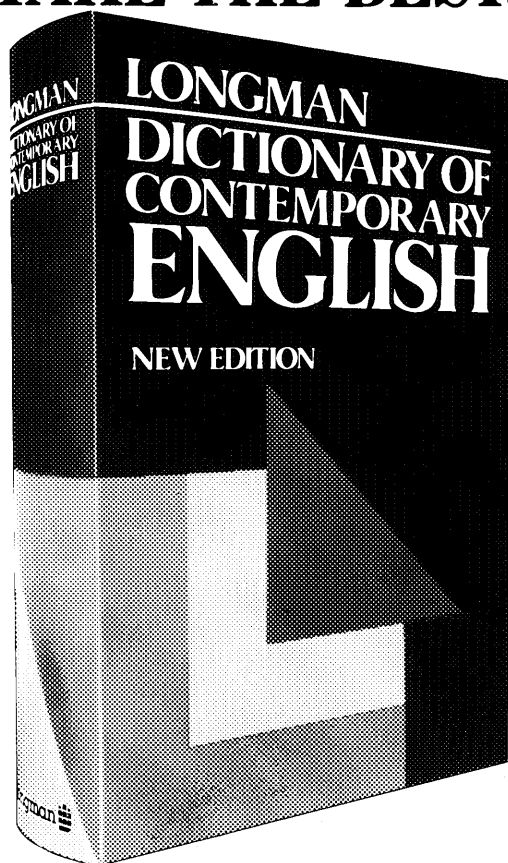# CROSS CURRENTS

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF LANGUAGE TEACHING AND CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION

A Publication of
THE LANGUAGE INSTITUTE OF JAPAN

CROSS 言語
CURRENTS

An International Journal of
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ABOUT THIS ISSUE

This issue of *Cross Currents* marks the beginning of a new era in the history of our journal. As you the reader will have noticed, Vol. XVI, No.1, has a distinctive new graphic layout and Japanese motif, thanks to the magic of desktop publishing. Our familiar "globe and gengo" cover design, which has served us so well in the past, has been supplanted by "the wave," the new symbol of *Cross Currents* for the years to come.

It is perhaps fitting that the keynote article in this newest edition of *Cross Currents* was written by Masahide Shibusawa, the founder of the Language Institute of Japan and author of the first article ever published in *Cross Currents* in 1972. "Twenty Years of LIOJ" is an insightful look at the changing nature of Japan during the past two decades by a man who has been one of the leading figures in the internationalization of modern Japanese society.

"Communication across Cultures" examines this process of internationalization from the point of view of language. Sen Nishiyama, for many years a highly respected simultaneous translator for the Japanese government, provides a fascinating account of linguistic problems that arise as Japanese and Western cultures meet.

In keeping with *Cross Currents'* commitment to English as an International Language, we are pleased to present an article by one of the world's leading authorities in EIL, Braj Kachru. "Teaching World Englishes" establishes a comprehensive list of resources for those who wish to delve into EIL in more detail.

"What English for the Japanese?" approaches the subject of English as an International Language from the Japanese standpoint.

In this article, Emiko Yukawa examines the question of what model of English the Japanese people should adopt.

"Why Can't Taro and Hanako Learn English?" takes us to the other side of the Pacific for a study of Japanese children learning English in American schools. Here, Keiko Samimy discusses many of the socio-cultural factors which influence the L2 learning process for these children.

In "The Placement Test: A Useful or Harmful Tool?", Malinee Chandavimol looks at the implementation of ESL testing procedures at Chulalongkorn University in Bangkok, and gives the reader some insight into the state of English language acquisition in Thailand.

We have two Bright Ideas in this issue of *Cross Currents*. "Simulations and the Integrative Approach to Language Teaching" by Katsuyoshi Sanematsu deals with many of the practical aspects of introducing simulations into the classroom, while "Failed Encounters—Exploiting Failure for Success in the Language Learning Classroom" by Ruth Wajnryb provides a number of original ideas on how to turn failure in language encounters into a pedagogic tool.

Finally, this issue also includes a book review by Eric Herbel of *Early Business Contacts,* published by Prentice Hall International Ltd.

This will also be the last issue for our departing Editor, Roger Davies. We at *Cross Currents* would like to take this opportunity to thank Roger for his hard work and dedication throughout his editorship and wish him well in his future endeavors.

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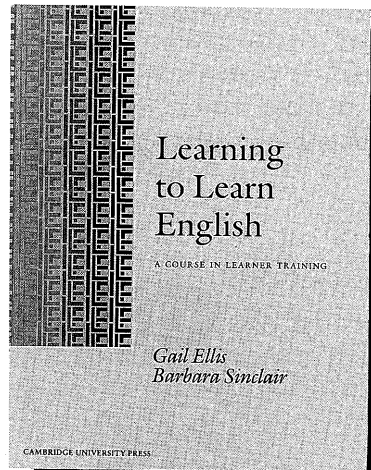
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For further information, contact Harry T. "Terry" Jennings

Twenty Years of LIOJ

Masahide Shibusawa

When the Language Institute of Japan commenced in the spring of 1968, Japan was at the height of its legendary high growth of the 1960s. Recovering at last from the trauma of defeat and destruction of World War II, the country was busy with giant industrial complexes springing up everywhere, changing not only its landscape but also the perception and attitude of its people. Spurred by the resounding success of the government's avowed program of "doubling the national income," a whole range of consumer goods, gadgets, and appliances flooded the country with the surplus spilling over into markets around the world. A quest for the country's role in the world, long buried under the surface, was coming to the fore in the nation's consciousness.

Reflecting this brisk pace of expansion and concomitant internationalization of the country's economy, LIOJ was required, from the very beginning, to cater to the needs of Japanese businessmen, mostly at the mid-management level, who were assigned to positions abroad and sent to the institute by their companies for pre-departure emergency training in language and culture. The institute responded to these needs by developing a "total immersion" and "English-only" residential course for businessmen, which was to become one of the pillars of its program, along with classes for the commuting citizens of Odawara city and its vicinity, as well as the annual summer workshops specially designed for Japanese teachers of English.

It was immediately obvious that, though highly-motivated, intelligent, and well-educated, these businessmen had considerable difficulty in using English to communicate with foreigners. This was in spite of the extensive knowledge of English grammar and vocabulary which they had acquired through intense language instruction, four to six hours a week, given continuously for six to eight years in high schools and colleges. It is an unfortunate rule that language education in schools is not necessarily effective in developing oral skills, not just in Japan, but all over the world. However, this gap between knowledge of the language and ability to communicate was particularly pronounced in Japan, not so much because of a deficiency in the education itself, but because of the peculiar difficulty the Japanese appeared to have in understanding the working pattern of non-Japanese minds.

Such a basic problem in cross-cultural understanding was obviously not in keeping with the way the Japanese were so successful in selling their products abroad, which naturally required an in-depth understanding not only of the rules of supply and demand but also of the psychology of foreign consumers. Nor did it match with the intense interest demonstrated by the Japanese toward foreign cultures throughout their long history. Few countries were as eager to import other people's thoughts and expertise as Japan. The sheer volume of translated materials, from Chinese classics to European literature, from Marxist monographs to the current American bestsellers, available in every bookstore across the country, testifies to the extraordinary commitment of the Japanese to learn from the cultures of the world.

Masahide Shibusawa, founder of the Language Institute of Japan, is Director of MRA Foundation. He is a graduate of Tokyo University and was a Visiting Fellow at the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London, as well as a Fullbright Scholar in international relations at the University of Alaska.

Perhaps one may explain such inconsistency by arguing that, despite its volume and intensity, the pattern of Japan's acculturation was somewhat different from the experience of other countries. For example, being an island nation had long precluded Japan from intimate interaction with other nations as was the norm for countries which shared borders with others. Moreover, the journey across the channel of water which separates Japan from the Eurasian continent was hazardous enough to prevent regular contact. Therefore, unlike the people of the British Isles, whose history was shaped through interaction with the Romans, the Vikings, and the French, who arrived one after the other, Japan's access to continental cultures was primarily through the trickles of immigrants from Korea, or occasional envoys who dared to make the risky and expensive journey to and from China. Even the Mongolian fleets which set out to conquer Japan in 1268 and 1281 were sunk off Kyushu island by the timely visits of typhoons.

A well known anthropologist, Dr. Chie Nakane, argues that Japan's acceptance of foreign culture was carried out essentially by collecting fragments rather than taking it in as a whole. Using the metaphor that Japan took in foreign cultures in words rather than in sentences, she compared Japan's experience with those of other Asian countries which were compelled to take in other people's cultures in toto (in paragraphs), either through foreign invasion or colonial domination.

Perhaps this worked to Japan's advantage in that it was able to take only the portions of foreign culture which were useful for its own purposes, with little or no threat to its traditional identity. However, on the other side of the coin, Japn had to suffer from a "built-in" difficulty in understanding what "made other countries tick," or in realizing the implications

that its own activities might impose on others. This proved to be a fatal deficiency as the country had to live in an increasingly interdependent world. In fact, it was beginning to take a toll in the early 1970s when the impact of Japan's presence began to be felt by its neighbors.

The way Japan was thrown into a state a utter confusion in 1971 in the wake of President Nixon's surprise announcement on the Sino-US rapprochement was a measure of how blind Japan was about the changing political reality in the Asian Pacific region. Perhaps, the Nixon-Kissinger team was overly secretive about its initiative, even to the extent of insulting its allies in the region. However, much to the reason for Japan's fit of confusion lay in its own failure to foresee the imminent shift which the United States was to undertake in its Asia policy, if only to expedite the process of dislodging itself from the prolonged quagmire of the war in Vietnam. Predictably, such ignorance and naivite led to the fall of the government of Mr. Eisaku Sato, which had the longest record of survival in Japan's political history.

Then came the surge of anti-Japanese sentiment throughout Southeast Asia in 1973-74. This was another verdict on Japan's ignorance of the impact which its unrestrained economic expansion was causing to the still fragile socio-economic bases of these countries. Thus, the 1970s turned out for Japan to be a decade of unprecedented shocks and traumas. The most intractable problem which dominated Japan's external relations throughout the 1970s and beyond was the trade dispute with the United States which, beginning with the so-called textile wrangle of 1969-71, was to escalate to steel, TVs, automobiles, etc. As though these were not enough, the oil crisis hit Japan in 1973, pulling the rug from under its avowed

policy of industrial expansion which had been so successful in the previous decade.

LIOJ was at a vantage point for observing these "shocks and traumas" unfolding and tormenting the country through dialogues with its participants, businessmen, teachers, and citizens of Odawara. Despite these difficulties, however, the country's attitude was clearly changing. People suffered much less from inhibition in communicating with foreigners, partly because the level of proficiency in English was rising throughout the nation, and partly because there was a new sense of confidence among the Japanese about the country's performance in general.

Indeed, Japan was not only able to take these difficulties in stride, but it also turned them into blessings in disguise. The Sino-US rapprochement has liberated Japan from the constraints of the cold war, enabling it to build its own network of relations with its Asian neighbors. Likewise, the anti-Japanese fervor of Southeast Asia in 1973-74 turned out to be a precious learning process, sensitizing the industrial sector to the needs and problems of the communities in which they operated. It was instrumental in the establishment of the Japan Foundation, the government's first attempt in the area of philanthropy and cultural exchange. This was followed by many private institutes with the expressed purpose of promoting dialogue and understanding with Asian countries. LIOJ was able to take part by inviting Thai teachers of English to its annual teachers' workshops as well as by offering scholarships to Asian students who wanted to participate in its businessmen's program. Similar offers were later extended to South Korea and, since 1982, to the People's Republic of China.

The trauma of the oil shock was overcome partly by the all out national endeavor for energy conservation and reducing the costs of production, which led to a surge of innovation in the field of engineering, giving Japan a clear competitive edge over its trade partners. Thus, Japan was well prepared to cope with the second round of the oil crisis which descended on the world in 1979, pushing many of the Western economies into serious recession. As a result, Japan's position in the world was greatly reinforced. This was attested to by the fact that it was asked to be a member of the seven power summit which was launched in 1976 as a vehicle for promoting policy coordination among the leading industrial powers of the world.

However, for all its success in the 1970s, Japan was to go through another testing period in the 1980s. First, there were eight years of the Reagan administration, whose economic policy was based on the unique assumption that it could cut taxes, increase military spending, and reduce budget deficits, all at the same time. This led to a renewed strength of the United States, and was doubtlessly one of the factors behind Mr. Gorbachev's bold experiment in Perestroika, which led to a decline of communism and the de facto demise of the cold war.

On the economic front, it accelerated the "globalization" of the US market, escalating its dependence on manufactured imports, and accelerating the transfer of production facilities abroad, with the inevitable result of runaway growth in the nation's debt, reaching a staggering $500 billion by the end of 1988. Predictably, this led to a steady worsening of US trade deficits, causing a serious diequilibrium in the global economy. As though to make matters even worse, commodity prices began to plummet in 1983, including those for food and petroleum, something which was hardly expected in the previous decade when the resource scare was a dominant element in

the economic psychology of the world.

Pressured by the worsening trade imbalance, the Reagan administration shifted its policy emphasis and, collaborating with other industrial economies, initiated an overall exchange rate realignment in 1985. Predictably, the value of the yen appreciated in leaps and bounds, and by the end of 1987, Japan's assets had literally doubled in dollar terms. No economy of Japan's size has ever gone through such a sudden and drastic change in history.

