession.

Research Article

Divide your manuscript into the following sections:

- Abstract
- Introduction
- Method
- Results
- Discussion
- Conclusion
- Appendices
- References
- Author

Introduction

In a few paragraphs state the purpose of the study and relate it to the hypothesis and the experimental design. Point out the theoretical implications of the study and relate them to previous work in the area.

Next, under the subsection Literature Review, discuss work that had a direct impact on your study. Cite only research pertinent to a specific issue and avoid references with only tangential or general significance. Emphasize pertinent findings and relevant methodological issues. Provide the logical continuity between previous and present work. Whenever appropriate, treat controversial issues fairly. You may state that certain studies support one conclusion and others challenge or contradict it.

Method

Describe how you conducted the study. Give a brief synopsis of the method. Next develop the subsections pertaining to the participants, the materials, and the procedure.

Participants. Identify the number and type of participants. Specify how they were selected and how many participated in each experiment.

Identify the number of experiment dropouts and the reasons they did not continue.

Provide major demographic characteristic such as age, sex, geographic location, and institutional affiliation. Indicate that the treatment of participants was in accordance with the ethical standard of the APA (Principle 9).

Apparatus. Describe briefly the materials used and their function in the experiment.

Procedure. Describe each step in the conduct of the research. Include the instructions to the participants, the formation of the groups, and the specific experimental manipulations.

Results

Information for Contributors

First state the results. Next describe them in sufficient detail to justify the findings. Mention all relevant results, including those that run counter to the hypothesis.

Tables and figures. Prepare tables to present exact values. Use tables sparingly. Sometimes you can present data more efficiently in a few sentences than in a table. Avoid developing tables for information already presented in other places. Prepare figures to illustrate key interactions, major interdependencies, and general comparisons. Indicate to the reader what to look for in tables and figures.

Discussion

Express your support or nonsupport for the original hypothesis. Next examine, interpret, and qualify the results and draw inferences from them. Do not repeat old statements: Create new statements that further contribute to your position and to readers understanding of it.

Conclusion

Succinctly describe the contribution of the study to the field. State how it has helped to resolve the original problem. Identify conclusions and theoretical implications that can be drawn from your study.

Review Article

It should describe, discuss, and evaluate several publications that fall into a topical category in foreign language education. The relative significance of the publications in the context of teaching realms should be pointed out. A review article should be 15 to 20 double-spaced pages.

Research Report

It should present and discuss data obtained in a research project in the area of foreign language education. A research report should be 5 to 10 double-spaced pages.

Review

Reviews of textbooks, scholarly works on foreign language education, dictionaries, tests, computer software, video tapes, and other non-print materials will be considered for publication. Both positive and negative aspects of the work(s) being considered should be pointed out. The review should give a clear but brief statement of the work's content and a critical assessment of its contribution to the profession. Quotations should be kept short. Reviews that are merely descriptive will not be accepted for publication. The length of the manuscript should be three to five double-spaced pages.

Submission of Manuscripts

All editorial correspondence, including manuscripts for publication should be sent to:

Applied Language Learning ATFL-ALL ATTN: Editor (Dr. L. Woytak) Defense Language Institute Foreign Language Center Presidio of Monterey, CA 93944-5006

Manuscripts are accepted for consideration with the understanding that they are original material and are not being considered for publication elsewhere.

Specifications for Manuscripts

Information for Contributors

All material submitted for publication should conform to the style of the Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association (4th Ed., 1994) available from the American Psychological Association, P. O. Box 2710, Hyattsville, MD 20784. Manuscripts should be typed on one side only on 8-1/2 x 11 inch paper, double-spaced, with ample margins. Subheads should be used at reasonable intervals. Typescripts should typically run from 30 to 50 pages.

All manuscripts should be sent with an author identification, an abstract, a list of references, and, if necessary, notes.

Author Identification. The title of the article and the author's name should be typed on a separate page to ensure anonymity in the review process. Authors should prepare an autobiographical note indicating: full name, position, department, institution, mailing address, and specialization(s). Example follows:

Author

JANE C. DOE, Assistant Professor, Foreign Language Education, University of America, 226 N. Madison St, Madison, WI 55306. Specializations: foreign language acquisition, curriculum studies.

Abstract. An abstract of not more than 200 words should identify the purpose of the article, provide an overview of the content, and suggest findings.

A list of references should be submitted on a separate page of the manuscript with the centered heading: References. The entries should be arranged alphabetically by surname of authors. The sample list of references below illustrates the format for bibliographic entries:

Dulay, H. & Burt, M. (1974). Errors and strategies in child second language acquisition. TESOL Quarterly, 16 (1), 93-95.

Harris, D. P. (1969). Testing English as a second language. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Reference citations in the text of the manuscript should include the name of the author of the work cited, the date of the work, and when quoting, the page numbers on which the materials that are being quoted originally appeared, e.g., (Jones, 1982, pp. 235-238). All works cited in the manuscripts must appear in the list of references, and conversely, all works included in the list of references must be cited in the manuscript.

Notes should be used for substantive information only, and they should be numbered serially throughout the manuscript. They all should be listed on a separate page entitled Notes.

Specifications for Floppy Disks

Where feasible, manuscripts are preferred on Windows-based software. Manuscripts produced on one of the DOS-based or Macintosh systems should be formatted as an ASCII file at double density, if possible.

When mailing a floppy disk, please enclose the following:

- 1. Word processing software used: _____
- 2. Disk is formatted as: double__ high density__
- 3. Remarks:_____

Review Process

Manuscripts will be acknowledged by the editor upon receipt. Following preliminary editorial review, articles will be sent to at least two reviewers whose area of expertise includes the subject of the manuscript. Applied Language Learning uses the blind review system. The names of reviewers will be published in the journal annually.

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