The way Japan was able to overcome terms of trade considerably worsened by the higher yen, with its sheer industrial competitiveness as well as vigorous out-sourcing strategy was highly commendable. Perhaps the magnitude of this success is comparable to the country's high growth in the 1960s, and to the way it had to overcome the impact of the oil crises of the 1970s. As a result, by the end of the 1980s, Japan has emerged as the biggest creditor nation in the world, financing a third of the US treasury debt, with enormous cash flow to support the extensive globalization of its economy as well as as increasingly bigger R&D investment which will assure its survival in the future. Considering that the country was but an apprentice economy only 20 years before, this has indeed been a spectacular achievement.

However, whether the country will be able to overcome the kind of problems with which the nation is currently beset, in a fashion similar to the way it was able to respond to the various shocks and traumas of the past, is still to be seen. The relationship with the United States is being strained to the danger point, partly because of Japan's inability to reduce its trade surplus, and partly because of increasingly vituperative criticism of Japan in the United States, in part a reflection of frustration over the magnitude of its own economic problems. In addition, Japan's political system is showing curious signs of fatigue. The leadership of the Liberal Democratic Party, which has reigned over Japan's spectacular growth process so successfully for the past three decades, appears to be losing its "will to govern" just at the time when its political base is being seriously undermined.

It is unfortunate that Japan has to face such difficulties when it has at last become able to make a substantial contribution to the world. Reflecting the burgeoning power of its economy, there is a growing public acceptance of the fact that the nation should take global responsibility, as shown in the enormous increase in the latest budget outlay for overseas assistance, as well as in its commitment of $1 billion at the conference on the Multilateral Aid Initiative for the Philippines held in Tokyo recently. One can only hope that the current political turmoil will not retract or slow down such commendable trends.

All in all, Japan has come a long way in "internationalizing" itself in the past twenty years. More than eight million people travel abroad every year, while half a million Japanese live outside the country. There is still much to be desired in building proficiency in English. Similarly, the peculiar hesitancy to communicate with foreigners still persists. However, there is little doubt that the "will to learn" is as strong as ever, prevailing in virtually all sectors of society. At the insistent request of Odawara city hall, LIOJ has lately begun to take on a program of language and culture in its public school system.

Clearly, LIOJ faces the need to redefine its program in order to make sure that it can meet Japan's, and Asia's, needs for the 1990s and beyond. It is fortunate that, in addition to the native speaker teachers from North America, the institute has been able to welcome Indians,

Filippinos, Australians, and Chinese from Hong Kong into its faculty. This is quite timely because the institute will surely be called upon in the future to conduct not only US-Japan, but also multilateral cultural interaction.

LIOJ was not conceived just as a place to teach language. It was hoped that the institute would become a place where the teachers, the office staff, and the students could experience growth, personal as well as cultural, through their active involvement in its program. Without such creative intent, it would hardly be able to meet the needs of the future, or survive and thrive in this rapidly changing environment. The institute hopes that, with constant endeavor for regeneration, it will be able to serve the country and the region continuously in the coming years and decades.

MULTILINGUA was first published in 1981. As of 1987, Volume 6, the journal has been reconstituted under a new editorial board redirecting its scope to cross-cultural and interlanguage communication.

MULTILINGUA is an international, interdisciplinary journal aimed at the enhancement of cross-cultural understanding through the study of interlanguage communication. To this end it publishes articles and short notes in fields as diverse as cross-cultural differences in linguistic politeness phenomena, variety in what is traditionally regarded as one culture, conversational styles and the linguistic description of nonstandard, oral varieties of language, strategies for the organization of verbal interaction, intracultural linguistic variety, communication breakdown, translation, information technology, and modern methods for managing and using multilingual tools.

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MULTILINGUA is published in four issues per volume (approx. 448 pages).

Communication across Cultures

Sen Nishiyama

Communication across cultures can cause great confusion and numerous problems even when both parties have the best of intentions. Japan and the United States possess cultures with widely varying standards, patterns of behavior, and ways of thinking. These differences are often reflected in language and must be taken into account when communication takes place.

When we use various words in English, it is assumed that the meanings of these words are based upon the culture and the society of the English-speaking people. But if a Japanese speaker of English uses certain words which have accepted meanings in the English language, s/he may still be basing these meanings on his or her own Japanese culture. For example, let us take a simple word such as *hamlet*. We find that in Japanese it is translated as *sonraku,* and we assume, therefore, when we see the word *sonraku* in Japanese that it refers to a group of houses in some rural area of Japan with people living there all of whom have Japanese faces and who behave like Japanese. The relationships among the families in this particular hamlet are based upon Japanese patterns of behavior, and even just this one small word has in its background quite a different set of conditions from those that would exist for a *hamlet* in the British Isles. Thus, there is this basic problem of the accepted meanings of words in their original language, and the intended meanings of these same words in another language.

Relative vs. Absolute Standards

I would like, therefore, to take up the meaning of one particular word, as an good example of these different sets of conditions mentioned above, as I feel that it relates to what is likely to be a major issue in the not too distant future in terms of trade relations between the United States and Japan. The word is *fair*, or *fairness*. You have read in the newspapers about the recent omnibus trade bill recently passed by the United States Congress. One of the major issues in this trade bill is what they call the Super 301 clause. This clause states that if a trading partner of the United States is found to be conducting trade practices which are deemed to be *unfair*, then the President is authorized to take retaliatory action. Now, what these retaliatory measures are going to be is something that the President is going to have to decide, but it could be almost anything, ranging from quite a large increase in tariffs to the actual prohibition of importation of a particular product. From the American standpoint perhaps it makes good sense, but from the Japanese point of view it sounds as though the Americans are going to claim the arbitrary right to decide what is *fair* and what is *not fair*, that anytime something is inconvenient for them, they will decide that that is *unfair*. Now, if we look up the word *fair* in an English dictionary, it says, "...without prejudice, without discrimination, sex, race, or creed, and conducted in a just manner," and so forth. If you translate all these terms into Japanese and compare them with a Japanese dictionary's definition of the Japanese term for *fairness*, which is either *kousei* or *kouhei*, you find almost exactly the same definition. It

Sen Nishiyama is a highly respected simultaneous translator, having interpreted for American Ambassadors and Japanese Prime Ministers. Mr. Nishiyama also simultaneously translated all the NASA Apollo moon projects for NHK. This paper was presented in somewhat different form at the LIOJ Summer Workshop 1988.

is very easy to assume, therefore, that the Japanese understand the term *fairness* in the same way that Americans do. But I wish to submit here a possible difference in the foundations of interpreting *fairness* which may cause serious difficulties between the two countries. The Japanese people, and very probably most peoples of East Asia, have been influenced greatly by Buddhism and Confucianism. Whether or not people today are actually practicing Buddhists or not, the whole of Japanese culture and life has some very deep roots in Buddhist teachings, and the Japanese language is filled with many, many Buddhist terms. Confucianism and Buddhism teach us that our relations with other people and our relations with society and with nature are based upon a relative connection. In other words, the Japanese standard of *fairness* is a relative standard. Many aspects of behavior here in Japan are based upon what society expects, what other people expect, and how we relate to them. So our standards of behavior are relative. On the other hand, in Western countries, even though there is a lot of consideration given to relations among individuals, the relation of the individual to society, and the individual to nature, the question of whether a particular pattern of behavior is proper or not is usually based upon Judeo-Christian traditions in which there is an absolute. In other words, there is an absolute standard by which people can measure the quality of their behavior and the quality of their lives. And so, while of course Americans are concerned about what their neighbors think of them and how well they're going to get along with their friends, the environment, the community, and so forth, nevertheless, their basic guide is based upon a monotheistic philosophy, whether it be Judaism, Christianity, or Islam. There is a basic, absolute standard. So, if we try to consider

from that standpoint how an American might define *fairness*, whether a thing is *fair* or not, it is very likely that that American would be quite influenced by what would be right in the eyes of God. Not in the eyes of society, but in the eyes of God.

I'll give you an interesting example of this contrast between the Japanese and American attitudes towards what is considered right. There is an ongoing trend study that is being carried out by the Japanese Institute of Statistical Mathematics. This study is based upon a standard questionnaire in which there are many questions asked that impinge upon the customs and the mores of the Japanese people. The first nationwide survey was conducted in 1953 and has been continued every five years in essentially the same way. One of the questions that was asked, if I may paraphrase, was, "If you are selecting a course of action, which do you think is better..., going ahead and doing what you think is right, even though it is against custom, or do you think it is better to follow custom?" In 1983, 30% of Japanese said that they would do what they thought was right, 40% said that they would follow custom, and close to 30% said that it depends on the case. Now these are very typical Japanese attitudes, never "yes" or "no," but somewhere in between. In 1978, the same question was asked in the United States. Here, some 75% said that they would do what is right even if it were against custom, only about 10-15% said that they would follow custom, and only about 5% said that it depends upon the case. In other words, Americans are much more likely to do what they think is right regardless of what the community thinks. This also reflects the individualistic attitude of Americans. The results show that Americans, and probably Europeans too, make decisions on what they feel is right as a result of certain moral principles that

are based on an absolute concept, which probably finds its roots in the scriptures or various teachings in Judaism or Christianity. In Japan, on the other hand, since the relationships among individuals and with society are emphasized, and a great deal of importance is placed on the harmony that must be maintained in society, the responses to questions of this type tend to be more vague.

So, when one considers these differences, one must ask, when Americans say that something is *fair*, what are they really basing their standards on? And when Japanese think that something is *fair*, what are they basing their standards on? And I would submit that if the Japanese continue to base their assumptions of *fairness* on their own standards and Americans do the same, we're going to have some trouble. And that trouble may just might turn out to be very serious unless the President makes some very wise decisions on certain things.

Patterns of Behavior

The Toshiba incident is an example of a very serious difference between cultures. It was revealed in actual fact that Soviet submarines became more silent a few years before Toshiba exported their technology to the Russians. And while this technology may have contributed to further silencing the propellers of Soviet submarines, it was not really a main cause. But, nevertheless, this was in violation of the Cocom Agreement. There is no denying that. The parent company, Toshiba, owns about half of Toshiba Machinery, the subsidiary company which exported the machines. Toshiba Machinery has its own autonomous management and made these decisions quite independently from the parent company. Nevertheless, the Chairman and President of the parent company resigned and

expressed an apology for their, let us say, stepson, who had done something wrong. This is very typical of a Japanese pattern of behavior—the taking of joint responsibility. When the Japanese people saw the apology published and saw the resignation of the top management, their reaction was that they did an honorable thing. There was a great deal of sympathy for the Chairman and the President. The Japanese press treated all this in a very sympathetic way, and in fact, I think that the reliability and trust that the Japanese public has in Toshiba actually increased. However, it had exactly the reverse effect in the United States. The fact that the Chairman and President resigned was taken as proof that they were in on the crime.

This Toshiba case is a very significant example of a problem in communication, not only verbal, but behavioral communication. In the United States Toshiba also published a full page ad apologizing for their subsidiary company. In the ad itself, they said that although Toshiba had nothing to do with the Cocom violation, they nevertheless felt responsible. For most Americans that doesn't make good sense. They would feel that if Toshiba apologizes to the American people, it proves that they are at fault, so in fact, the ad had a very negative effect. What should have been done in the United States? One possibility would have been to claim absolute innocence and explain why—i.e., we had nothing to do with the crime, we deplore the crime, punitive measures are being taken, etc. However, if they had done that, the Japanese people would have lost trust in Toshiba because they were making excuses and refusing to take the blame. You have two different approaches in the interpretation of a particular act that are almost diametrically opposite, so it is a very serious dilemma.

Here is another example. When a Japanese student in Paris murdered a college girl, and this particular Japanese student was unbalanced, the student's father resigned from his company as President of that company to take responsibility for what his son did. When a young American shot President Reagan just outside a hotel in Washington, D.C. and seriously injured his press attache, what did the father do? The father hired some of the most expensive lawyers he could find to protect his son in court. A completely different way of taking responsibility! I don't know whether the father apologized to President Reagan, but he probably did not. Again, that young man was mentally unbalanced, but the father did not take responsibility in the same way that the Japanese father did. And I think that this difference in the pattern of behavior is rooted in some quite different ideas of what is right and wrong.

Figures of Speech

Another simple example of confusion that can exist in bilingual communication is based upon folklore. Many years ago there was a nationwide survey conducted in the United States about Japan. On this particular occasion, a question was asked about what animal came to mind when thinking about Japan. The largest number of respondents chose the fox. And, of course the Japanese were shocked, and there were all kinds of comments in the Japanese press about how we were being compared to foxes by the Americans. I was working in the American embassy at the time so and I had some suspicions about the Japanese interpretation of the English word *fox*. I asked a number of Americans if they thought the fox had a good or bad image, and most of them told me that it is much more positive than negative. They added that, of

course, if you wish to stretch the point, if a person is a fox you've got to watch out for him because he'll outdo you or he'll be smarter than you. So, in general, the image of a fox was somewhat complimentary to the Japanese. It was certainly more complimentary than the Japanese image of *kitsune* because in Japanese folklore, a fox is an animal that is able to change its form into a beautiful girl and play tricks on some innocent farmer. And in Japanese fairy tales, the sympathy is with the poor farmer, who is constantly being fooled by the fox. In other words, if you define the word *fox* in both English and Japanese, you find very similar characteristics. The fox is considered a very sly, cunning, and intelligent animal. So both the Japanese and English descriptions seem to agree. But, in fact, the term *fox* gives a very different impression in each language. So, when figures of speech are used, this difference in meaning between languages must be taken into account. And this is certainly one of the problems in bilingual communication. We must always be very careful about, and be willing to understand, how the other side thinks.

Patterns of Thought

Another factor in this question of bilingual communication is that of thought order. We often talk about the reverse word order of Japanese as compared with English. And, of course, word order itself undoubtedly has an influence on how we think about certain things as we verbalize them or express them in a particular language. If I have forgotten my notes, let us say, in the office upstairs on the desk or on the table in the sitting area and I want to mention this in the English language, I would say, "Well, I'm sorry but I forgot my notes on the table in the sitting area in the office upstairs." In Japanese, on the other hand, I would say, "Upstairs office sitting area

table on top notes I forgot." This is almost exactly the opposite order of presentation. So, when a Japanese person starts speaking in English, even if s/he is very fluent in English, s/he may think these images in the same order as in the Japanese language, and then based on that, start expressing these images in English. And even though s/he uses correct grammar and proper English word order, as far as the thoughts are concerned, the order of these thoughts may be the same as when s/he is speaking Japanese.

I was once watching a Trans-Pacific discussion between several Japanese leaders here in Japan and their American counterparts in Washington D.C. They were talking about trade issues in English and a question was directed by one of the American senators to a Japanese political leader who spoke fluent English. The senator said,"I would like to ask about the effect of the high value of the yen against the dollar, this great change in currency exchange rates that has been taking place over the last month. How much has this change in currency rates affected your exports?" And the Japanese leader, speaking fluent English, began by saying, "Our policy is a policy of free trade and under the conditions of free trade we intend to continue our exports and continue our imports." And he made quite a lengthy speech on the whole philosophy of free trade that had nothing to do with exchange rates, until finally at the end, it sounded as though he was implying that with the kind of effort the Japanese were putting into it, even this change in exchange rates was eventually not going to effect Japanese exports too much. But, of course, he didn't say this directly. The image of the senator came on the screen too, and he looked very puzzled because he wasn't quite sure whether the gentleman in Tokyo completely understood the question. The

answer the American expected to the question, "How has the change in exchange rates affected your exports?" was either, "Well, it hasn't affected it at all", or, "It has damaged our exports by a certain percentage." Whatever the response, he wanted a clear answer, which of course he didn't get. Later, I tried in my own mind to translate what was said into Japanese and, in fact, to me, using Japanese thought patterns, it all sounded very natural. But at the time, because I was listening to him in English, it sounded rather unnatural to me also.

So, in negotiations between Japan and America it is very important for Japanese to keep in mind the communicating style and the order of thought that is to be presented to the other side when speaking in English. If Americans are speaking in Japanese, they had better be very careful that they express things in the way that Japanese expect, because if they use a pattern of thought that is typically English when speaking Japanese, it could well sound abrasive or even insulting to Japanese, even if that was not the speaker's intent.

Formulaic Expressions
Another difference between English and Japanese has to do with formulaic expressions or "pat phrases." The Japanese language has a great many pat phrases and most of them are expressions of appreciation. For each situation and person, there is usually a pat phrase that expresses appreciation for that condition, or expresses recognition of that condition. Every day we use hundreds of these formulaic expressions. If we don't make use of these pat phrases we are considered uncultured, rude, or at the very least, odd. So the normal expectation is that for every situation that we come across, there is a particular phrase that we can use. But now if we shift into English, there are

many pat phrases in the English language also. Japanese students studying English often learn many of these pat phrases because they are simple and they can pick them up quickly. But if the Japanese uses *only* these pat phrases for a variety of situations, the usual attitude of the native speaker of English is that this person is really not very creative. The person is really not using his or her imagination to express a particular thought adequately. In the English language it is necessary to identify clearly what the situation is and what the appreciation to be expressed is about.

As an example, one cannot merely say "thank you" as an expression of appreciation to a friend you happen across who is working very hard and sweating in the hot sun. He's not doing it for you, so you can't thank him for it. But you want to express some kind of pat phrase that expresses the appreciation that he is working so hard. Of course, in Japanese there are all kinds of ways. You can say "gokoro sama," "taihen desu ne," "otsukara sama," etc. But in English, the only thing you could possibly say would be, "Well, my friend, I see you're sweating it out and I sure sympathize with you, sweating it out like that, but I'm sure glad I'm not in your shoes," or something like that. At least you would recognize the fact that he was working hard, but you would have to tell him exactly what it was you were trying to say. In one sense, it is much more complicated to try to do this in the English language than it is in Japanese. So in the one language, the use of pat phrases shows that you are equipped with the proper etiquette. In the other language, the use of pat phrases can make a person assume that that speaker does not have much originality, is not very creative.

International Integration

Finally, I would like to suggest that the economies of the world are becoming very rapidly integrated internationally. For example, let us look at just one sector of the economy in Japan and the United States, the automobile industry. Just a few years ago there was some very serious trade friction centering on the issue of automobiles, and Americans were blaming the Japanese for being unfair. They said the Japanese were overexporting their cars to the United States and flooding the American market and running the American automobile manufacturers out of business. There was a tremendous amount of confrontation and hard feeling. But after that round of controversy worked itself out, the Japanese voluntarily restricted the number of cars exported to the United States and American automobile manufacturers began to retool and redesign their cars. And as things began to turn around, the Americans began to say, "Well, if you can't beat 'em, join 'em." Now, the Ford Motor Company owns about 25% of Mazda, and Chrysler and Mitsubishi are tied together in a similar way. The major automobile manufacturers in the United States and Japan now have joint ventures, interlocking technical exchange agreements, manufacturing agreements, and so on. The two industries are so well knitted together that there is just no way that there will be any parting. The head of the Ford Motor Company in Japan, an American, once said to me that we are now so mutually interdependent on each other in the automobile industry that we are just one company working closely together, and that more and more, we are going to see areas in which problems will be ironed out by the businessmen themselves.

The confrontations in the semi-conductor industry is another example where many close relationships are being built. And once again, there will be points of friction, but there will

also be some strong, important areas of agreement. The economies of our different countries are becoming integrated, but as this happens, there is an increased diversification of culture. The Japanese way of doing things is being studied by Americans. The American way of doing things is being studied by Japanese. Lifestyles on both sides of the Pacific being examined and exchanged. And this, I believe, enriches both our cultures. Japan has been greatly strengthened by the cultural input that has come from China, Korea, the United States and Europe, and other parts of the world.

And one can say the same about the West. The input from Oriental culture into the West has made a large contribution to the cultural enrichment of these countries.

Conclusion

Finally, I would simply like to say is this....If only politicians would stay out of these problems, keep their mouths shut, and leave intercultural relations to the people who know them best in the business world, then I think we would have a much more peaceful world.

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Editor: **ROY HARRIS**, *Department of English Studies and Comparative Literature, University of Hong Kong, Pokfulam Road, Hong Kong*

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Teaching World Englishes

Braj B. Kachru

The present international status of English is rightly justified on the basis of the numerical strength of its speakers; the cross-cultural and localized functional range the language has developed in various domains; the excellence of its literary traditions; and the dominance of the the language in trade, commerce, banking, tourism, technology, and scientific research. But this is not the whole story about the diffusion of English.[1]

What draws an increasing number of people in the remote parts of the world to the study of English is the social attitude toward the language. It is, therefore, understandable why the most fundamentalist and anti-Western governments (e.g., Libya and Iran) consider it advantageous to use English in their rhetoric for presenting their points of view before the world. And it is not surprising that most anti-English movements in Asia and Africa use English as the medium to whip-up anti-English feelings. And, even those who are prominent in anti-English movements are pragmatically very sensible parents: They see to it that their children receive excellent education in English medium schools. After all, English has power and they want their children to be equipped with this powerful linguistic tool (Kachru 1986a).

However, this cross-cultural functional range of English is very rarely used, to demonstrate the *internationalization* of the language: Its acculturation in contexts which have resulted in new contours of the language and literature in linguistic innovations, in literary creativity, and in the expansion of the cultural identities of the language. The implications of

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[1] A shorter version of this paper has appeared in ERIC/CLL News Bulletin, Vol. 12, No. 1, 1988.

"INNER CIRCLE"

U.S.A.	234,249,000
U.K.	56,124,000
Canada	24,907,000
Australia	15,265,000
New Zealand	2,203,000

"OUTER (OR EXTENDED) CIRCLE"

Bangladesh	94,651,000
Ghana	12,243,800
India	696,000,000
Kenya	17,850,000
Malaysia	14,995,000
Nigeria	89,117,500
Pakistan	88,220,000
Phillipines	50,926,000
Singapore	2,502,000
Sri Lanka	15,169,000
Tanzania	19,738,000
Zambia	6,346,000

"EXPANDING CIRCLE"

China	1,015,410,000
Egypt	5,650,000
Indonesia	151,720,000
Israel	4,103,000
Japan	119,420,000
Korea	39,331,000
Nepal	15,769,000
Saudi Arabia	9,118,000
Taiwan	18,590,000
U.S.S.R.	271,200,000
Zimbabwe	7,539,000

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the internationalization of English have yet to reflect in the curricula of teacher training programs, in the methodology of teaching, in understanding the sociolinguistic profile of the language and in cross-cultural awareness.

The current sociolinguistic profile of English may be viewed in terms of three concentric circles as outlined on the previous page.

These circles represent the types of spread, the patterns of acquisition, and the functional allocation of English in diverse cultural contexts.[2] The INNER CIRCLE refers to the traditional cultural and linguistic bases of English. The OUTER CIRCLE represents the institutional-of the users of English (i.e., 700 million), about 57 percent are non-native users (Strevens 1982). The optimistic figure of two billion users, of course, increases this percentage significantly (Crystal 1985). However, the term "users" is rather tricky, particularly in the non-native context. The vagueness of its use is somewhat reduced by restricting it to "educated speakers" though by the use of that term too we are opening a can of worms; we will not go into that digression here. The result of this spread is that formally and functionally English now has multi-cultural identities. The term "English" does not capture this sociolinguistic reality; the term "Englishes" does.

Why, then, are the implications of this sociolinguistic reality not recognized? The answer to this question is rather complex. It involves issues of attitude, of power and politics, and of history and economics. These attitudes are nurtured by numerous fallacies about the users and uses of English across cultures. I shall briefly discuss six of these

fallacies here.

Six Fallacies about the Users and Uses of English

The fallacies are of several types: some based on unverified hypotheses, some based on partially valid hypotheses, and some due to ignorance of facts.

Fallacy 1: That in the Outer and Expanding Circles, English is essentially learnt to interact with the native speakers of the language. This, of course, is only partially true (e.g., Smith ed.1983; Kachru 1988a and 1988b). The reality is that in its localized varieties, English has become the main vehicle for interaction among its non-native users, with distinct linguistic and cultural backgrounds — Indians interacting with Nigerians, Japanese with Sri Lankans, Germans with Singaporeans, and so on. In such interactions, the *English* English, or *American* English conventions of language use are not only not relevant, these may be considered inappropriate by the interlocutors. The culture bound localized strategies of, for example, politeness, persuasion, and phatic communion "transcreated" in English are more effective and culturally significant (Kachru 1981).

Fallacy 2: That English is necessarily learnt as a tool to understand and teach the American or British cultural values, or what is generally termed the Judeo-Christian traditions. This is again true only in a very restricted sense. In the pluralistic regions of the Outer Circle, English is used as an important tool to impart *local* traditions and cultural values. A significant number of linguistic innovations in English reflect such local culture, and sociopolitical contexts (for references, see Kachru 1986b).

Why is English used for such local inte-

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[2] Countries such as South Africa and Jamaica are difficult to place within the circles. In terms of the English-using populations and the functions of English, their situation is rather complex.

grative roles? Several reasons come to mind, eg., the neutrality of English in relation to competing local and national languages and the pan-national uses of English in multilingual contexts. In many regions of the Outer Circle, English is the only language which cuts across languages and national boundaries. And in its localized variety, English is the language of higher education, pan-regional administration, national and international business, a link language for the defense network, the media, and a language for literary creativity.

Fallacy 3: That the goal of learning and teaching English is to adopt the native models of English (eg., the Received Pronunciation, or General American; see, e.g., Quirk 1988). This claim has no empirical validity. The Inner Circle is a "model provider" in a very marginal sense. In the Outer Circle, the local model has been institutionalized, and the educated varieties of such models have always been used in the classroom, in various interactional contexts by the administrators, politicians, educators, and by the legal experts. True, there is schizophrenia about the perceived model and actual linguistic behavior, but this is an issue of linguistic attitude. The concept "native speaker" is not always a valid yardstick for the global uses of English (Christopherson 1988 and Kachru 1988a and 1988b).

Fallacy 4: That the international non-native varieties of English are essentially "interlanguages" striving to achieve "native-like" character. This hypothesis has several limitations as has been shown, for example, by Sridhar and Sridhar (1986) and Nelson (1988). Whatever the validity of this hypothesis in second language acquisition in general, its application to the institutionalized varieties of English in the Outer Circle needs reevaluation.

Fallacy 5: That the native speakers of English as teachers, academic administrators, and material developers provide a serious input in the global teaching of English, in policy formation, and in determining the channels for the spread of the language. In reality, the native speakers have an insignificant role in the global spread and teaching of English.

Fallacy 6: That the diversity and variation in English is necessarily an indicator of linguistic decay. That restricting the decay is the responsibility of the native scholars of English and ESL programs. This fallacy has resulted in the position that "deviation" at any level from the native norm is an "error." This view ignores the functional appropriateness of language in sociolinguistic contexts distinctly different from the Inner Circle.

The list does not end here. These six fallacies are just illustrative. For further discussion on theoretical, methodological, formal, functional, and attitudinal fallacies, see Kachru, 1987a.

English in the Real World

In the Outer Circle the varieties of English have their own local histories, literary traditions, pragmatic contexts, and communicative norms. Functionally, these varieties are first *African, South Asian,* and *Southeast Asian,* and only in a secondary sense are they international. And in their international functions these varieties are used only by a small segment of the total English-using populations.

The multiple identities of English have given a new direction to the English language and literature. This has happened in many important and lasting ways. For example, in the expansion of the canon. The reference points, and underlying cultural and literary assumptions are no more exclusively Judeo-

Christian. There is a larger set of reference points, historical, cultural, mythological, and literary. And these come from diverse cultures of, for example, South Asia, Southeast Asia, and West Africa. It is in this interesting sense that English is an *international* language. These assimilative and creative aspects of English have yet to be fully recognized. In fact, English has become an international language in a much more serious sense than the conventional use of the term "international language" implies (see Kachru 1987b). What way of life does English represent? I do not believe that the profession has in a serious sense attempted to answer this question. It is evident that English does not represent one or two ways of life, but multiple ways of life. And therein lies its strength. The evidence of this is in the way English is used in the "new literatures", in English newspapers and in function-specific varieties of English (ESP's) developed in India, Nigeria, Singapore, and the Philippines, to give just four examples (see Kachru 1986c).

Why Teach World Englishes?

The reasons for teaching world Englishes are abundant. The changing sociolinguistic profile of English has been responsible for slaughtering many sacred linuistic cows (see Kachru 1988a and 1988b). The process of the slaughter and its implications deserve the serious attention of scholars, particularly in ESL-related fields.

But there is more to it. The global uses of English, in linguistically, culturally, and economically diverse contexts, has provided refreshing new data and new insights in several interdisciplinary areas of research including the following:
1. Language acquisition (e.g., Sridhar and Sridhar 1986); 2. Cross-cultural discourse (e.g., Smith ed. 1981 and 1987; Kachru 1981

and 1982 ed.; Y. Kachru 1985 and 1987); 3. Bilingual's creativity (Kachru 1983a); 4. Language contact and convergence (for references see Kachru 1986b); 5. Language attitudes (e.g., see Smith ed. 1983); and 6. Lexicography (e.g., Kachru 1983b).

What we need to do is to look at the facts squarely in the face. One must address questions which will contribute toward understanding the sociolinguistic and other factors in a global context, questions such as the following: 1. What are the underlying dynamic forces which characterize the spread of English? 2. What are the functional domains assigned to English in various multilingual and multicultural societies, and their implications for the language? 3. What are the processes and implications of the nativization of English, and Englishization of local languages? 4. What are the contexts in which English is taught and what type of personnel are staffing ESL/EFL programs? 5. What are the attitudes of learners, teachers, and users of English toward their own and other varieties and subvarieties (eg., Nigerian Pidgin, basilect, mixed varieties)? 6. What role does the Inner Circle play in the present spread of English and in its codification? and 7. What are the ways in which the non-native literatures in English (eg., African, Asian) can be used as a resource for cross-cultural awareness and for understanding linguistic creativity and innovations (Kachru 1986d and Thumboo 1988)?

World Englishes in the Classroom

Now we come to the vital question: How can a teacher initiate a paradigm shift—attitudinally and methodologically—in the classroom? There is, of course, no unique answer to the question since much depends on the level of the class and the specific goals for teaching. The following points deserve atten-

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tion, particularly for training professionals and for teaching advanced students:

1. *Sociolinguistic profile*: An overview of English in its world context with discussion of selected major varieties, their users and uses. A clear distinction to be made between the use of English in a monolingual society, as opposed to a multilingual society; and its implications (e.g., mixing, switching).

2. *Variety exposure*: An exposition of the repertoire of major varieties of English, native and non-native: Their uses and users, specific texts related to various interactional contexts, shared and non-shared features at different linguistic levels.

3. *Attitudinal neutrality*: For teaching purposes, one might focus on one specific variety, and, at the same time emphasize awareness and functional validity of other varieties.

4. *Range of uses*: The functional appropriateness of the lectal range of varieties within a specific variety (e.g., from educated varieties to the pidgins and basilects).

5. *Contrastive pragmatics*: The relationships of discoursal and stylistic innovations and relationships to the local conventions of culture (e.g., strategies used for persuasion, phatic communion, apologies, condolences, and regrets).

6. *Multidimensionality of functions*: The linguistic implications of the functional range, as in, for example, the media, in literary creativity, in administration, in the legal system.

Resources for Teaching World Englishes

There still are limited resources for teaching world Englishes. A serious impetus for providing a research direction in areas related to world Englishes came in the 1970's. It was in 1978 that two conferences were independently organized on English across-cultures: one at the East-West Center, Honolulu, Ha-

waii, and the other at the University of Illinois at Urbana. These conferences proved seminal and provided a cross-cultural perspective about the dimensions of English. The Honolulu conference resulted in Smith ed.1981 and the Urbana conference in Kachru ed. 1982.

The following is a partial list of materials for background reading:

1. *Bibliographies*: Viereck, Schneider and Gorlach 1984.

2. *General Surveys*: Bailey and Gorlach eds.1982; Fishman et al. 1977; Greenbaum ed.1985; Kachru ed.1982 and 1986a; Lowenberg ed.1988; McCrum et al. 1987; Noss ed. 1983; Platt et al. 1984; Pride ed. 1982; Quirk and Widdowson eds. 1985; Smith ed. 1981 and 1983.

3. *Issue-Oriented Studies*:

    a. *Models* (selected chapters and relevant references): Kachru ed1982 and 1986a.

    b. *Intelligibility*: Kachru ed. 1982 (chapter 4); Smith and Nelson 1985; Smith ed. 1981.

    c. *Sociolinguistic Issues*: Kachru 1986b and 1988; Quirk 1988; K. Sridhar 1986.

4. *Literature in English*: Kachru ed. 1982 (chapters 18, 19, and 20 for references) and 1986d; King 1979; Narasimhaiah ed.1978; Taiwo 1976; Thumboo 1988.

5. *Discourse Strategies and Nativization*: Smith ed. 1981 and 1987; Kachru 1983a; see also relevant chapters in *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* (Cambridge University Press)1982.

6. *Journals*: There are now several journals specifically devoted to English in the world contexts: *English World-Wide: A Journal of Varieties of English* (1980-); *World Englishes: Journal of English as an International and Intranational Language* (1985-); and *English Today* (1985-).

Conclusion

The teaching of world Englishes is not only academically challenging, but also opens new refreshing avenues for cross-cultural theoretical and applied research. What is needed is a shift of two types: A paradigm shift in research and teaching, and an understanding of the sociolinguistic reality of the uses and users of English. We must also cease to view English within the framework appropriate to monolingual societies. We must recognize the linguistic, cultural, and pragmatic implications of various types of pluralism: That pluralism has now become an integral part of the English language and literatures written in English in various parts of the non-Western world. The traditional presuppositions and ethnocentric approaches need reevaluation. In the international contexts, English represents a repertoire of cultures, not a monolithic culture. The changed sociolinguistic profile of English is naturally, difficult to recognize. And there is a reason for it: The traditional paradigm based on the fallacies discussed above, however undesirable it is, continues to have a grip on the profession. What makes things more complex is that there are active interest groups which want to maintain the status quo. Let us hope that such attitudes can not continue for too long and that eventually the sociolinguistic reality and pragmatism will prevail.

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WORLD ENGLISHES

Journal of English as an International and Intranational Language

World Englishes (WE) is devoted to the study of global varieties of English in their distinctive cultural and sociolinguistic contexts. The journal recognizes that English belongs to all who use it and is unique in that it provides an international outlook on three areas of research:
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WE is aimed at students, researchers and teachers, and is integrative in its approach to the study and teaching of English language and literature. The primary concern in the sphere of literature is with 'non-native' literatures in English.

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A Selection of Papers

R MESTHRIE (South Africa), Toward a lexicon of South African Indian English.
L B BREITBORDE (USA), The persistence of English in Liberia: sociolinguistic factors.
J FRANK (USA), Miscommunication across cultures: the case of marketing in Indian English.
M BERNS (USA), The cultural and linguistic context of English in West Germany.
P STREVENS (UK), Learning English better through more effective teaching: six postulates for a model of language learning/teaching.
W GRABE (USA), English information access and technology transfer: a rationale for English as an international language.

Subscription Information

What English for the Japanese?

Emiko Yukawa

The stress on studying English has been growing steadily in Japan. Owing to improvement in teaching techniques and the increasing opportunities to visit English-speaking countries, many Japanese have successfully gained a good command of English, not only in its written form but in speaking. This paper addresses the issue of what is desirable English as the goal of language learning in Japan.

There seem to be two main problems in how the Japanese learn English which prevent them from becoming competent communicators. One of these problems is related to the sample models that have been used in the Japanese English classrooms.

Historically speaking, Japanese learners of English have been using two English varieties as models in their studies: Standard British English (or BBC English) before World War II, and Standard American English after that. The term "variety" is used here to denote all the various Englishes, both in native English-speaking countries and internationally. The term "dialect" has been avoided because it sometimes has a connotation of incorrectness or deviance. As well, there is no distinct line between a language and a dialect.

It seems that there is still a strong feeling among Japanese learners of English that they have to sound exactly like Americans or British people to have themselves recognized as good speakers of English. Many of them, especially intermediate or advanced learners, even think that acquiring entire communication patterns, mannerisms, and ways of thinking of the people of either nationality is necessary to be a good speaker of English. The writer of the following essay, a Japanese who studied English in California and was then in an intensive pre-university program in Hawaii, is a good example of such learners:

> I just don't know what to do right now. I might have been wrong since I began to learn English.... When I got to California, I started imitating Americans and picked words that I heard. So my English became just like Americans.... I got California English including intonation, pronunciation, the way they act, which are not mine. I have to have my own English, be myself when I speak English...I talked to the girls in my dormitory very seriously. They said they talked about me so badly whenever I spoke English, it sounded funny, phony, not natural...whatever to them.   (Preston 1981:105)

The writer of this article was struggling with the negative reactions of her American friends to the Americanness of her English and the way she spoke it. Although she is an extreme case, there are many Japanese who view either American or British English as the only desirable goal and try to approximate their English and communication patterns to one of these two peoples.

The other problem of Japanese learners of English frequently accompanies the one we have just seen. It is what I call "perfectionism." Even those who are obviously advanced learners still think that they speak "poor English." No matter how effectively they can communicate, they think their English is not good because it has a strong non-native accent, or they failed to use idiomatic expressions that a native speaker would have used at a certain moment of the conversation; i.e., because their English is not perfectly native-like.

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A famous newscaster, Mr. Isomura of NHK does not seem to be free from such perfectionism, at least in the excerpt below. This is taken from a televised interview with Prime Minister Thatcher (NHK 1983:8):

> *Mr. Isomura* (right after thanking Mrs. Thatcher for being interviewed): However, there is a famous saying on Japanese by an eminent Japanologist, former United States Ambassador to Japan, Professor Reischauer. He wrote that he could recall only two or three Japanese leaders with whom he could talk easily in English, more than the weather and golf scores. What is your comment on this remark?
> *Mrs. Thatcher* (not hiding her bewilderment at this unexpected and rather out-of-place question): I have not found that at all....
> *Mr. Isomura* (not being satisfied with her denial, continues): Well, thank you very much. Our English is not perfect....
> *Mrs. Thatcher*: Mine isn't either.
> *Mr. Isomura*: So please forgive us at the outset. And turning to more serious questions....

Mr. Isomura is noted to be one of the best speakers of English among Japanese journalists. Yet, he is apologizing for not being able to speak "perfect" English.

This obsession with "perfect" English can be observed among many teachers of English, too. I have heard many Japanese teachers apologize for their "poor English" and then state their opinions fluently and convincingly. Generally speaking, this "perfectionism" shuts up intermediate learners because of the fear of making mistakes and even advanced learners think negatively about their English. In this way the "perfectionism" in Japan is not productive and can even be said to be harmful.

Japanese Attitudes towards Language Learning

I suspect that the worship of American and British English (hereafter referred to as A/B English) and perfectionism are the results of the mostly monolingual history of Japan. Japan was always a monolingual country except during the Nara and Heian periods, when educated people spoke in Chinese for official purposes. In other words, Japanese almost never used foreign languages as a means of daily communication. However, multilingualism is the norm in the world today (see Mclaughlin 1985 for a report on multilingualism in the world). People in many multilingual countries use one language for a specific purpose (e.g., schooling) and another for a different function (e.g., communication with the elderly in the community) and so on. Japanese people, however, have rarely used foreign languages in this way.

The majority of Japanese study English as an academic subject, not as a means of communication. Some even consider studying spoken English as an "in" passtime or as a status symbol (see Lummis 1977 for a detailed discussion). This is why many Japanese speakers of English do not pay due attention to whether their English serves a particular communicative purpose or not. Rather, they seem to be obsessed with how good their English is, i.e., how native-like their pronunciation, grammar, and choice of words are.

Englishes in the World

Another reason why the Japanese suffer from the two aforementioned maladies seems to be a lack of awareness of the state of the Englishes spoken in the world. If you are learning a language which is spoken intranationally only in one country and if you use the language solely with the native speakers in this country (e.g., learning Thai and using it in Thailand to communicate with Thai people), being able to speak the language like its native

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speakers can be a handy and favorably accepted skill. But in the case of English, the issue is not so simple, because English has many publically acknowledged varieties in the world and each variety is spoken by people who have their own culture and communication patterns. In other words, every such national speaks his or her own "English," which is in many ways different from other varieties of English spoken in other parts of the world. Therefore, it is wrong to assume that English is the mother tongue of only British and American people and that their varieties of English are all that matters in our study of English.

A brief look at how many people speak these "Englishes" in the world and how different these Englishes are from one another is in order. It is said that there are about 750 million proficient English speakers in the world (McCrum et al. 1987). This figure includes about 350 million people who speak English as a native language, such as the ones in the U.S., U.K., Australia, New Zealand, and Canada. The other 400 million people live in those countries in which English is used as one of their national languages and is used not only internationally but intranationally as well. India, Nigeria, Kenya, South Africa, the Philippines, Ghana, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka are examples. These countries had been colonized either by Great Britain or the United States, and after the colonizer's departure, they continued to use English as one of their languages. English became paramount among other native languages spoken in such countries because it was more or less "neutral" and was considered suitable for the integrity of the nation. As English was used more and more for the purpose of intranational communication, it started to incorporate linguistic and social aspects indigenous to the country—i.e.,

"nativization" of English. In addition, there are a great many speakers of English as a foreign language, including the Japanese. These people do not use English within their own countries, but use it extensively for international communication. Thus, we cannot even say precisely how many people communicate in English.

Let us turn now to the differences between various English varieties. American English, for example, has developed its own characteristics over three hundred years. It is different from British English in phonology, spelling, vocabulary, syntax, and pragmatics. Since language always changes with time, it is natural for any nation where English is spoken to develop its own unique linguistic features. For instance, Indian English has lexical items unique to it—e.g., "dining-leaf" (usually a banana leaf used as a plate especially in the southern part of the country), and "bride price" (the money a girl's family has to give to the bridegroom's family at the time of her marriage). Syntactically, Indian English is characterized among other things by its unique use of articles and the "be + ing" construction (I am hearing the music).

It should be clear, then, that there is no such thing as *the* correct model for all the English speakers in the world. The Japanese, who interact in English with many Asians, Africans, Europeans, South Americans, etc., should be prepared to comprehend these various Englishes and communicate successfully with their speakers.

American/British English as a Sample Model, Not as a Goal

It seems that an important distinction is missing in English education in Japan. It is the distinction between an English variety uses as a sample model and an English model used as

a learner goal. Theoretically, our instructional model can be any independent English variety. The choice depends on which variety the learner needs to become most familiar with. Practically, however, the use of A/B English as our instructional model will continue in Japan, given our close relationship with these two countries and the abundant instructional materials and number of "native speaker" teachers currently available in this country. In addition, since Japan has not developed any publically acknowledged variety of English due to the lack of intensive use of the language, we have no stabilized variety of English of our own to be used as a model. This makes it necessary for us to borrow some English variety from outside as a sample model in English instruction, and it might as well be A/B English.

The learner goal for the Japanese, however, does not have to be the same as the sample model. In the first place, it seems rather unrealistic to set our goal on matching a native-speaking American's linguistic and sociolinguistic abilities. There are two reasons why. First, many researchers of language acquisition (e.g., Oyama1976, Ramsay and Wright 1974) claim that accent free acquisition of phonology is not possible for the learners of a second language who start it after a certain age. Some researchers say this age is as early as six, and nobody says it is later than puberty. Although not as much research has been done in other areas, some authors say the critical age for native-like mastery exists in syntax, semantics, and pragmatics as well (e.g., Long 1988). If this is true, it would be unrealistic, if not entirely impossible, for most of us who start learning English at the age of 12 or 13 to aim for a native-like attainment of a foreign language.

Secondly, even if near native mastery of syntax, vocabulary, and pronunciation is possible, other elements involved in human communication cannot be easily transferred. For example, nonverbal behavior, such as gestures, eye contact, distancing, touching, and so on varies from culture to culture. It is reported that what is convincing and sensible rhetoric in one culture is not at all in another (see Kaplan1966 for a discussion of four different rhetorical patterns in written language, and Gumperz1982 for different rhetorical practices in Indian and Black English as spoken languages). Many formulaic expressions for complimenting, apologizing, showing modesty, small talk, and so on are strongly tied to the politeness strategies which are commonly accepted and encouraged in specific cultures. Again, it is unrealistic for any individual who has his or her own cultural background to aim to speak exactly like an American or a British person.

What, then, should our goal as learners of English be? It seems that proficiency in English, which enables us to obtain our intended communicative goals in various interpersonal tasks—i.e., communicability in international communication—should be our ultimate goal. Such a proficiency, aimed at by a Japanese learner of English (as a learner goal), is different from the proficiency of a native speaking American (sample model) in that the former contains a degree of "Japaneseness" which is inevitable and permissible. Such "Japaneseness" will show itself in phonology, choice of words, and many other linguistic and sociolinguistic aspects.

In order to see how far we are in relation to this learner goal, we should abandon our old criterion, i.e., how close one's English is (approximity) to a native speaker model. Our concern should be our ability to use English as a means of communication. How effectively

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we can make ourselves understood and how successful we are in attaining the desired result in interactions is more important than how "good" our English is. Our purpose in communicating can be as easy as going to a souvenir shopping on a trip abroad. Or it can be more demanding—e.g., to present our ideas on a controversial issue in an academic conference. In this case a higher level of skill, such as describing our point of view precisely, convincing people eloquently, and defending our ideas from others' attacks, etc., will be needed. Whatever the purpose and nature of our interactions, we should try to be ourselves. There is nothing wrong with using Japanese gestures, rhetoric, and politeness strategies, as far as they do not cause misunderstanding. We should not be afraid of non-native linguistic features (e.g., accent) which have remained after painstaking efforts in studying English, as long as these features do not give rise to communication breakdowns. It is high time that Japanese learners of English stopped finding fault with their own (and with each other's) English and viewing it as "imperfect."

To attain this goal—communicability in international communication—it is necessary, first of all, to stop making futile and unrewarding efforts to eliminate Japaneseness completely from our use of English, and secondly, to allocate more time and energy in getting accustomed to different varieties of English and various discourse patterns of the people in the world. Conscious training is necessary to learn intercultural communication skills in English. This has been a totally neglected area in our English education, but given the status of English today and the foreseeable closer relationship among nations of the world, the importance of developing intercultural skills cannot be overly stressed.

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LANGUAGE SCIENCES

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A NINIO (Israel), The roots of narrative: disussing recent events with very young children.
S HARKNESS (USA), The cultural construction of semantic cotingency in mother-child speech.
M TOMASELLO (USA), The role of joint attentional processes in early language development.
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C PYE (USA), Towards an anthropology of language acquisition.
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F C C PENG (Japan), On the acquisition of discourse among autistic children.
B G BLOUNT (USA), Cognition and phonology in acquisition of plurals and possessives by Luo children.

Subscription Information

Why Can't Taro and Hanako Learn English?

Keiko Samimy

Currently, everybody seems to be talking about Japan in one form or another. On television, the relentless intrusion of the Japanese on the American business world has been repeatedly criticized. Meanwhile, in recent months at least five major American journals have covered stories about Japanese education. These articles point out the strengths and the weaknesses of Japanese education, and suggest how the American educational system might learn from it.

As the Japanese make inroads into American markets, Japanese communities grow proportionately. This growth challenges local school districts to successfully accommodate Japanese children in American schools. And it is a headache for many American teachers to have in their classrooms Japanese children who have no knowledge of English while American children demand attention and care from them at the same time. An increasing number of school districts have developed ESL programs to help these children learn English. Many of the ESL programs also provide service in areas such as cross-cultural education and counseling and act as a liaison between the American school teachers and the Japanese parents.

This paper was written and based on my experience teaching ESL to a group of Japanese children, grades six through twelve, who temporarily reside in the United States due to their fathers' business commitments. Even though I am Japanese myself, I was struck by the complexity of the social and psychological environment in which these students live and what a powerful impact it has on their emotional well-being as well as on the process of their acquiring English.

I hope that this paper will provide some in-sights for ESL and classroom teachers with regard to the Japanese children who are temporarily residing in America, so that they will be better prepared to relate to these students. I would also like to add that the Japanese children described here are only a small sample and by no means typify all the Japanese children living in the United States.

Some Common Factors Affecting the Process of Learning English for Japanese Children

1. *Transiency: "We don't know when we will go back to Japan."*

It is very difficult to seriously commit oneself to a goal without knowing the time constraints one is operating under. Living in a totally different culture under such uncertainty makes the acculturation process extremely difficult regardless of one's age.

Many Japanese children in our ESL programs live in that transient state. Although it is an unspoken expectation that the families will stay in the U.S. for three to five years, there are many cases where families have returned much sooner or stayed longer than expected. As a result, an unsettled feeling permeates the environment of Japanese children overseas, even in the classroom. Not only are there children who make no serious effort to acclimatize themselves to their American

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environment, but there are also some children who do not perceive American schools as being quite as real as Japanese schools and do not work very hard. Consequently, classroom teachers often perceive these children as "lazy" or as "not trying hard enough." Of course, there are some children who try to make the best of the given circumstances; however, they cannot help but wonder what will happen to them when they return to Japan.

2. American schools and Japanese schools: "We don't have enough time to play."

Over 95% of the Japanese children in our school system attend a Japanese Saturday school from 9:00 am to 2:30 pm every Saturday in order to keep up with their Japanese studies. While middle school children study mathematics, Japanese, and social studies, high school students concentrate on math and Japanese.

In order to cope with homework from the American schools, over 80% of middle school children and over 90% of high school children have American tutors who come to their homes after school two or three times a week. Especially for high school students, in addition to the help they receive in ESL classes, a tutor is a must in order to keep up with classes and pass with decent grades. The pressure is tremendous. Keeping up in American schools is challenging enough but it is doubly challenging, intellectually, psychologically, and physically, to do well in two different school systems and in in two different languages at the same time. These children may appear to be anti-social or passive about engaging themselves in extra-curricular activities after school, but the truth of the matter is, they just do not have time left for any additional activities.

3. Psychological framework: "We didn't choose to come here."

Living in a foreign country challenges one's self-esteem, especially if one is expected to do well but is not sufficiently equipped with the necessary language skills. Often, one consoles oneself by saying, "I have chosen this, so I've got to try a little harder." Unfortunately, however, some of the Japanese children do not have the same attitude. Especially defensive children might say, "I didn't choose to come here. Things would have been much better in Japan. And I left many friends there." This initial non-commitment is very difficult to handle, both for parents and for ESL teachers. The parents feel guilty about uprooting the children from their familiar environment and this sense of guilt may be intensified when they see their children painfully struggling but still getting poor grades at school.

For ESL teachers, the non-commital attitude is a big obstacle to overcome. The children may express their resentment against ESL teachers because they symbolize American culture and language. And the children may perceive the teachers as the cause of all the frustration and confusion they are experiencing. Statements such as "No Japanese in ESL class! Speak in English! Taro, why don't you speak English?" often create a thicker wall between students and teachers.

4. The strong Japanese need to belong—identity conflict

Traditionally, there is a strong concern for belonging among Japanese. In addition, "belongingness is further demonstrated by the desire for pure and unambiguous belonging" (Lebra 1976). Japanese who do not behave like Japanese, therefore, are often ridiculed because of an ambiguity of identity in terms of their belonging. There are many incidents reported about Japanese children who have returned from abroad and found it extremely hard to readjust to their own country (Nakatsu

1979, Farkas and Kohno 1987). Japanese children living in the United States do not seem to be exempt from the desire to be accepted by their peers as well as the accompanying anxiety about being left out. In fact, they seem to be under more intense pressure "not to lose" their Japanese identity during their stay in America. Anyone who breaks the group norms by behaving or speaking like an "American" is often left out of the Japanese group. Speaking English like a native speaker is especially threatening to the in-group and is often interpreted as being disloyal. "Listeners—including ourselves—from our own in-groups, when they hear us go beyond the gross and digital kind of accuracy, may feel a threat at the level of identity. To do so would be 'integrative' toward a dangerous out-group and ipso facto 'dis-integrative' toward the in-group" (Stevick 1976:53).

Smith also confirms the relationship between identity and learning: "Our club memberships are our identity. The original basis for membership in any club, remember, is: 'You're one of us.' ...If we see ourselves as members of a club, then we can't help learning to be like members of the club. *But if we regard ourselves as outside a club, then our brains will resist any learning that might falsely identify us as club members*" (1986, emphasis is mine). He goes on to cite an intriguing phenomenon that occurs when English-speaking children learn French by "total immersion" in Canadian schools. During the first three years, these children reach the point where their French is indistinguishable from native French-speaking children. But then these children start speaking French with an English accent with errors which non-native speakers of French typically make. Smith concludes by saying, "...all these children have made decisions about the clubs they belong to. *When they decide they are not a particular*

kind of person, they learn not to be like that kind of person" (1986, emphasis is mine).

Similarly, some Japanese children may choose to belong to the "Japanese-speaking club" rather than the "English-speaking club."

5. Influence of parents' attitudes on children's English acquisition process

Gardner talks about two different parental roles. He states that active parents assume an active role in promoting their child's language learning. They monitor the child's progress and give positive feedback. They also believe in active involvement in community activities and in learning about the culture and language. Passive parents, on the other hand, express the desire that their children learn the language, insist that they study, and perhaps even give rewards for good grades. However, at the same time, they may make no effort to learn the language themselves, openly express negative opinions about the speakers of the target language, and often reveal a desire to return to their homeland where things would be better (Gardner et al. 1974).

The dedication of Japanese mothers to theirs children's education is becoming common knowledge all over the world. The Japanese term, "kyooiku mama" (education mother), epitomizes the total responsibility and effort Japanese mothers demonstrate until their children successfully get through the notorious examination hell. Japanese mothers in America are no exception. They are extremely anxious and concerned with their children's education. Many read monthly magazines, such as *Japan Overseas Educational Services,* to find out the criteria of Japanese universities for admitting "returnees." The "kyooiku mamas'" attitude, however, tends not only to over-emphasize the importance of Japanese education, but also narrows their children's opportunities to learn about

American culture and the English language itself.

Japanese Children's Attitudes and Motivation in Learning English

The research of Lambert and Gardner on the influence of attitude and motivation on second language acquisition is well known. They state that there are two kinds of motivation—an integrative orientation and an instrumental orientation. An integratively motivated learner is interested in learning the second language in order to meet and communicate with people who speak the target language. An instrumentally motivated learner, on the other hand, is not particularly interested in the people of the target language, but wants to learn the language for more utilitarian purposes, so that s/he may find a better job, for example.

How do Japanese children actually perceive the study of English? Do they think that English is necessary just to pass courses or do they think that English is an important tool in making American friends? Are there differences in attitudes about learning English between middle school ESL students and high school ESL students? If there are differences, how do they affect the students' progress in learning English?

A Pilot Study

Based on my clinical observations and research findings on second language acquisition, a pilot study was conducted to ascertain Japanese children's attitudes and motivation in learning English. The results of this study and the conclusions which can be drawn from them are as follows:

1. *Correlation between English proficiency and motivation*

Correlations were computed among middle school ESL students (n=20) and high school ESL students (n=12) to ascertain the relationship between motivational orientations and language achievement. Among the middle school students, there was a relatively high correlation between integrative motivation and the LAS (Language Assessment Scale) scores. Instrumental motivation, however, did not significantly correlate with these scores. Among high school students, there was a negative correlation between integrative motivation and the LAS scores. And there was little correlation between instrumental motivation and the scores.

In other words, with the middle school students, the more integratively oriented they are, the higher they score in language proficiency. On the other hand, integratively oriented high school students tend to score lower in language proficiency. Both groups showed little relationship between instrumental orientation and the test scores. The negative correlation between integrative motivation and the LAS scores among high school students is intriguing. No plausible explanation can be found at this point; except that the result may have been caused by the small sample size.

2. *Learners' perceptions: What is the most important English skill?*

70% of the middle school students indicated speaking was the most important skill, while only 30% of high school students considered it the most important. Among high school students, 50% chose grammar, while merely 0.15% of the middle school students considered grammar as the most important skill.

These results might be attributed to the emphasis on different academic performance in middle school and high school. The group activities and hands-on projects which are emphasized in middle school necessitate

communicative competence. In high school, however, the classes are more lecture oriented and this does not require the students to interact with one another. Another plausible explanation is that high school students who intend to enroll in a Japanese university are well aware that knowledge of English grammar rather than communicative competence will be tested during university entrance examinations.

3. *How many American friends do you have?*

The number of American friends that Japanese ESL students have seems to differ considerably between middle school and high school students. 84% of the middle school students in this study said that they had more than ten American friends, compared with only 0.3% of the high school students. It is also worth noting that 25% of the high school students felt that they had less than three American friends, while only 0.05% of the middle school students felt this way.

Age difference here is probably one of the main factors. In other words, middle school children are less inhibited about trying out their limited English to make American friends, whereas high school students are far more self-conscious about their English and their Japanese identity. In addition, high school students are under more pressure academically to maintain good grades. This does not leave them much free time to get involved in extra-curricular activities where they can meet American students, even if they wanted to.

Summary

There is a stereotypical image of Japanese children as being smart. In comparison with their American classmates, they usually excel in math. Learning English, on the other hand, does not seem to come so easily. The difficulty appears to stem not only from the obvious linguistic differences between English and Japanese, but also from socio-cultural pressures which the Japanese children are under. Japanese socio-cultural factors, such as the strong need to belong and intolerance towards ambiguous identity, greatly affect children's progress in learning English. The results of the pilot study indicate that middle school children are more integratively oriented in learning English than high school students. Consequently, middle school children perceive English as a tool to make American friends, while high school students consider it as one of their subjects to be studied.

It is worth noting, however, that even among those younger children who learned to assimilate themselves into American culture and English successfully, once they return to Japan, they tend to "deny" their experiences abroad. According to a study by Kono, 71.4% of the returnees responded that they did not want to apply what they had learned from living abroad in Japan, and only 51.4% answered that they would like to utilize their knowledge of English. The statistics are rather depressing. Based on the study, Kono concluded that this response is due to the returnees' desperate need to re-adjust themselves to Japanese society.

Seen in this way, then, teaching English to Japanese children cannot be viewed as simply imparting a knowledge of English. Without an understanding of the complexity of the social and psychological environment in which these children live, our efforts and energy will be wasted. Although ESL teachers may not be able to control Japanese socio-cultural factors, their efforts to understand them better will definitely be a positive step in the right direction.

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The Placement Test:
A Useful or Harmful Tool?

Malinee Chandavimol

According to Rebecca M. Valette (1977), the primary objective of a proficiency test is to determine whether or not the student has mastered certain specific skills and content that are deemed to be prerequisites for a particular job or course of study. Of all the various types of proficiency tests, the placement test is perhaps the most widely used. Tests of this nature are widely used at the college and university level, where the necessity arises to assign large groups of incoming students to language classes of varying levels of difficulty—from intermediate through upper-intermediate to advanced.

The placement test serves an additional purpose, which is of great benefit to both the educational institution and the student in that it helps from the outset to determine the student's needs, and thus provides a greater degree of flexibility in catering to those needs. This eliminates educational redundancy.

In addition, the placement test can be used as a diagnostic test, whereby weaknesses in student performance are identified and subsequently remedied, thus ensuring maximum achievement of student objectives. Consequently, a well-designed placement test enables instructors to better assess the needs of the students and implement the appropriate methodology and teaching materials with greater effectiveness and, if necessary, revise materials or make use of supplements.

Important Issues for Consideration during the Planning Stage

Since objectives will be different from institution to institution, to ensure maximum effectiveness the placement test should be constructed by the school or college itself. The requisite level of preparation should be determined for each course and the test itself should be especially designed to measure the degree of knowledge, as well as the specific skills, required for success. Commercially prepared tests may also be used, although these may prove to be problematic and far less satisfactory, as great care must then be taken to interpret the scores fairly in light of the school's course requirements. On the whole, it would seem that a placement test tailor-made by a particular educational institution, with specific parameters to meet objectives, is more desirable.

A good example of the latter type is provided by Graham Low (1986) of the University of York who has developed a placement test specially designed for students about to enter a post-graduate course of study. In his paper on this subject, he describes the primary function of his particular test as one of placing students into groups or "streams" for an intensive language course they are about to undertake. Another example of an appropriate placement test designed by a particular institution is that used at the Language Institute at the Department of Technical and Economic Cooperation (DTEC), located in Bangkok. Its primary goal is to determine if a candidate is sufficiently skilled in English, either to meet the linguistic demands of a course of training abroad or to fulfill certain on-the-job requirements at his/her particular place of employment in Thailand. This test is also used as a placement test for DTEC's own students, as well as an end-of-course achievement test.

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Two other major factors fundamental to the success of any placement test are design and administration. In designing or writing a test, it is essential that the writer have an expert knowledge of the domains and issues relating to language assessment, particularly an understanding of the relationship of differing linguistic dimensions of proficiency to overall competency.

Clearly, great care must be taken in terms of content. To quote Finocchiaro and Sako (1983), "The content will or should reflect the purpose for which the test has been prepared." That is, in order to place a student at the appropriate level, accurate assessment is essential. The consequences of misclassification due to an inadequate and inappropriate test may include improper placement, insufficient instructors, and as a result, a lower standard of academic achievement. An example of a cause of misclassification is the predetermined cut-off point in a test. The inherent danger in the use of cut-off points is that they are rarely accurate and easily lead to a misinterpretation of the test results.

In terms of administration, according to Terry Phillips (1987), "Successful placement depends as much, if not more, on skilled administrators than on the testing instrument itself." As we have already observed, the testing instrument itself must be easy to administer to the examinees—a crucial factor, especially when the test is to be used as a screening or placement instrument for a large number of students. Simply put, a test's efficiency, or lack of it, greatly depends on administrability, which depends, in turn, on a number of factors. For example, the directions must be presented in simple, uncomplicated, and unequivocal language that all examinees can understand.

Administrative constraints can have a major impact on testing efficiency. This is especially true as these constraints may also affect the content of the test itself, as well as "scorability" as defined by Finocchiaro and Sako (1983). For example, lack of sufficient staff may make it difficult to include an extensive cloze section in the test. Given the number of choices and the element of subjectivity involved, such a complex test may be difficult for an understaffed institution to grade. Thus, the quality of the assessment directly depends on the time and the human resources an institution can commit to the task of grading and double-checking. The importance of these factors is verified by the evidence that when students are placed successfully, the course tends to function more smoothly and there is, consequently, a lower rate of failure.

Implementation of the Placement Test at Chulalongkorn University

One of the services provided by Chulalongkorn University Language Institute (CULI) is the offering of the Foundation English Course to all first-year students (see appendix). Unfortunately, the results of the course have been less than satisfactory from both the teachers' and students' points of view. The primary cause is that the course has been found to cover too broad a spectrum of subject content, as well as too diverse a range of language skills, and these have been found not to correlate closely enough with the variety of students' English language backgrounds. It was observed, for example, that in spite of studying for eight years before entering the university, a certain percentage of the student body could barely read or write. On the other hand, many of the students had attended one of the many prestigious Catholic schools in Bangkok where English is used as the medium of instruction for most subjects and some had

even spent time abroad in an English-speaking country as part of a high school student exchange program.

For the weaker students, the first-year English course seems to represent a Herculean task to which they have to devote an enormous amount of time in their studies, while for the relatively competent, the course means a duplication of effort and a misuse of precious study time which they could devote to their subject area of interest.

Given this situation, CULI decided in 1985 policy to introduce a Placement/Exemption Test designed to be administered to all the incoming students from the 15 faculties throughout the University. The aim was to exempt students who satisfied the criteria needed to pass the first required course—Foundation English I (FE I), and at the same time, to subsequently group the rest of the students in their respective faculties according to their individual ability.

A study was conducted after the first two years of implementation to determine the efficiency of the test. The following findings were indicated:

1. Approximately 350 to 400 students each year met the requirements for exemption from the FE I course. Some of these were then able to take other courses in their specific faculties, whether compulsory or elective, while the rest could choose to progress at their own pace in their course of study. In the first year, we were able to place students from seven faculties as opposed to the 15 intended, and in the second year, we extended the service to 10 faculties.

2. For both Science and Non-Science students, a statistically significant correlation existed among the following:

    a. a correlation coefficient of .7901 and .7873 between the University Entrance Examination and the Placement/Exemption Test

    b. a correlation coefficient of .7508 between the Placement/Exemption Test and the Foundation English Achievement Test

    c. a correlation of .7719 and .7470 between the University Entrance Examination and the Foundation English Achievement Test

As can be seen from these correlations, success on the Foundation English Achievement test, as well as on the Placement/Exemption Test, can be determined with more than a fair amount of precision by the University Entrance Examination.

3. Using, as a base, the mean score of the University Entrance Examination for Science students, the students from the Faculty of Medicine ranked first, whereas the students from the Faculty of Fine Arts ranked last. However, using the University Entrance Examination for Non-Science students as a base, the students from the Faculty of Arts ranked first while the students from the Faculty of Fine Arts again ranked last.

Of all the students who were exempted from the FE I course and then later enrolled in the FE II course, the Faculty of Medicine ranked first in terms of exemption with 31.37% of the students taking the Placement/Achievement Test being exempted. Faculty of Arts students achieved the second highest exemption rate with 24.34%, whereas the Faculty of Education students ranked last in that a mere .76% of these students received exemptions. It should also be noted that students from both Faculties of Medicine and Arts received top scores in their FE I course.

A Discussion of CULI Placement/Exemption Test

It can be clearly seen that the Placement/Exemption Test as instituted by CULI serves

two purposes, both as a proficiency test and as an achievement test. It is designed to fit our own learning situation in Thailand. Since a great number of students need to be screened at one time, the test has to be easy to administer and quick to mark.

There are, of course, a number of drawbacks to the present system. For one thing, our placement test lacks both an oral and aural component and thus contains an imbalance between receptive and productive skills; hence, it is not a totally accurate measure of communicative ability. Nevertheless, it must be pointed out that an oral component would be physically and logistically impossible to measure given the limited resources of the Institute and the numbers of students involved. Simply because a student does well on the written, does not necessarily mean that s/he is sufficiently skilled in terms of oral and aural abilities. In fact, the performance of some of these students when they take the FE II course has proved rather disappointing in some respects. It could be argued that such students would benefit from first semester exposure to a native speaker or to a highly-trained Thai instructor with near native fluency and that it would encourage improvements in terms of pronunciation, intonation, and overall communication skills.

Therefore, at present, the issue is whether or not the exemption should be disbanded. One could argue that it is undesirable to interrupt a student's course of study so abruptly, especially right at the beginning of his university study, and that this might have negative effects on his linguistic development. Another argument is that it is physically and logistically impossible for an institute the size of CULI to offer separate courses for students of varying abilities to accommodate their needs according to their performance on the Place-

ment/Exemption Test. This was the original plan intended by CULI's initiating the policy regarding the Placement/Exemption Test.

On the one hand, we realize that all tests are flawed to a certain extent; otherwise we would be able to claim that we had discovered the perfect testing instrument. As Randall L. Jones (1979) stated: "No test could be considered university valid, regardless of how well it might perform for a given task." On the other hand, the content of the placement test should directly reflect the parameters of the English Program concerned.

It is on this basis that we believe the CULI Placement/Exemption Test provides a relatively reliable tool of assessment and that its essential goals are relatively clear-cut. Although the screening of a large number of students is involved, it has not been necessary to develop a highly refined placement battery. By and large, the test works in that it does reflect the parameters of the English program concerned, namely the course, Foundation English I. It serves its purpose in that it exempts those students whose English-language skills are already sufficiently developed to meet the requirements of Foundation English II, and in that it therefore leaves these students free to pursue studies within their chosen field. Those who are exempted, of course, are phased into the course at the beginning of the second semester, i.e., Foundation English II (FE II). The exemption of competent students leaves the teachers free to concentrate on the language problems confronting those students who must master FE I prior to entering FE II.

In conclusion, we have found that the advantages of our placement test greatly outweigh the disadvantages. The test has eliminated the misuse of study time on the part of the student, and it has improved the overall

efficiency of English language instruction at CULI. In addition, the CULI Placement/Exemption Test has proved a useful diagnostic tool in helping to pinpoint areas of weakness among incoming students and has thus been beneficial in shaping and improving the curriculum. On the whole, our experience has been that the CULI Placement/Exemption Test is a valuable educational instrument.

According to a survey conducted among those exempted from the FE I course, 89% were found to be in favour of the CULI Placement/Exemption Test. The actual format is still open to experimentation, perhaps even to the point of using the English component of the University Entrance Examination as a placement indicator, not the correlation coefficient between the University Entrance Examination and the CULI Placement/Exemption Test discussed earlier in this paper. In addition, CULI's plans for the near future include opening a Resource Center for the use of students who are exempted from taking the FE I course, as well as for the use of those students whose level of English is unusually low. The Center will be equipped with materials for all levels, including textbooks, newspapers, audio and video educational equipment, and various other educational aids. And, most importantly, the Center will have a staff of floating instructors to assist students in their independent study of the English Language.

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APPENDIX

CULI COURSES

	FE I	
1st Year EEₛ		Required by the University
	FE II	
	EAP I	
2nd Year EEₛ		Required by the Faculty
	EAP II	
	AE I	
3rd & 4th Years EEₛ		Required by the Faculty
	AE II	
	AE III	
Graduate Level	**GE**	Elective courses for any student
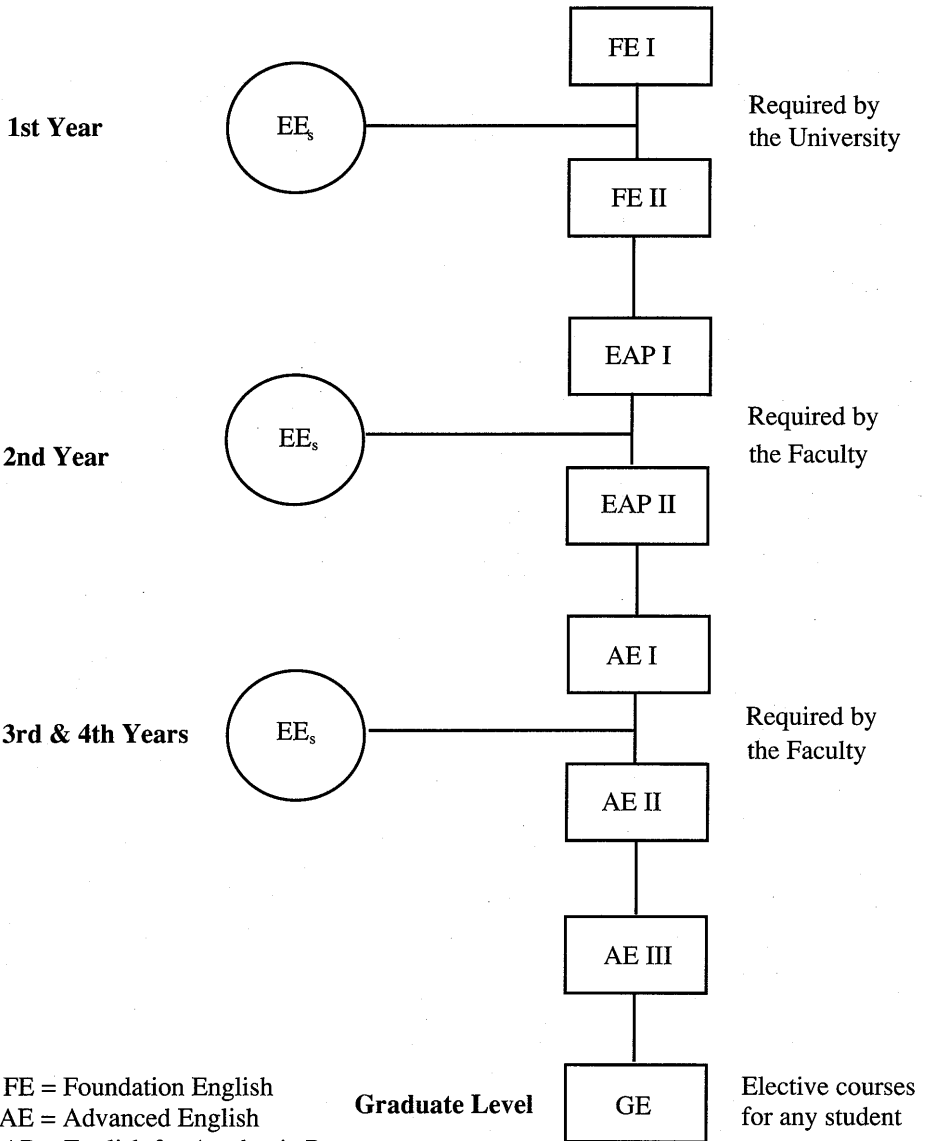
Note: FE = Foundation English
AE = Advanced English
EAP = English for Academic Purposes
GE = Graduate English
EE = Elective English

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BRIGHT IDEAS

Simulations and the Integrative Approach to Language Teaching

Katsuyoshi Sanematsu

Just as the origin of simulations is as old as that of human thought, so the educational use of simulations may be as old as the history of education. However, simulations have somehow been used very little in the area of language education. They may have been used off and on by individual teachers, but in spite of its great potential, the method has never become a major trend in language teaching.

One reason that has made language teachers shy away from simulations may be the use of role plays, a popular practice method similar to simulations. Methodologically, role plays are not as sophisticated as simulations, but they are simpler in structure and much easier to use in class. At any rate, role plays have been used extensively as standard language practice in the past years.

Simulations are a relatively new method in modern language teaching. Until quite recently most language teachers have been completely out of touch with the method's classroom application. Even now there is very little literature covering this area and in fact very few attempts have been made to bring the method into the classroom with the exception of teaching very advanced students or practical skills, such as travel and business situations.

Simulations: Definition of the Method

A definition conveys expectations which in turn decide the way the method defined will be used. And if the definition is wrong, the use of the method is also likely to be wrong. Used for varied purposes, a simulation may be defined in a number of different ways. In education, a conventional definition of the method may go like this: A simulation is the all-inclusive term which contains those activities which produce artificial environments or which provide artificial experiences for the participants in the activity. But this sort of definition seems too general and even irrelevant to language teaching. A more profitable definition of the method for language teachers may be to use "role play"as a point of reference and expound on it. Although of a different origin, role plays share a lot in common with simulations in form and teaching effects. In fact, a role play is, in a way, a simplified simulation with the aim of working with a particular language function. By the same token, a simulation is probably an extreme form of role play which is expanded and substantiated with the use of real materials. Thus, a simple definition for our purposes may be: A simulation is a reality-oriented role play.

Simulations: Rationale for Use in Language Teaching

Why do we use simulations in teaching a foreign language? Today's language teaching world already abounds with a variety of methodologies which work well in their own ways. Is there anything that simulations do better than other methods? Just what exactly can simulations do?

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1. Reality-based teaching: By design a simulation provides an alternative means to experience reality. Thus, a simulation is unique in that it is meant to be a simplified replica of a real situation. Conversely speaking, what is not realistic is not a simulation. A simulation enables students to practice more or less authentic communication, which is so difficult to experience in the artificial atmosphere of the classroom. Going beyond the classroom, a simulation helps prepare students for what they are about to face "out there" in the real world. It also helps teach embedded cultural elements in a natural context.

2. Overlearning: In language learning, progress is insured only when one keeps trying even after finishing the primary learning task. Language learning is, in the true sense of the word, overlearning. A simulation provides students with a natural opportunity in which constant overlearning is made possible.

3. Integrated teaching: A simulation takes a holistic approach to language teaching. It treats language as a whole in a reality-based situation, not as itemized knowledge presenting discrete language points in isolation. In order to internalize individual points learned, students need a complete communication activity in which they can integrate their previous learning. A simulation naturally serves this purpose.

Simulation Procedures

Stage 1: The teacher first writes a simulation, keeping in mind that he has a certain purpose, such as reviewing particular language points or providing more practical communication practice. A good situation to go with the specific purpose is created and the basic story or scenario is worked out. The simulation can be adjusted in length, complexity, and difficulty, according to the students' level. Next, the language to be used in the simulation is examined and a complete list of materials needed is prepared.

Stage 2: In class, the teacher explains the simulation to the students, describing the situation, the roles to play, and the tasks to be carried out. In order to familiarize the students with the simulation, the teacher may provide some modelling, using handouts, taped conversations, video scenes, etc. Language practice follows. In preparation for the simulation, the students practice the main language points until they feel comfortable with them. In a simulation students often take part in material preparation, such as making name tags, items to sell, presents, pictures, drawings, etc.

Stage 3: Finally, the students do the simulation in class. The teacher sets up the simulation, creating the set, confirming the roles and tasks, etc. The students act out the given scenario on their own and may even switch roles if time permits. During the simulation, the teacher works behind the scenes by providing materials, changing sets, playing music, etc.

Sample Simulations
What sort of simulations are possible? The following are brief descriptions of four simulations which have been written specifically for English teaching:

1. At a Party

Target level: basic to intermediate
Functions: greetings/making introductions/personal information/making invitations/etc.
Structures: simple present/present continuous/would like/would you?/etc.

Simulations

Realia: large space/tables/music tapes/name tags/role cards/drinks/snacks/etc.

Perhaps nothing is easier to simulate than a party situation. Partying is always fun and exciting. This simulation may be done in a number of different ways. With basic students, the simulation can be a simple mixing activity based on a few mini-dialogs they have memorized. With a more advanced group, the simulation can be expanded to have a specific situation to act out, such as a party held to celebrate someone's birthday, with a host and hostess, etc. Generally speaking, the simulation may best be done in a free-floating situation with the only condition being that the students communicate in the target language. But various roles, such as famous people and foreigners, may also be introduced. More structured practice is possible as well through such tasks as getting certain kinds of information, making invitations, etc. To simulate a party, a large activity space needs to be created in the middle of the classroom. Background music can be played throughout the party to provide atmosphere. Drinks and snacks may also be served at the teacher's discretion.

2. Shopping

Target level: basic to lower intermediate
Functions: getting information/preferences/decisions/etc.
Structures: count and non-count nouns/unit nouns/comparatives/will/etc.
Realia: desks or tables/item cards/pens/money

Shopping is a practical activity and a good simulation topic. This simulation requires two roles: shop-owners and customers. Prior to the simulation, students think of a shop to open. After deciding on what to sell, they make ten or more items to sell in the shop with small cards, as well as naming the shop. In the simulation the class is divided into two groups, shop-owners and customers. They are able to change roles after a period of time in order to experience both parts. The customers go shopping in the shopping mall. They ask about prices, compare different items, or even ask about discounts. The shop owners do their best to sells their items. They may advertise them creatively or have some of them on sale to catch the customers' attention. Paying is an important part of shopping and play money may be used.

3. Blue Thunder

Target level: upper basic to intermediate
Functions: location/directions/describing people and places/orders/etc.
Structures: prepositions of location and movement/present continuous/adjectives/imperatives/etc.
Realia: helicopter sound effects tape/large map of a town/small maps of a town/place and action cards/X and arrow/pictures of people and places/etc.

This is a criminal chase simulation in which there are two roles: the helicopter pilot and the police detective. The pilot flies Blue Thunder—the super helicopter—over a town, chasing a criminal at large. In flight the pilot communicates with the police detective who is at police headquarters. A large map of the town is placed on the board. The teacher uses an X and an arrow to indicate where the criminal is now and where he is headed, and also shows pictures to give extra information about the scene. In the simulation half the students act as pilots and sit facing the map. The other half act as detectives and sit facing the other way. The pilot gives a continual report on the criminal's activities—his loca-

tion, his clothes, behavior, direction of travel, etc.—to the detective who traces the criminal's activities on his own smaller map of the town based on the information obtained. A helicopter sound effects tape is played throughout the simulation.

4. In Flight

Target level: upper basic to intermediate
Functions: meeting people/past experiences/ getting information/future plans/etc.
Structures: simple past/present perfect/past continuous/going to/information questions/etc.
Realia: moveable chairs/in-flight announcement tape/flight menus/role cards/drinks/ magazines/etc.

Travel is a natural setting for speaking a foreign language. In this simulation all the students are travelling by air. Before the simulation begins, a jetliner cabin is made in the classroom by rearranging the chairs. Three roles are assumed in this simulation. A few of the students play the role of flight attendants. The rest of the students are divided into Japanese passengers and non-Japanese passengers.

The simulation begins when all the passengers are seated and listen to the welcome aboard and take-off announcements on tape. Shortly after take-off drinks are served. Flight dinner follows. In these activities the flight attendants walk around the passengers taking their orders. In the meantime, the passengers strike up conversations on their own, Japanese working with non-Japanese. They get to know each other, talk about their trips, get information about their destinations, etc. The simulation ends when they hear the landing announcement and the plane lands.

Conclusion

Simulations, when properly used, can be a productive approach to learning language which brings students full-fledged communication experience in the target language. They encourage students to solve practical problems which they will encounter in the real world. Simulations are a relatively new method in modern language teaching and have attracted little attention up to now. What is needed at present are more studies and classroom experiments to improve our use of simulations as a method of language teaching.

Failed Encounters--Exploiting Failure for Success in the Language Learning Classroom

Ruth Wajnryb

In recent years language teachers have become increasingly aware that grammatical knowledge (or linguistic competence) does not necessarily make for communicative competence in the language learner. Increasingly, too, we are realizing that factors that do make for communicative competence are many, complex, varied, and by no means yet fully understood. Certainly, we are becoming increasingly aware of the critical role of socio-cultural factors in language learning.

We know that there are times, even as native speakers, when language serves us, and times when it does not. The "bad times" are when it lets us down, when we fail to communicate our true intent, when a situation leaves us lost for words, floundering, aware only of a sense of failure, and dimly, if at all, of the causes. This phenomenon happens even to those who are usually articulate and communicative.

It follows that for non-native speakers functioning in the target language and culture, such "let downs" are bound to happen more frequently, and cause greater frustration and anxiety. This article concerns a way of harnessing such "failed encounters" to good effect in language learning, turning failure into a pedagogic tool so as to help the learner overcome some of the obstacles blocking his or her learning path.

The material that forms the core of the lesson is totally learner-generated. The teacher is calling on the learners' best resource-- that cargo of personal experience which every learner brings to the classroom but which, lamentably, is too rarely called upon in a central and meaningful way. This experiential reservoir becomes the vehicle in a procedure called "Failed Encounters," a simulation based on unsuccessful true experiences of learners. The procedure is outlined in detail below:

Procedure

1. Introduce the topic of "Failed Encounters." Ask the students to consider for a moment those occasions during interactions with native speakers when their English "lets them down": when their language skills "vanish," when they become tongue-tied, when they feel embarrassed, awkward, inferior, inadequate, ashamed, etc. We are looking, in other words, for encounters with native speakers which, for whatever reason, "fail"-- from which the non-native emerges acutely and personally aware of the failed communicative event. Often they know it went wrong but not how or why this happened or what to do about it in a constructive sense. At this point, elicit types of situations when this experience is more likely to happen--that is, high failure-prone situations.

2. Seat students in small compatible groups. Seat people with those they feel comfortable with. Ask them to "buzz" about a specific situation where their English has let them down. Meanwhile, you as teacher, mingle among the groups, eavesdropping closely (if unobtrusively), on the look-out for a situation that will lend itself readily to dramatic simula-

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tion. One that reveals cross-cultural conflict is excellent raw material for our purposes here. (An alternative to step 2 is to record the interactions on the Community Language Learning (C.L.L.) model. The teacher then goes through the tapes out of class, selecting good material for discussion and improvisation. After the choice is made, the relevant sections of the tapes are transcribed and these become the subject of class discussion, providing input for the subsequent improvisation).

3. Call on one situation or "failed encounter"; the student whose encounter it is becomes the "director." The next few steps are as follows:

   a. Ask the director to describe exactly what happened and how s/he felt. Details are very important.

   b. Elicit and guide class discussion about the scene. The rest of the class may-- indeed, should-- ask the director questions to ensure they are quite clear about what happened.

   c. Select (or have volunteers choose) roles among the protagonists in the scene. The director should not take an acting part. Following the director's guidance, semi-script the encounter. Then have the students act out the scene, always to the satisfaction of the director, who may stop proceedings at any time during rehearsals to make sure it is a faithful rendition of the original encounter. If the director wishes, or if it is thought to be of help, s/he may model key parts in the original encounter.

   d. Analyze the situation to discover what the central problem was.

   e. Discuss how the problem could have been avoided or repaired.

   f. Re-improvise the scene, this time "building in" the remedy.

   g. Evaluate to what degree the remedy would have worked in the original setting.

   h. Set up comparable encounters modelled on the one just analyzed--and have groups of students enact them.

Further Notes

* The enactment may be videoed for further analysis of both verbal and non-verbal language.

* Native-speaking guests may be utilized to great advantage in both the role-play and the various discussions.

* Each time the lesson is conducted, a different "failed encounter" may serve as the central focus.

* Warning: great delicacy and sensitivity to the individual are recommended throughout the procedure just described as issues relating to socio-cultural judgment can be easily misconstrued and offence can be easily, if inadvertently, caused. This lesson is especially volatile as the methodology is learner-centered.

Acknowledgement
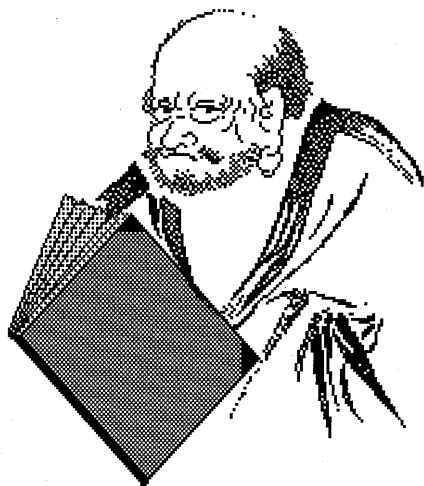
BOOK REVIEW

Early Business Contacts. Nick Brieger and Jeremy Comfort. Prentice Hall International (UK) Ltd. 1989.

Congratulations Brieger and Comfort! *Early Business Contacts* is just the text that many of us have been waiting for! The *Early Business Contacts* text and its accompanying cassette include a wide variety of exercises designed to improve the listening and speaking ability of adults who need special focus on business-related topics. They incorporate the highly successful format of the higher-level *Business Contacts* into a series of simpler listening activities that meet the needs of lower intermediate students.

Like the higher-level *Business Contacts*, *Early Business Contacts'* major strengths are in its flexibility and self-sufficiency. The listening passages can be adapted to a wide variety of classroom situations, or the text can stand by itself as an excellent source for self-study. The instructions are clear and concise and the answers are supplied in the back of the text. Topic themes and their corresponding passages are extremely well-chosen for lower intermediate students who plan to do business in English. Units on company organization, giving and understanding directions, and a unit on giving a factory tour are especially good themes that are not included in the higher-level *Business Contacts*. Though the American accents on the audio tape sound a bit odd at times, the incorporation of a wide variety of accents (as in *Technical Contacts*) is a definite strength. In contrast to many other lower intermediate listening texts, *Early Business Contacts* does not sacrifice authenticity or maturity of language in order to simplify the listening exercises.

Early Business Contacts is, however, quite limited in expansion activities for the listening passages. The exercises in the book are clear and straight-forward but lack much variety or creativity. The transfer activities are a step in this direction, but a teacher's manual with creative ways to more fully exploit the excellent listening passages would strengthen *Early Business Contacts* as a teaching resource. In general, the text is laid out quite nicely; however, in several places, the text doesn't allow enough space for students to write in their answers. In contrast to *Business Contacts*, *Early Business Contacts* includes some rather strange drawings of people, but the other graphics found in the text are excellent. There are also a few minor errors on page numbers in the Table of Contents. Teachers in our own particular program would have appreciated a few more units on process description, comparison, and graph work.

I would not hesitate to highly recommend this text for use with any lower intermediate Business English student. Examination copies are easy to obtain and further copies are easy to order. *Early Business Contacts* is another addition to a fine series of Business English texts written by Brieger and company.

Eric Herbel

Eric Herbel is currently Academic Supervisor at the Language Institute of Japan.
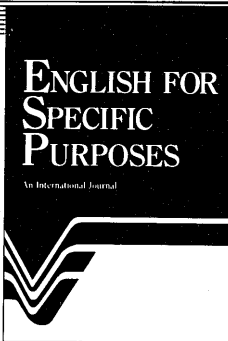
ENGLISH FOR SPECIFIC
PURPOSES publishes articles reporting basic research in the linguistic description of specialized varieties of English and the application of such research to specific methodological concerns. Topics such as the following are treated from the perspective of English for Specific Purposes: discourse analysis, communication skills in L1 and L2 settings, needs assessment, curriculum development and evaluation, materials presentation, teaching and testing techniques, the effectiveness of various approaches to language learning and language teaching and the training or retraining of teachers for the teaching of ESP. In addition, the Journal welcomes articles which identify the aspects of ESP needing development, the areas into which the practice of ESP may be expanded, the possible means of cooperation between ESP programs and the learners' professional or vocational areas of interest, and the implications that findings from related disciplines can have for the profession of ESP. The Journal also features reviews of textbook materials and books on topics of general interest to the profession.

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E. McKenna (USA), Preparing Foreign Students to Enter Discourse Communities in the U.S.

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ANNOUNCEMENTS

JALT Fifth Annual International Conference on Language Teaching and Learning. November 3-5, 1989. Notre Dame Seishin University, Okayama. Under the theme "Bridging the Gap: Theory and Practice," this conference will feature over 250 presentations dealing with all aspects of language teaching, learning, and acquisition. The conference features a 1000 square meter Publisher's Display, social events, and a Job Information Center. For more information please contact: JALT, Lion's Mansion Kawaramachi #111, Kawaramachi Matsubara-Agaru, Shimogyo-ku, Kyoto 100, Japan.

IATEFL 24th International Conference (held jointly with NATEFLI). March 27-30, 1990. Trinity College, Dublin. Aspects of Irish literary tradition will be featured in this program. Programs will include presentations in the areas of Business English, CALL, ELT Management, Learner Independence, Literature, Phonology, Teacher Development, Teacher Trainers, Testing, and Video and Young Learners. For further information please write to: IATEFL, 3 Kingsdown Chambers, Kingsdown Park, Tankerton, Whitstable, Kent, England CT5 2DJ.

Fred W. Malkemes Prize. A prize of $1000 will be awarded for an article in English published in the two years preceding the submission deadline on any topic which makes a contribution to our knowledge of teaching and classroom practice. Special consideration will be given to articles on helping adults develop language skills, applying Sector Analysis principles in the classroom, teaching English in Puerto Rico and Kenya, adult literacy, materials development, and CALL. Please remark briefly in a cover letter which special feature of the article makes it outstanding and appropriate for the Malkemes Prize. Send the letter and six copies of the article to: The Malkemes Prize, The American Language Institute, #1 Washington Square North, New York, New York 10003, U.S.A. Submission must be posted no later than November 1, 1989.

ESOL Video Materials Directory. TESOL has created a database of existing videos for EFL/ESL instruction and teacher training. Information about videos currently available worldwide may be obtained, or submitted for inclusion in the database, by contacting: Peter Thomas, Department of International Studies, University of California Extension X-001, La Jolla, CA 92093-0176 U.S.A. Telephone: 619-534-0425.

Call for Papers: *Cross Currents* welcomes manuscripts concerning all aspects of second language teaching and learning. In particular, *Cross Currents* is interested in articles on both the theoretical and practical aspects of ESL/EFL instruction, cross-cultural training and learning, English language teaching as it applies to Japan, English as an International Language, and book reviews on any of these issues. Please direct all manuscript correspondence to: General Editor, *Cross Currents*, 4-14-1 Shiroyama, Odawara, Kanagawa, Japan.

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